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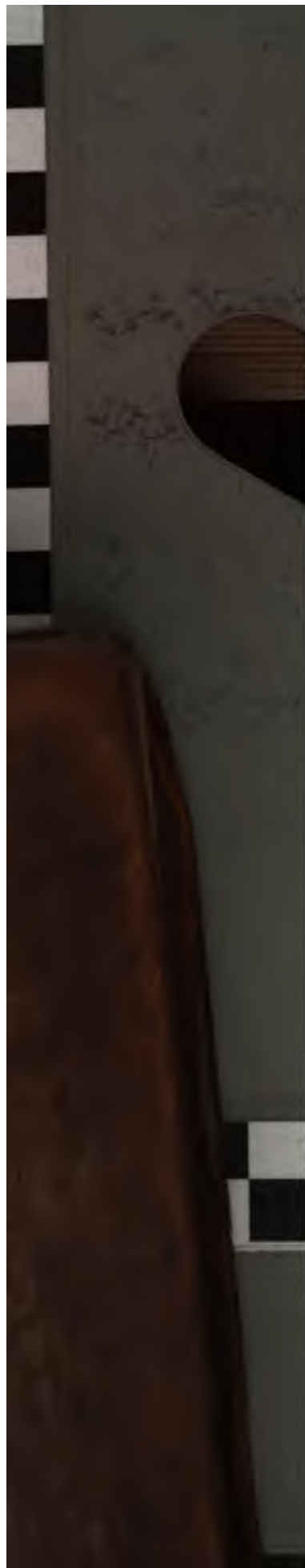
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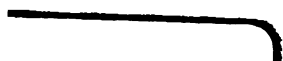
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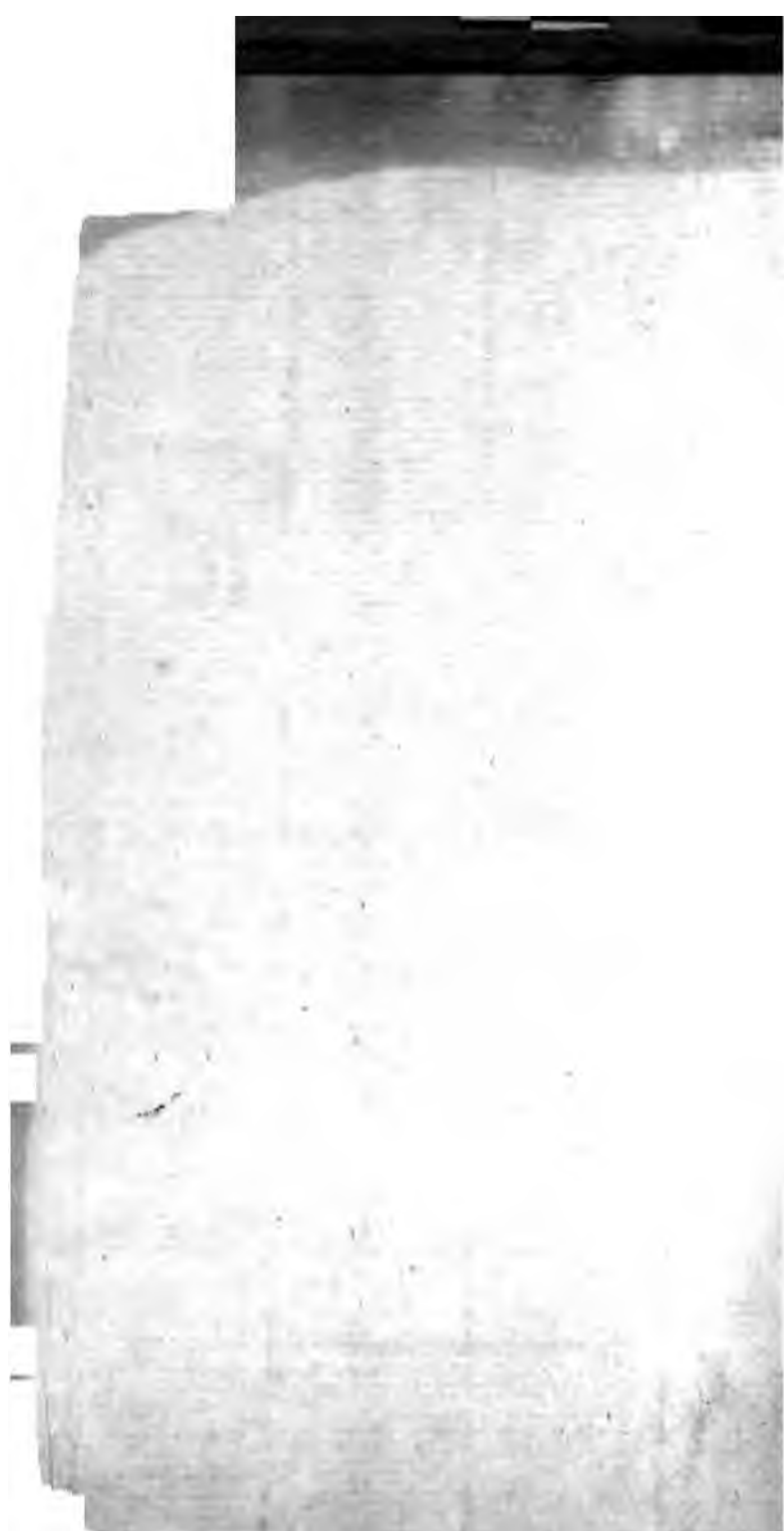




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AMERICA, FRANCE, SPAIN,

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H O L L A N D.

Begun in the Year 1775, and ended in 1783.

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AT the conclusion of the war with France and Spain, in the year 1763, a war which crowned the arms of Britain with immortal honour, victory attending wherever her standard was erected, her enviable glory and increasing commerce became a source of dissatisfaction to the several European Powers, though none had the hardihood to dispute her pretensions, or contend the right she had acquired by her conquests. On the contrary, at once the terror, envy, and admiration of surrounding nations, her protection was solicited by the weakest, her friendship and alliance courted by the haughtiest. Infinite debt, it is true, had been accumulated in the prosecution of the war, yet the people bore it without murmur, as its success, while it raised the national character, promised new channels of wealth to lighten its incumbrance. These they had the prospect of long enjoying without interruption, so effectually had the ambition of France and the pride of Spain been humbled and chastised. The former, after an obstinate struggle of seven years, defeated in every hope, stripped of the most valuable of her foreign settlements, and possessing only the remains of a shattered navy, equally incapable of protecting her own trade or annoying her neighbour's; and the latter, in the short contest of ten months, through sanguinely anticipating the death-blow of Britain's greatness, by uniting her strength to that of France at the latter part of the war, distressed in her trade, almost ruined in her navy, and successfully invaded in her national treasures, excited to a state of intestine commotion near approaching to rebellion, from her unsuccessful measures, and the people considering themselves merely as the dupes of French policy and its insidious Cabinet.

In these circumstances, therefore, it doubly became the duty of our British negociators, or rather peace-makers, to be cautious what they conceded or retained, as on their vigilance in this depended the intrinsic value of our victories. That they were not so, experience has too fatally proved, in verifying the predictions of the time; which were, however unfortunately treated as the idle chimeras of speculative politicians, or the malignant effusions of party malevolence. Thus what was most valuable for Britain to hold was relinquished; and that which she could not possess without difficulty and

danger steadfastly maintained. Canada, which promised little, reserved; and the West-India Islands, from which we had every thing to hope, given up: A concession repugnant to every principle of prudence, and the reverse of every maxim of sound policy. Canada possessed by France, and the Floridas by Spain, would have been the best bond of security for the attachment of the British Colonies to their Parent State. Skirted on their continent by such powerful enemies, they must have remained *dependent* on Britain; or, at least the æra of their Independence been protracted beyond any conjectural time; While the additional influx of trade, and its concomitant wealth from the Islands, must have added strength to the power of Britain. The reverse conduct, however, governed our negociators, and every consequent effect has flowed from their mistaken policy; this, indeed, long before the commencement of hostilities with the Colonists was foretold by that able French General and politician Montcalm. It has often been observed of Britain, that what she gains by arms she loses by *art*; and that though she beat the French in the field, they overcome her in the closet; nor, indeed, was political prediction ever more truly verified than in this instance.

The Colonists were thus freed of their hostile neighbour, who kept them in continual alarms; and their thoughts were, therefore, diverted to other objects than security. Extended commerce unfolded its golden prospects to their view, and every encouragement was given them in its pursuit by Britain. But their harmony and mutual advantage in their relative connection boded too much good to the Empire to remain uninterrupted: Jealousy of its growing greatness, and unequalled prosperity, inflamed the powers of Europe; but while united, they knew them invulnerable by open attack; and therefore they attempted to compensate by art what their combined force could not effect by arms. France, still reeking in her wounds, and vindictive in her resentment, became most forward in this agency of Machivellian policy; and instead of acting the part of a great nation, meanly stooped to that of the Goddess of Discord, and most successfully threw her contaminated apple. In this she was too well aided by the rapacity of needy and impolitic Governors, whose imprudent measures gave unpopularity to those acts of Government that might otherwise have been accommodated to th
with

wishes of the Colonists ; who knowing how much they preponderated in the scale of Britain's greatness, presumed on their consequence ; and forgetful of the lavish bounties by which she had nurtured them to maturity, viewed her more in the light of a step than a natural mother. Every measure proposed was rejected, and every act magnified into a despotic edict : In vain was State-necessity urged—the tyrant's plea, said they, is the same. Indeed, there might be some justice in the allegation ; for in proportion to the obstinacy of the one increased the exaction of the other. To trace the causes of the war to the first public measure which excited discontent in the Colonies would be here unnecessary, as the Stamp Act will with more propriety be noticed in the course of the work. It may be necessary, however, to suggest the means which were used to inflame, and the arts fabricated to mislead. In the brief recapitulation of which we have no wish to revive animosities that are now healed, or repeat old grievances farther than as they serve for a clue to that period with which our History commences.

It is within the recollection of most, that the first appearances of disaffection were manifested in New England, though the artifices adopted to beget correspondent sentiments in the other Provinces may not be so generally known. New-England, notwithstanding its being the most unfertile in product of any part of the American continent, has ever been the most prolific in cabal ; inclined thereto from their strong anti-monarchical principles, and predilection in favour of republicanism. Pamphlets and handbills, replete with sophistry and sedition, were circulated by them with unremitting assiduity. The persecution that first caused the migration of their ancestors from Britain ingeniously touched upon, and insidiously represented ; while the fostering care and parental tenderness with which she reared them to power and prosperity, were slightly mentioned or disinclined ; that she had been more than repaid by their exclusive trade, though its profits had not equalled the bounties with which she encouraged them, and the war expences she had incurred on their account. It was urged that the religious persecution which had compelled them to seek an asylum beyond the Atlantic, Britain had in contemplation to renew under the pretext of necessary taxation, and by that means reduce them to an abject state of vassalage. They, indeed, the better to

mask their object, agreed to raise the aggregate sum required, but at the same time under such degrading restrictions, with respect to the mode, as rendered it incompatible with the honour, and too derogatory to the dignity of Britain to accept. Her refusal gave them every advantage they wished, inasmuch as it afforded those opportunities of misrepresentation best calculated to convert and inflame. But even here they did not rest; for, fearful lest the flame they had kindled should too speedily expire, the very Acts which passed in the British Senate were re-printed in Boston, but with such *alterations* and *additions* as they knew were best calculated to ferment the spirit of the people. The type, size, and every circumstance of resemblance, was so nicely attended to, that the most accurate eye might be deceived into a belief of their coming from the press of the King's Printer. It may be urged such forgery was open to detection. Admitted; it was so; but then it was so much out of the hacknied road of common deception, that no suspicion was entertained which could lead to the discovery. The genuine Acts sent over were but few in number to the purpose of their information, and those mostly fell into the hands of the very people who generated the idea, and substituted the fictitious ones in their stead. Our Governors had at first no thought of the subterfuge, and were therefore unprepared to repel its consequent effect, till the information was stamped beyond the reach of contradiction; the sword unsheathed, and the scabbard thrown away.—Such, among many others, were the artifices by which the minds of the people were alienated from their allegiance, fomented in their divisions, abetted in their struggles, and assisted in their necessities, by the joint co-operation of French politics and gold, long before the treacherous mask was torn off, and hostilities openly commenced.

If then, on the whole, as some violent partizans have asserted, America was lost through the inflexibility of the British Parliament, might it not with more than equal truth be retorted, that the Colonies were unlinked from their parental bond by the obstinacy of the American Congress;—For in no petition, remonstrance, or by whatever other name their addresses may be called, did they recede an iota from what they at first insisted on; every thing was required, but no particle of claim abandoned, no preliminary *relinquishment* admitted that embraced conciliation for its object.

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If, then, therefore, the British Senates were either right or wrong in the first instance, as no constitutional steps that could lead to legal investigation of the disputed rights were taken, such petitions were in reality but a mockery of their power, and insulting to their dignity, and consequently could not be taken cognizance of by them; since, however specious their pretext, they were calculated to widen the breach they purposed to heal. Or, if, as others have asserted, it turned merely upon the punctilio of who should concede first, the Parent State or the Colonies, it would be an insult to suppose any dispassionate and disinterested person would hesitate in saying, "The Offspring!" Inasmuch as it is far better to be without subjects, than possessed of such as will not be governed by the common laws of their country without coercion. They are now separated; and whether the Mother Country will be humiliated by their loss, or the States of America aggrandized by her Independence, in any degree equal to the prophetic predictions of some politicians, yet rests in the womb of time to discover.

We cannot conclude this introduction better than in the words of an historian, who, speaking of the part France took immediately after the peace of Paris, says, "The first steps she took were to employ her secret emissaries in spreading dissatisfaction among the British Colonists. Their importance was described in the most flattering colours, and their strength represented as an object of greater magnitude than the possessors seemed aware of. The partiality of Great-Britain to her own interests, in the various regulations of their commerce abroad, and administration at home, was depicted in the strongest light. No insinuations, in short, were wanting to excite a spirit of discontent throughout the Colonies, and to infuse a notion, that it would be highly for their interest to cast off all dependence, and to stand entirely upon their own ground, free from all the shackles and restraints with which they were at present loaded.

"These sentiments were far from unacceptable to a people already prepossessed in favour of that liberty which was so temptingly held out to their perceptions, and no less prejudiced against the prerogatives exercised over them in such a variety of shapes. They were in the situation of an individual bordering on manhood, and who beginning to feel his vigour, is no longer willing to submit to much controul.

"T

“ The effects produced by the machinations of the French, were precisely such as they had intended and expected. The disposition of the inhabitants of North America began gradually to alter from that warmth of attachment to the Mother Country which had so particularly characterized them. They began to view her rather in the light of a sovereign than of a parent, and to examine, with a scrupulous nicety, the nature of those ties that rendered them parts of her great empire.”

Thus briefly have we stated the arts used to produce the incidents that lead on to the dismemberment of the British Empire, and the emancipation of the American Colonies, by the Declaration of Independence—not from the bias of political prejudice, but as conceiving their notice essentially necessary to preface THE HISTORY OF THE WAR. In the prosecution of which we purpose that observance of impartiality which can alone give value to History; to record from known facts and authentic documents, rather than misrepresent from party-prejudice or spleenetic malevolence. Recollecting, that however close the connection, or tender the tie, formerly subsisting between the two countries may have been, they are now separate nations, with equal claims on the candour of the Historian. Viewing them in this light, and treating the subject in this manner, we doubt not of affording satisfaction to our Readers—treasuring in remembrance the energetic admonition of Shakespear—

——— *Nothing extenuate,
Nor set down aught in Malice.*

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H I S T O R Y
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L A T E W A R.

C H A P T E R I.

The Consequences of the Stamp Act ; with its Repeal.

AMERICA now sufficiently convinced of her own importance, was in a situation already ripe for revolt, when those measures took place in Great Britain.

The war that Great Britain had waged against the united strength of the House of Bourbon, though highly successful, had been equally expensive. The triumphs of our fleets and armies in so many parts of the world, had been purchased at an enormous price ; and both the blood and treasure of the nation had been profused to obtain them. The debts contracted by the nation in the support of the last and former wars, amounted to the amazing sum of one hundred and forty eight millions ; for which an interest of near five millions was

annually paid. These immense charges were born with a patience and equanimity not inferior to the spirit and resolution with which they had been incurred ; but they were a load under which the nation began to stagger.

Taxes of every denomination were levied upon the public. Every branch of business was examined ; and every channel of trade explored, in order to assuage them with their proportion of contributions.

After straining, apparently to their utmost bearing, the resources left at home, the idea was suggested of calling in the assistance of the Colonies, in a more direct and explicit manner than had hitherto been done.

As the late quarrel had been occasioned chiefly on their account

2 HISTORY OF THE LATE WAR.

and as they derived the great and principal benefits of the peace, it was thought equitable they should make some more than common returns for those advantages.

Their ability to contribute largely to the common exigencies, was deemed indubitable; but their willingness was no less called in question; and it was represented as an attempt full of danger, to make use of compulsion in case they should refuse.

Whatever might be the necessities of the mother country, the Colonies were fully persuaded that the sole and exclusive enjoyment of their whole trade, was a tax in itself more than proportionably adequate to all those that were levied upon the people of Great Britain.

This plea had undoubtedly its weight in the apprehension of all moderate and impartial people; but while they allowed the Colonists to alledge it as a reason for treating them with great lenity in the point of taxation, they did not, at the same time, imagine that it was a conclusive argument for their declining to afford any other kind of relief to the parent state.

England in securing to itself the exclusive trade of her Colonies, acted upon a principle adopted by all modern nations. She did no more than follow the example set before her by the Spaniards and Portuguese; but she followed it with a lenity to which the government in those nations is an utter stranger.

In planting these distant Colonies, she endowed them with every privilege enjoyed by her subjects at home: She left them at full liberty to govern themselves, and of framing such laws and regulations, as the wisdom of their own legislatures should point out as necessary for the good of the community over which they presided. In short, she gave them the amplest powers to provide for and pursue *their respective interests*, in the

manner they saw fit; reserving only the benefit of their trade, and of a political connection under the same sovereign.

The Colonies founded by France and Holland, and before them, by Portugal and Spain, did not experience the same indulgence. The two latter not only claimed the monopoly of their commerce, but governed them in many respects with a rod of iron: burthening them with an endless chain of vexatious regulations; cramping every exertion foreign to the views of the rulers at home, giving no encouragement but what tended directly and immediately to their own interest, and punishing severely whatever had a contrary tendency.

Though France and Holland did not adopt such oppressive maxims, yet they were, in fact, not much less strict and coercive. They sold, as it were the property of their Colonies to mercantile associations, which in order to make the most of their bargain, loaded them with every incumbrance that a monopolising spirit can suggest: selling to them the commodities of Europe at an enormous advance; taking the produce of their lands at the lowest prices they could compel them to receive; and discouraging the growth and cultivation of any more than they could dispose of at an unreasonable profit at home.

Such was for a length of time the unjust policy observed by France, in particular, towards her Colonies: the consequences perfectly corresponded with so absurd and barbarous a system. Her transmarine possessions long remained without any settled form or consistency; and never emerged to any state of prosperity; till taught by dear-bought experience, administration saw the necessity of taking them out of the hands of their monopolisers, and placing her Colonists on the footing of other subjects.

England

England never treated her Colonies in this ungracious, illiberal manner. Content with the general profits resulting from their trade, she left it open to every individual in her dominions. She did not confine it to particular ports, as in Portugal and Spain, nor give it up to the extortion of a company of merchants, as in Holland and France.

Thus her Colonists, notwithstanding some restrictions, possessed an immense stock in trade on their own account. Independently of the direct remittance of what grew on their lands, to the shipping that sailed from England to receive it, they carried on a large exportation of their domestic commodities, which, through the indulgence of the metropolis, was not confined to her sole harbours, but extended by judicious and well-timed regulations, to various parts of both hemispheres.

Hence the unreasonable gains so common in the sale of European merchandize, in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, were unknown to those belonging to Great Britain; where many articles were as cheap and some even cheaper than in England itself, through the expertness of men conversant with business, in the advantageous management of their stock.

No such thing is seen in the Spanish and Portuguese settlements; and but little of it in the French. Few trading vessels belong to the former, and those of an inconsiderable and diminutive size. The capital ships that visit their harbours, arrive from those of Portugal and Spain. Such is the narrow monopolizing disposition of both these countries, that they sail in fleets, under the command of officers commissioned by government, as if it dreaded to trust them to any other management. It is but lately the Court of Spain has altered some of her regulations in this particular.

A generosity was to be seen even in the restrictions of Great Britain, on the trade of her colonies, which evidently shewed they were not imposed in the wantonness of power; but with a design to repartition the exercise and profits of commerce among the various inhabitants of her wide-extended dominions.

While her subjects at home were free to trade to all parts of the world, the same permission in a numerous variety of articles, was granted to her colonists; the northern climes of Europe, and the East Indies only, were excepted. In Portugal, Spain, Italy, throughout the Mediterranean Sea, on the coasts of Africa, in all the American hemisphere, the vessels of the North American colonies enjoyed the most unbounded and lucrative commerce.

The encouragement given to this commerce was equally wise and beneficent. It tended in the directest manner to the improvement of their country, by increasing its commodities through an abundant exportation, and enabling them to clear and cultivate the soil, through the sure and constant sale of the vast quantity of timber for all kinds of uses, that accrued from the cutting down of their immense forests.

Beside these two advantages, both of a capital and essential nature, they possessed others hardly less beneficial. They carried rum and sugar, together with the produce of their fisheries, to every market within the above specified limits. These branches employed such a vast number of shipping, that the ports of those countries where they traded were continually visited, and often crowded with them.

True it is, that a number of articles were also appropriated to an importation into Great Britain exclusively; but when we duly consider this matter, it will be found that the very nature of the countries possessed by the Colonists, gave them sufficient or

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cupation at home, without rendering it any ways necessary for their prosperity, that they should employ themselves so much abroad, as the inhabitants of a soil occupied by a numerous people, and whose tillage had lasted for ages

It was reasonable, therefore, to allot them principally the task of clearing and cultivating the immense tracts they inhabit ; this would always prove a profitable business, and enable them to procure themselves, on their own bottom, a never-failing fund, from whence to supply all their wants, and to furnish, besides, a plentiful supply for the purposes of trade.

The proof of this is, that those places which are in the highest cultivation abound most in riches and people. The population of Pennsylvania, which was founded fifty years after some of the other colonies, bids fair, in time, to exceed them all.

In the mean time, the trade in those articles of which Great Britain hath reserved the benefit to herself, did not interfere with the main pursuit of the Colonists. This being chiefly the purchase of the conveniences of life, there was certainly no country where the Colonists could find them generally in greater, if so great perfection ; and, considering their intrinsic value, where they could find them cheaper.

Another consideration occurs, and that of the most material nature. The situation of the Colonies is such, that it often happens in their dealings abroad, that a long course of credit is necessary for them. This they can find nowhere but in England. The opulence of our merchants is so superior to those of any other country upon earth, that it enables them to wait for the returns of their trade, much beyond the time any others can afford.

Neither should it be forgotten, that the amplest liberty of trading in all *their reciprocal commodities*, subsisted

between North America and the English West Indies. This was a fund from whence they derived immense resources ; as it opened a channel through which they carried out a world of articles of their own produce, and received supplies not only for their own consumption, but for the demands of that extensive commerce which they carried on in so many parts of the globe.

Thus it appears, that notwithstanding the several restraints that took place on the American trade, enough was left to render them a rich and flourishing people. That they were such in reality, is well known to all who have the least acquaintance with that country. Its happiness was visible to all who visited it. If ever any country might have been styled the seat of human felicity, British North America most unquestionably deserved the appellation.

To say that no partialities existed in favour of Great Britain, would certainly be a violation of truth ; but let an unprejudiced man weigh in the scale of justice, the conduct observed by Great Britain towards her Colonies, and that which foreign states have pursued in respect to theirs, and then let him decide, which is the most consistent with humanity, justice, and policy.

The great complaint of America, was the discouragement of manufactures, by confining every province to the use of its own, and preventing the reciprocal importation of their respective fabrications. This, it cannot be denied, was a severe regulation ; but when we reflect, on the other hand, that most, if not all of the articles thus prohibited, could be purchased at a cheaper rate from England, the idea of severity naturally annexed to such a prohibition, is much diminished ; and it almost vanishes away on the additional consideration, that the hands thus employed would have been much more beneficially taken up

up, both in a public and in a private light, in the great and important business of agriculture, or of navigation.

It ought nevertheless, to be allowed, that to curb the disposition of a whole people towards any branch of industry or ingenuity, is a measure to which it cannot be expected that human nature will tamely submit. It is viewed as a species of affront to the understanding. The detriment that may possibly arise from the prohibition, is not so much resented as the prohibition itself.

As mankind, therefore, will generally bear oppression much more easily than insult, it is probable that the rigorous injunctions precluding the sale of any manufacture of their own make, beyond their provincial boundaries, appeared to the Americans as calculated to crush their native talents in the very infancy of their exertion, and to cut off the very hope of ever arriving at those advantages to which they were of right intitled.

Preventions of this nature are always the more odious, as they seem leveled at the abilities of a people, and designed as it were to keep them in a state of natural inferiority. For this reason, undoubtedly, they were esteemed a heavy grievance throughout the American colonies; and every individual conspired, as it were, as much as in him lay, to elude them.

It was probably owing to the discontent arising from regulations of this sort, that the liberality with which Great Britain acted in other instances, was overlooked. She not only abstained from the laying of duties on her own manufactures, but took off those on foreign articles when exported to America. Hence her conduct was very different from that of the other European states with regard to their colonists, whom they forced to receive such goods, loaded with all the duties they are charged within their own ports.

While this indulgence lasted, goods of foreign fabrication were often considerably lower in price, in some of the colonies, than in some parts of Europe itself.

It was not, therefore, without great murmurs and complaints in the Colonies, that a cessation of this indulgence took place immediately after the war. They looked upon this measure as a prelude to others still more disagreeable; and began to think that Great Britain meant to try how far she might render them subservient to her convenience, and to what extent she might do it without endangering her own interests.

They were full of these ideas when the British Ministry, alarmed at the amazing increase of smuggling, and the prodigious losses it occasioned to the revenue, took the resolution to use every possible effort in order to prevent it. To this intent, which in itself was perfectly just and reasonable, a scheme was proposed and embraced, which proved highly pernicious in its consequences, and rendered the remedy much worse than the disease.

A number of armed cutters were stationed around the coasts of Great Britain, to the commanders of which the strictest orders were issued to act in the capacity of revenue officers. They were enjoined to take the usual Custom-house oaths, and to observe the regulations prescribed by them.

Never was a more ignominious duty imposed upon men of gallantry and spirit. It sunk the brave and enterprising seaman into a mere tide-waiter. That eagerness and zeal which had been employed in the search and attack of an enemy, was now exercised in the discovery and seizure of prohibited goods; and the courage which they had displayed in the service of their country was now directed against their fellow subjects.

Had these unwise measures, however, been confined at home, the evils they

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they produced would have been so much circumscribed, that on due experience of them, they might in time have been obviated; but as one wrong step is generally productive of others, the same unfortunate spirit that planned them for the coast of Britain, extended them to the shores of America.

The outcry was great against them in England; but in America it was outrageous. As it could not be supposed that gentlemen bred in the naval service were conversant in the laws and usages of the Custom-house, they were often guilty of infringing them. Remedies were at hand in England; but in America it was difficult, and in some cases almost impracticable to obtain redress, from the tediousness of forms, and the distance of places.

To this grievance, which weighed heavy throughout a country where much liberty of trade had been suffered and connived at, another quickly succeeded, no less if not more obnoxious to the trading part of the community.

A lucrative branch of commerce had, for more than a century, been carried on between the British islands in the West Indies; and the Spanish settlements on the vast continent of South America: it had for many years been largely participated by the North American colonies. It was a commerce of the clearest gain and benefit to the British trader; it consisted in a prodigious exchange of all kinds of British commodities for the precious metals.

Sensible that the advantages lay entirely on the side of Great Britain, and was ruinous to the interests of Spain, that monarchy had always opposed this commerce with all its might. Guarda-costas were commissioned to scour the wide extended coasts of her American dominions, and to seize every vessel that approached too near them; a task

which they executed with such indiscriminate licence, that it provoked the war which broke out between Great Britain and Spain, in one thousand seven hundred and thirty-nine.

But though this commerce was in direct opposition to the orders of Spain, and could not therefore be considered as strictly legal, it certainly was not the business of Great Britain to prevent it. The new system, however, adopted by the British ministry, was pursued as if a convention had been made with the Spanish Court for that very purpose. The British cruisers acted as if they had received their commissions from Spain, and were to be rewarded by her for destroying this commerce. They did it effectually; and in a short space of time it was almost wholly annihilated. This to the Northern Colonies was a deprivation of the most serious nature. This traffic had long proved the mine from whence they drew those supplies of gold and silver, that enabled them to make copious remittances to England, and to provide a sufficiency by current specie at home. It gave life to business of every denomination, by the facility with which payments were made. A proportionable increase of trade kept pace with this readiness of cash, and a reciprocal circulation of money and merchandise was established, to the benefit of all parties concerned.

A sudden stop being thus put to this prosperous career, all America felt it to its vitals, and broke out in the loudest complaints against the servile complaisance of Britain to Spain: and the ill policy of disobliging its own subjects to humour foreigners.

Their complaints were justly founded; but the evil star of Britain began to predominate: the Ministry continued in the resolutions they had taken; and, as if these had not done
sufficient

Insufficient mischief, they followed them with others no less offensive to the Americans.

In the Session of Parliament of March, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four, a bill was framed, laying heavy duties on the articles imported into the Colonies from the French and other islands in the West Indies; and ordering these duties to be paid in specie into the Exchequer of Great Britain.

The injustice and absurdity of this new law, both of which were equally glaring, excited afresh the murmurs of the Colonists. They represented, in the strongest terms, how inconvenient it was, after depriving them of the means of obtaining specie, to insist upon their paying those duties into the British Treasury in specie alone. But that which perplexed and incensed them more than all the rest, was the bill passed in the same session, to restrain the currency of paper money in the Colonies.

These new regulations were objects of equal surprize and displeasure to the people of North America. It was a scheme to them, in some respect, entirely new; as notwithstanding various laws had, from time to time, been enacted, regarding their commercial intercourse, they had usually been made at considerable intervals, and did not wear that appearance of restraint and coercion, nor weigh upon them in the manner of the present. Spirited remonstrances were sent home, pleading their cause in the language of men who think themselves ill used, and are determined to obtain redress. They laid every argument before the Ministry, that ingenuity, prompted by interest, could furnish them with; they reasoned, they expostulated; in short, they used every method that could be employed, to prevail upon the ruling powers to recall what they had done. They explicitly mentioned, that such restraints upon their trade were in-

admissible in America, as they directly tended to put an end to the clearing of their lands, and the prosecution of their fisheries. Unless those foreign ports where they deposited the surplus of their corn, and of the provisions of all kinds abounding in their country, were freely opened to them, whither must they carry them? The British West India islands could not alone consume them; and Britain did not want them. They must dispose of them somewhere; and that could be only where an equitable price might be had.

When they found that their remonstrances were ineffectual, they began to use more efficacious means. They now, for the first time, united in a general opposition to the British Ministry. Meetings were held, and resolutions were taken to make no further importations from Great Britain of what was not of absolute necessity; and to encourage to the utmost of their power, every species of manufacture that was practicable among them. Multitudes immediately concurred in this resolution, to the great detriment of the British manufacturers, who were not sparing of their disapprobation of the ministerial measures.

Ministry, however, were proof against all opposition; and proceeded gradually in the execution of their projects. In order, therefore, to mix lenity with firmness, they passed several acts favourable to the commerce of the Colonies, hoping thereby to soothe them into a submission to those that had given them so much disgust.

But the Colonists were now become so full of suspicions, and placed so little reliance on the good will of the Ministry, that their whole attention was taken up in devising means to thwart their measures. They paid little regard to these concessions, which they looked upon as a mere artifice, used only to decoy them into security and inattention to their own interests. They were further confirmed in this belief,

printed with a death's-head affixed to it, in lieu of the king's arms — It was cried about the streets, and filed "The Folly of Britain, and the Ruin of America." These first effusions of resentment and rage, were followed by numberless attacks from the public paper. They arraigned both the justice and policy of the tax; and represented it as repugnant to the dignity and wisdom of the British nation, and as pregnant with every evil that could cause a long and deep repentance. Emblems of the most hostile signification were at the same time adopted by sundry news papers: — One of them, in particular, exhibited the figure of a snake, cut in several pieces, each one inscribed with the name of some Colony: the motto above them was "JOIN OR DIE!"

At the same time the act itself was treated with the most ignominious contempt. It was publicly committed to the flames in several places by the enraged populace, together with the effigies of such as were imagined to have been its framers and promoters. Ships that arrived with stamped papers on board, were obliged to deliver them up into custody of persons appointed to prevent their being used; or to enter into an engagement that they would not land them. The only places where they could be effectually protected from the fury and insolence of the multitude, were in men of war, and garrisons. The persons who were commissioned to distribute these papers, were all, without exception compelled to resign their office, and solemnly promise never to resume it. But their chief resentment was directed against such of their own countrymen as sided with Government, and were active in assisting its authority. — They plundered their houses, destroyed their property, and used their persons with the utmost indignity.

These outrages perpetrated by the lower classes, the better sort did not in the least interfere to prevent. They

saw with secret pleasure, how well they would be supported in the determination they had formed to resist the designs of Great-Britain. Some of them did not scruple to signify in a public manner, that they would pay no taxes, but such as were laid upon them by the legislature of their respective province. The Assemblies themselves connived, in fact, at these tumultuous proceedings, by declining to assist their Governors, and other officers invested with lawful authority, either with their advice or countenance. They left them to act singly, as they might think proper, without giving themselves any concern about the riots, those who excited them, or such as were the sufferers.

From silent spectators they soon became the principal actors, in the more interesting and important scenes that succeeded to those popular commotions. Emboldened by what they saw, and what they daily heard from all parts of the continent, as well as from Great Britain, they now stepped forth, and resolutely avowed their sentiments in the face of the world. They openly declared that the authority assumed over North America was illegal; and that Great Britain, had no right to impose taxes upon them, without their own free consent. In these resolves the various colonies were unanimous. Never had such concurrence of sentiment appeared among them upon any antecedent occasion. Though differing in a number of essential points, both civil and religious, there was no dissenting voice among them in their opposition to the designs of the British ministry.

Virginia was the first to begin the work of open and formal denial to the requisitions of the mother country. It declared fully and explicitly, that the General Assembly of the Province, together with the King of Great Britain, or his substitute, had, in their representative capacity, the sole and exclusive right and power to lay taxes

and impositions upon the inhabitants; and that every attempt to vest such power in any other persons but those constituting the General Assembly, was illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust. The resolutions of the other Provinces ran much in the same strain, and bore evident marks of the most rooted and inflexible determination to abide by them, at all events, and to stop at no measures that might become necessary to support and enforce them.

To give efficacy to these resolutions, and to make the people in Britain feel more readily the consequences of their dissatisfaction, the merchants and traders entered publicly into reciprocal agreements to order no more goods from Great-Britain, nor even to permit the sale of such as might be consigned to them, after the expiration of the present year. And in order to supply the deficiency of British goods, they betook themselves to a regular encouragement of all sorts of domestic manufactures. An association was formed for this purpose at New York, and through the premiums it offered, quickly excited the industry of the numerous emigrants that had in the course of the preceding years resorted to America from all parts of Europe. Fabrications were set on foot of such commodities as could not be dispensed with; and, in a little time, quantities of the coarsest and commonest sorts were brought to market, and cheerfully preferred to the British, though dearer, and of an inferior quality.

At the same time, their zeal and care to provide abundantly for the execution of this scheme, was such, that a resolution was taken to abstain from eating of lamb, that no wool might be wanting for the use of those manufactures of which it was the chief material. Elegancies of British make and importation, were now universally laid aside: the women did not yield to the men in these instances of self-

denial; and were as exemplary in refusing every article of decoration for their persons, and of luxury for their tables.

This remarkable revolution in the disposition and behaviour of its colonies, struck the British government with the deepest alarm. They beheld multitudes of artificers, of all denominations, on the point of being reduced to the most deplorable distress. They saw our flourishing manufactories in danger of immediate destruction. The colonies were computed to take off annually, full three millions worth of its produce. The loss of so considerable a branch of trade, was an idea not to be born with patience; and yet to persist in the system of colony taxation, must inevitably occasion it, with perhaps, more fatal consequences. While disagreeable tidings were daily arriving from America, the ministry so obnoxious to its inhabitants, were dismissed, and another appointed in its room, whose inclinations and politics were more favourable to their wishes. Their provincial Assemblies in order to give more weight to their determinations, resolved to hold a general congress of all the colonies, wherein they might form such an union as might render them more respectable, and add more strength and weight to the opinions they should adopt among themselves, and to the representations they intended to transmit to the British Parliament. This was carried into execution in the beginning of October following, at New York; in which city was held the first Congress of the American continent.

This general meeting of the colonies, was conformable in their proceedings to the respective assemblies. They agreed exactly in the same resolutions, and seconded them with petitions to the King and both Houses of Parliament; wherein they set forth the impropriety of laying taxes upon them without their consent, and supplicated for a redress of the grievances

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ces that must ensue from the continuation of the Stamp Act. These petitions the Americans flattered themselves, would meet with more attention from the present, than from the late ministry; and herein they were not deceived.

On the meeting of Parliament, in January, sixty-six, the transactions upon the American continent during the preceding year, became the subject of the most serious consideration, and occasioned a multiplicity of debates and arguments. Nor were the discussions without doors less earnest and animated.

The propriety and necessity of repealing the Stamp Act, was strongly insisted upon by one party. Its inequitableness, impracticability, and, above all, its impolicy, were asserted with an infinite variety of reasonings.

The unanimity with which it had been resisted, was represented in the strongest colours. Traders of the lowest degree, shopkeepers, and the commonest retailers, had agreed to drop all business sooner than transact it with the use of stamps. Professions, the very existence of which depended on the continual use of them, had thrown up their means of subsistence, sooner than employ them. This was remarkably applicable to the law gentlemen, who had, upon this critical occasion, exhibited a rare example of disinterestedness. So little was the stamp act regarded by the Americans, that they had universally agreed to carry on their usual business without it; and so dreaded was their resentment against all who should give it the least countenance, that on the day appointed for the act to take place, not a sheet of stamped paper was to be had throughout the colonies. The governors of the colonies themselves, convinced of the unsurmountable difficulties in the execution of it, had wisely given the matter up, and granted certificates to those who applied for

them, of the impossibility of procuring stamped papers.

These arguments were followed by others of still more force, in the opinion of those who adduced them. It was urged that in some of the most considerable places of America, the inhabitants had resolved that no remittances should be made to England, nor any suit for debt on the part of a resident in England be admitted in any court, until the abrogation of this act. A resolution was also threatened of stopping the exportation of tobacco to Great Britain, from Virginia and the contiguous provinces; a measure, which if carried into execution, must cut off the immense sum accruing to her revenue from this article, and the vast benefits arising from its re-exportation to other parts of Europe.

Other reasons were also alledged for acting with a gentle hand towards the Americans. Coolness and prudence pointed out lenient methods as far more deserving of notice than such as inculcated force and compulsion. Taxation and representation, it was affirmed, went hand in hand in all equitable governments. They were inseparable from the principles of the British Government. The dutiful behaviour of the Colonists on many emergencies, was no less carefully specified. The readiness they shewed in the last war was mentioned in the highest terms of applause. The zeal with which they had at all times espoused the cause of Great Britain, was exemplary, as well as the willingness they had manifested in the contribution of supplies, whenever called upon to do it in a fair and legal manner. Their commerce alone, in the manner it was regulated by Great Britain, was agreeably to their own assertion, represented as equivalent to the greatest and most productive taxes. The incessant increase of that alone was an inexhaustible treasure, which

would not fail, in time, to ease the parent state of many, if not most of those heavy burdens under which it now laboured.

With such arguments did the friends of the the Colonists defend their cause, both by speeches in Parliament, and by publications dispersed amongst the public.

The stamp act was no less strenuously supported. Its advocates reprobated the speculative strain of reasoning which carries men out of the safe and clear road of practice, into the intricacies of mere theory. To these they imputed the unhappy altercation concerning the right of imposing taxes upon the Colonies, and the notions daily propagated of the injustice of levying money from the subject without his direct and formal consent. The various nations that have planted colonies were, said they, utterly unacquainted with such pretensions in their colonists, as were assumed by those belonging to Great Britain. They not only expected them to conform to the ancient laws of the mother country, but even to accept implicitly of those which she might judge proper to enact for them in particular. But allowing the British colonies be fully entitled to the rights of British subjects, it could only be in those cases where individuals are concerned in their private capacity, or the local business of the province is agitated. Where the interests of the whole empire come under discussion, the metropolis, as being the supreme head, must be allowed to decide; otherwise there is an end of that unity which constitutes, and is necessary for the existence of a state. As the Colonies could not, and did not claim a share in that decision, it appertained, of course, to Great Britain; and the only question was, whether, in thus deciding on the general concerns of that immense community of which she was indisputably the head, she had acted with wisdom and propriety. In

order to shew that Great Britain had not deviated from her usual justice and moderation, it was observed, that the condition of the Colonies was prosperous in the highest degree: ease and plenty might be accounted the peculiar attributes of the country they inhabited. All hands were continually employed, and were abundantly paid for the work they did: that the public expences they were at for the support of their government were moderate in a degree hardly conceivable, when their vast extent is taken into consideration. From the northernmost limits of New Hampshire, to the southern confines of Georgia, a space of near fifteen hundred miles, the sum expended for the maintenance of all the different civil establishments in that immense tract, did not amount to fourscore thousand pounds a year. Their church government might be deemed no sort of expence, when compared with that of England. Tithes and sinecures were unknown; and that heavy burden, the poor's rate, never was felt among them. Protection, the great tie between government and its subjects, they had always experienced in the most ample degree. They never had recourse to great Britain in the day of need, without obtaining the readiest and most effectual assistance. Whether it was needed for their defence against an enemy, or to forward their domestic improvements, it was always granted with a liberal hand. It was noticed at the same time, that a particular species of protection was afforded them; such as the colonies of no other nation can be said to enjoy. This was the constant course of credit given them by Great Britain, without which they never could have risen to that pitch of internal opulence which so justly excited the admiration of all who had seen it. When this was duly considered, the tax imposed on the Colonies could hardly be viewed in any other light than of a moderate interest for the prodigious sums they were indebted

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indebted to Great Britain, amounting, at the lowest computation, to four millions sterling. As to the plea of their deficiency in gold and silver, it was alledged to be partly, if not altogether voluntary. The precious metals may be considered as an instrument, or as an object of trade: As the first, wherever they can be dispensed with they will certainly not be employed, and will be reserved for occasions that absolutely require them. As the second, they will always give way to objects of greater necessity. The Colonists, who are incessantly embarking in extensive schemes, will always part with them whenever the advantages they procure are much greater than those arising from their retention, for the mere purposes of circulation. As they are only the signs of riches, wherever a substitute can be found to answer that end, it then becomes prudence to use them immediately as objects of trade and to convert them into such materials as will of themselves be of actual service and utility; the precious metals being seldom any more than a bare medium to these ends. The consequence, therefore, of exacting remittances from them in specie, would probably be no more than inducing them to take some part of the balance in their favour, originating from their extensive trade, in current specie, as many nations are glad to do. This, when the smallness of the sum to be levied upon them was considered, would prove but a very inconsiderable check upon their commercial schemes.

They affirmed, the hardship they so bitterly complained of, that of being taxed without their consent, for purposes about which they were not consulted was groundless and nugatory. The money demanded of them, was for their immediate service; no intention ever was surmised, to appropriate it to any other purpose: it was required of them merely as their contingent for the general exigencies of the

empire; of which the surest knowledge, and consequently the most skilful repartition must always rest with Great Britain, as the supreme seat of political direction, and the main spring of every motion where the universal interest of the whole was concerned.

Emigrations from the British islands were not, it was suggested, made with a view in the emigrators, to sever themselves from the sovereignty of Britain: they went forth merely to better their circumstances under the guardianship, as it were, of the mother-country: they had constantly an eye to her protective care: they relied upon it; and it was under the imperial banner of Great Britain, one may truly say, that they made themselves respected, and became strong and flourishing. Long usage militated for the prerogative claimed by the British government. The Colonists, ever since their first foundation, had peaceably submitted to the jurisdiction of the ruling powers at home, throughout all the various changes and revolutions that had successively taken place in Britain, during the last and present century. In all cases of intricacy, where they could not obtain a permanent decision among themselves, and such as parties would sufficiently respect to admit as final, they constantly had recourse to the Privy Council in England, and abided by its determination without any further dispute; notwithstanding it acted on these occasions entirely according to the spirit or letter of the English laws, as appeared most equitable; and by no means in conformity to those that prevailed in the colonies. This right of acting as umpire, was an incontestible proof that the Colonies had always considered this country as intrinsically possessed of an authority paramount, and superior to their own; which was still more strongly exemplified by their punctually recurring to it in the frequent disputes about their respective boundaries.

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boundaries, and in the many other differences that had, from time to time, arisen between the provinces from various causes, all which had been invariably submitted to the judgment of the parent state.

They further argued that this practice of constantly appealing to the powers at home, constituted in itself an indubitable evidence both of the justice and propriety of acknowledging the supremacy of Great Britain over the Colonies. It shewed that it never had been questioned, and what merited not the attention of the Colonies, that it was absolutely requisite, for the preservation of tranquillity and good order throughout the American settlements, where endless jars and contentions would necessarily ensue, without the interposition of a sovereign court to prevent or pacify them.

But there was still another consideration of which the inhabitants in the colonies did not seem aware. The government over them was delegated; and the conduct of their governors and ruling men subject to revival and censure at home. This rendered the condition of individuals much more easy, from the consciousness of obtaining redress in case of ill usage, than if those who ruled over them were accountable to no superior tribunal. The weight of government was hereby diminished, in proportion as they who exercised it, were amenable to a still higher court. Would the Americans, renounce the solid advantages they now enjoyed, for a mere appellat^{ion}? the price of this would be much greater than they apprehended. Were they to disclaim the authority of the parent state, and take upon them the risk of standing on their own ground, at a distance from the shelter and assistance of Great Britain, they would soon experience an oppressive alteration at home, and a mortifying difference abroad. Instead of that quiet and undisturbed

enjoyment of the gains of their industry, which was now their peculiar lot, they would then be loaded with those manifold burthens which all states must submit to, that aspire at making a figure of importance and respectability. Impositions of every kind would follow such a measure. In lieu of that moderate income, which now sufficed for the purposes of a government of which the demands were but small, they would then have a rank and title to support, a national dignity to maintain, and a complication of interests to defend. All this would require large revenues, and would soon teach them the disparity of trade carried on without domestic incumbrances, and guarded in all parts of the world by a powerful protector, and a commerce liable to perpetual exactions on a variety of accounts, and whose profits must necessarily have immense subtractions for the current and indispensable service of the state. While their internal prosperity met with these unavoidable obstructions, they must not imagine that their affairs would flow in the same easy channel abroad as heretofore. They well knew that nations are, like individuals, treated with complaisance or with roughness, according to the means they possess of returning benefits, or of resenting injuries. The respect they now met with throughout the various quarters of the world where they carried on their trade, was in consequence of the respect which the power and influence of Great Britain commanded all over the globe. When once the nations are apprized of a separation between them, and that Great Britain no longer interests herself in their behalf, they will inquire into the nature of their establishment, and scrupulously measure the extent of their power, before they decide among themselves, upon what footing to consider them. Nor ought the Americans to flatter themselves that this examination of their strength

and condition would be slight and superficial; they, to whom such a task would be committed, must be careful for their own sakes to acquit themselves with diligence and exactness; and they will be furnished with sufficient means. The world is no longer in those unenlightened times, when from the general discussion of ignorance and barbarity, knowledge was difficult to obtain. The speedy communication subsisting between all cultivated nations, soon renders them thoroughly known to each other, whenever it becomes requisite to make such investigations. Whatever lists the Americans may hold out for the inspection of foreigners, these will not be long in discovering, that with all their exaggerations, and notwithstanding the pains taken to represent them as a numerous people, in the immense tracts they occupy along a coast extended fifteen degrees of latitude from the north east to the south west, there does not exist above one million seven hundred thousand white inhabitants, even according to their own account, which is well known to be calculated to impress the world with a much greater opinion of their strength, than is justly founded. The proportions established by political writers, allow three parts in four of this number to consist of women and children; and of the remaining fourth one half may reasonably be reputed, through age, infirmity, and the various accidents concomitant on nature, incapable of taking an active part in the defence of their country. Thus the men able to bear arms will amount to little more than two hundred and fourteen thousand.

If it be allowed that this number will suffice to guard their coasts, repel invasions, and supply the many other calls of civilized society, it is granted as much as can be expected; many will probably think more than ought to be done, considering the *prodigious extent of the coast*, the

perpetual interfection of mighty rivers running, at short intervals from each other, and dividing the provinces in such a manner, as to render it easy for an enemy to cut off their mutual communication. Add to this the boundless regions lying behind them, inhabited by a fierce and yet unsabdued foe; between whom and them an everlasting enmity must subsist, whose inveteracy is animated by every motive that can actuate the heart of man, and fill it with irreconcilable, and at the same time, with well-grounded hatred.

Even supposing them well provided for home defence, in what manner will they, with so slender a population, be adequate to any considerable exertions abroad? Vessels may be easily equipped for the purposes of trade; but the manning of a fleet is a task of serious magnitude: none but opulent states, well stocked with riches and inhabitants, are equal to such an undertaking. Whatever the future destiny of the Colonies may be, their condition at present does not permit them to cherish any reasonable expectations of becoming, before a length of time, formidable at any distance from their own country.

Consequences the most disagreeable will ensue. The states of Europe, standing in little awe of their displeasure, will not treat them with that complaisance, nor shew them that favour they will possibly require at their hands. They will seize those pretences to make them pay largely for commercial advantages, which are so readily found when easy to enforce; nor will they, at the same time, express much readiness in procuring them compensation for the injuries they may justly complain of. The remoteness of their situation from Europe will always prevent that speedy communication with those powers in confederacy with them, which is so requisite, and often so critical in a political correspondence.

Transactions

Transactions may happen of which the quickest intelligence is absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of the ends proposed by a connection with them. Hence it will not arise from policy, so much as good fortune, that alliance with them may prove beneficial.

European politics are too far off for Americans to mix in them with any regularity of co-operation. Nature interposes with an immense ocean, and bids them, as it were, to rest contented with a commercial communication, without becoming parties in feuds, by which they have nothing to gain, and much to lose.

It would be wiser, therefore, for the Colonies to remain in a gentle subjection to Great Britain, which, for its own sake, will never lay a heavy hand upon them, than to trust to the precarious friendship of other nations. These, without the same motives of condescendence to their disposition, will involve them in difficulties, in which they will leave them, on any prospect of convenience to themselves, to combat and surmount without affording them any assistance; however, absolutely requisite, or solemnly stipulated. Self-interest on those occasions will stifle all other considerations; and those ties of consanguinity and reciprocal affection that unite Great Britain to her colonies, now subsisting between these and their new allies, connections will be formed and dissolved betwixt people situated at such a distance, with equal inconsiderateness and facility.

The casting off the connection with the parent state, appearing so evidently impolitic it was to be hoped, for the happiness of the colonies, that they would open their eyes to the dangers they would run by embracing so fatal a measure, which would certainly tend to throw them successively into the hands of powers not more inimical to Great Britain, than eager to make them subservient to their own

selfish ends, and ready to sacrifice them the moment these were attained. If it behoved the Colonies to attach themselves cordially to Great Britain, it was no less incumbent on them to place that confidence in her wisdom, which men should in prudence do in those they have chosen for their chiefs. Great Britain is, by her position, placed, as it were, on an eminence from whence she surveys every part of the British empire. She perceives objects at an immense distance, which the inferior station of her dependencies cannot discover: they must necessarily depend upon her vigilance for information; and must, of course, be guided by her direction.

The provincial assemblies, while they acknowledge themselves subordinate to the British government, must, in reason, trust to her management in all the great affairs of state. Unacquainted with the intrigues that agitate the courts of Europe, and ignorant of the secret designs that are lurking in the cabinets of ministers, they are not competent to the business of obviating difficulties, and warding off dangers. This is the duty of sovereigns and their ministers: they alone have the means of penetrating into the recesses of politics, and of unravelling that clue of dark measures wherein the intentions of statemen are hidden: sagacity alone is not sufficient to effect this; other methods must be employed, such as apply to the passions of men, and such as princes and their delegates are most expert in using. The proportional strength of every member of an empire, is only known to its head. Beyond the limits of its own jurisdiction, no colony was able to pronounce, with any certainty, on the real situation of any province in the empire. Every one reserved the documents that led to this knowledge for the inspection of ministry at home, who alone knew their respective circumstances, and could form a proper idea

of the measures to be adopted for the relative benefit of all : A duty which had hitherto been performed by Great Britain with the universal approbation of the Colonies, and to the admiration of all Europe. Her judiciousness and foresight in the treatment of them were unexampled, and had raised them to a summit of felicity which no other colonies had ever attained.

It was the height of injustice therefore, to condemn the steps she had recently taken, before a fair trial had been given it : Probably the wisdom of it might, upon experience, be found equal to any preceeding regulations.

The injunctions of Great Britain, though reaching to a multitude of cases, and comprehending every breach of commerce and administration, had always till now been received with all deference and respect : no cavils nor questions had arisen concerning her right and authority to frame them. As emanating from the supreme seat of legislative power, they were duly submitted to ; and no suspicions were harboured for their being fraught with an oppressive tendency. Restrictions and confinements in every branch of trade, were necessary for the benefit of all traders in general : they were a partial evil, to which they all submitted for the universal good. In England, various limits are assigned to several branches : the conviction of their utility silences all complaint ; and they are admitted by all parties, however they may appear repugnant to their immediate interest. By the same rule, the limitations that accompanied the American trade, by circumscribing it within certain bounds, gave it a body and strength which it would probably lose, were it suffered to range at large without any controul : such an indiscriminate licence, instead of assisting the progress of trade, might create such a competition between the mother-country and its dependencies, as would in

time end, if not in the destruction, at least in the insensibility of the trade of both.

The fable of the dog was here peculiarly applicable to the Colonists. They may be truly said to have snatched at the shadow and let go the substance. They enjoyed under the present system a multitude of advantages, which were daily increasing. They had no reason to repine at the superiority of Great Britain ; they had hitherto received no injury from it ; they had on the contrary, found it a necessary friend on every trying occasion. A striking proof that it was not a superiority of real and internal happiness, appeared in the comparative condition of the inhabitants of the mother country, and those of its colonies. Here no wretchedness was known ; every man in the emphatic phrase of scripture, lived under his figtree and his vine ; hunger and nakedness kept a distance, and no mendicants were seen throughout the land. But was it so in Britain ? How happy, could the answer be made in the affirmative. The superiority, therefore, in the parent state, was a superiority of strength and efforts to guard and defend all its dependencies. Great Britain had so thoroughly exerted itself in the discharge of this important duty, that she had thereby brought herself almost to the brink of ruin. True it was, that in the prosecution of it, she had raised herself to the highest pitch of glory ; but in that all her colonies had a share : the lustre she had obtained, was powerfully reflected upon them ; and they experienced both the honours and the benefits of being members of the British empire, while she alone paid the immense price of all this glory.

In this manner were the arguments on both sides supported on this memorable occasion. Never was more eloquence displayed than by the speakers on each side of this important question.

It was considered respectively as the cause of America on the one hand, and of Great Britain on the other; and was accordingly pleaded by both parties with a warmth and ability worthy of so great a subject. The debates lasted two months, when the act was repealed.

The framers of the bill, however, condemned this repeal, as an instance of weakness in the ministry, and as a heartless submission to the pleasure of the colonies, whose pretensions would now increase, when they saw that a dread of their power, and a fear of disobliging them, began to operate in Britain. The idea of their inability to pay the tax required, they represented, as totally false and groundless. As a proof of their flourishing circumstances, it was specified, that of the debt they had contracted during the late war, near eighteen hundred thousand pounds had been discharged in the course of only three years; and that they had provided funds for the discharge of their remaining incumbrances, of this nature, amounting to between seven and eight hundred thousand pounds, in the space of two years more. A circumstance which plainly evinced their ability to levy the sum exacted by the stamp act, which was, in truth, a very moderate imposition, and was not expected to exceed the sum of one hundred thousand pounds annually.

It was replied, that notwithstanding these appearances, the Americans were already loaded as much as they could bear; that the very discharging of the sums above mentioned, was a very heavy weight upon them, and should be considered as a just argument for not exacting more at the present; that in the mean time the regulations made by the late ministry, were greatly felt, and operated in the nature of a large tax, though not formally laid upon them as such.

It was further asserted that the representations brought up from all

parts of the kingdom, were undeniable proofs of the detriment that had been already caused, and would continue to its manufactories, if that act remained in force. That it was more consistent, therefore with policy and with humanity to repeal it, than to involve Great Britain in a quarrel for so insignificant a consideration as the eventual produce of a stamp act, and to suffer so many thousands of industrious and ingenious individuals to want subsistence.

It was likewise furnished that other substantial causes might be assigned for the readiness shewn to comply with the request of the Colonies. The House of Bourbon, though silent, was not inactive in strengthening the bonds of its reciprocal compact. The disgraces and humiliations that had been heaped upon her in the late war, could never be obliterated from her remembrance. There was no doubt that she would seize the first opportunity that offered, to take the most signal vengeance on the British nation; and who could tell whether she was not only watching how she might improve, but whether she had not secretly excited the present disturbances between Great Britain and her colonies. The suspicious behaviour of the French was adduced, in withholding the payment of the Canada bills so faithfully promised at the conclusion of the peace, together with the affected delays of the Spanish Court in putting off the settlement of the Manilla ransom. Both these were objects wherein the national honour was essentially concerned: the conduct of those powers was inexcusable; and it was not probable they would venture to act in so slighting a manner, were they not convinced that difficulties would shortly arise, to prevent Great Britain from insisting upon their doing her complete justice.

With respect to the weakness and submission of the ministry to the Colonies, it was answered that a disco-

very of error should be followed by an immediate receding from it, without consulting the prejudices of false honour. Every step had been taken in order to arrive at the reality of the situation of America, and every man had been consulted whose knowledge and experience of that country intitled him to credit. After examinations and consultations upon the minutest circumstances relating to every British colony in America, the result had been, that the laying on the stamp act was a measure equally ill timed and ill advised. There was not at this present day sufficient means for the people there to comply with the terms specified by the act. Wealth they undoubtedly had; but it did not consist of gold and silver in the same proportion as they are found in other countries: to levy the payment of this tax in the manner proposed, would occasion more distress among them than was conceivable in England, where the plenty of the precious metals enabled every body to have some share of them. Other material objections were also alledged against the carrying of this act into execution. The people in the colonies thought themselves treated with great unusual severity by the various ordinances relative to their trade, that had taken place previous to the stamp act: As they had been rigorously enforced, and were at the same time deemed highly injudicious and oppressive by the people of England as well as of America, these were the more deeply exasperated at them; and were not therefore in a disposition to receive fresh burdens with the same willingness they had formerly testified. To have recourse to compulsion would prove bad policy; it would indispose them still further, and be the means of still greater oppression than the former, without answering perhaps the intended end; as in so extensive a country, where towns and habitations are often

at a great distance and the inhabitants thinly scattered, they would by various ways be able to elude the payment of the tax. An imposition therefore, that came accompanied with so many difficulties in the execution, and produced so much ill blood, did not deserve support. The sooner it was repealed, the sooner the mischiefs, it had already produced, would be repaired and forgotten.

Intemperate proceedings were imputed to the Colonists; that they had acted with an unbecoming degree of warmth, and treated with indecency the lawful commands and authority of the mother-country. This was a harsh accusation to be levelled indiscriminately upon a whole people collectively. True it was, that among the lower sort instances of heat and violence had happened, which could not be excused; but they were not approved by the better. A mob is no where to be contained within bounds. What tumults had lately been frequent in England, even in the metropolis, at the very doors of Parliament, in the presence of Majesty itself? Were the military to be let loose on this account; and was an undistinguished punishment to be inflicted on the innocent as well as the guilty? Such measures might be consistent with the principles of some of the despotic courts on the European continent, but were by no means admissible in a country of freedom, such as Britain; where it was justly presumed, the majority of the natives felt for the Americans almost as much as for themselves, and would not see them delivered up to the discretion of the military, without espousing their cause, even if it were less defensible than it appeared at present.

It is an infallible maxim even in private disputes, that the party who manifests the greatest coolness, is, in the nature of things, always the surest of coming off with the most advantages.

age. In pursuance of this, it d Great Britain, for her own avoidt all precipitation in reo her Colonies. Notwithstanding ill-humour they had shown, Britain was in fact, the aggressor had occasioned it by exercising thiority with too high a hand. ue method of keeping subjects iposition always to obey, was xing the reins of government, rer, through inadvertance, or her cause, they had been drawn ght. The chief fault of the of nations, was their propens- exert their power upon too occasions. The art of govern- pply; was not to govern too; and to leave mankind as to their own liberty of conduct, ht be compatible with the gen- terell of the community. This id not been observed with the ceaus: too close and narrow an ion had lately prevailed in all concerns. It was this conduct xasperated them; it was this t, therefore, that required al- on our part. As England gun the difference, it became put an end to it, by a cessation e demands upon America, which so grievous and intolerable to -though she might be able to y with them, yet as her com- e must either proceed from co-, or, at best, be attended, with sal murmur and discontent, it y became the natural generosity

British nation, as well as the tutional lenity of its government, e way to the desires of the A- ins, were even policy and in- not to dictate such a condescen-

Americans had formerly con- d the British Parliament as the re protector of their liberty, ways spoke of that body with ofoundest veneration: they look- on it as a shield of defence a- the oppression of wicked mini-

sters, and confidently relied on its assistance in the redress of any grievance they might complain of. This confidence and respect was, however, much diminished by the different treatment they had lately experienced. Instead of the mildness and complaisance that assembly was wont to express towards America, the affairs of that country were now, it seems, no longer a favourite object; and its prosperity was viewed rather with an unfriendly and jealous eye. They once were free to lay their representations before parliament, with a full security they would be duly attended to; but times were now so unhappily changed, that when they applied, with all reverence and humility for its interposition in their behalf, Parliament refused even to receive their petitions.

The consequence of this severity of conduct was such, that it was in vain to expect a return of good will, or of commercial intercourse with America, without a repeal of the act in question. This was the purport of the petitions addressed to Parliament; and unless they met with acceptance and success, that resentment would never subside, and its effects would continue in spite of all endeavours to prevent them.

America stood in no absolute need of British manufactures notwithstanding the opinion of some. Those that are the most useful and necessary, such as cloths and woollens, iron and steel ware, and other articles of equal utility and importance, they had already begun to manufacture with success, and would, in a short time, arrive at no small degree of perfection in those branches of workmanship.

They had not made so much progress in those arts that contribute to conveniency or elegance, but the people of America were far from deficient, either in point of industry or ingenuity; and had already produced such specimens of both, as rendered

it evident, that with encouragement, they would speedily attain to a considerable degree of expertness. But however inelegant and coarse the productions of the American artists might be, the people of England would, as actual experience had already taught them, find that no allurement of superior finery, or even of cheapness, would carry off their manufactures from the American markets, or even suffer them to be admitted there.

The enemies of America might imagine that materials would be deficient; but here they were mistaken. The wool of their flocks could, in the space of two or three years, with proper management, furnish a sufficient quantity for the demands of all America. The quality, though somewhat inferior to that of England, was of remarkable fineness. Flax they abounded in: immense quantities of flax-seed were annually exported to Ireland from Philadelphia and New York. They were provided with iron in equal plenty; and had among them numbers of workmen perfectly conversant in the manner of working it to the best advantage. Thus they were prepared to face every difficulty that might arise from the interruption of commercial supplies from Great Britain. If this interruption should continue any time, they might become such proficient in trades and handicrafts of all kinds, as not only to raise a sufficiency of necessaries for their consumption at home, but even to produce a stock adequate to the demands of the French and English West Indies, and of Spanish America; with whom their nearer proximity would enable them to carry on such a trade, on much more advantageous terms to both parties, than the distance of Britain could afford.

These were matters of serious consideration to the people of England,

and should induce them to put a stop to the pernicious schemes that were going forward, before their evil consequences arose to a degree beyond remedy.

Another ground of complaint among the Americans was, that they were misrepresented in a manner equally injurious and indecent. They were described as void of loyalty and gratitude; as earnestly solicitous to profit all they could by the generosity of the mother country, and yet unwilling to bestow their due share of co-operation. But did facts in any wise countenance so grievous an accusation? Did not America, in the course of the preceding war, raise an army of twenty-five thousand men, and maintain them at its own expence? The troops sent from Great Britain did not amount to a larger number. In the war antecedent to that, they supplied the British expeditions against Spanish America with several thousands of their best men, and exerted themselves with equal bravery and success against the French in North America. The recapitulation of such facts was not made by way of reproach, but proceeded from the necessity of rendering Britain duly sensible of its mistake, in taxing America with a defect of good-will.

This was the purport of the celebrated Doctor Franklin's sentiments, upon his examination before the House of Commons.

The two chief supporters of the cause of America were Lord Camden in the House of Peers, and Lord Chatham (then Mr. Pitt) in the House of Commons. The first had been lately raised to the Peerage with the universal applause of the nation, of which he had acquired the highest esteem and respect, by his conduct; while at the head of one of the most important departments of the law. His arguments were decisively in favour of the Americans, and carried

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with them a weight and respectability that rendered them effectually serviceable in their cause.

Mr. Pitt had long been justly admired for his powers of oratory; but he displayed them on this occasion in a manner that will never be forgotten by those who were witnesses of his exertions on that memorable day.

Now the dispute between Great Britain and its Colonies seemed to promise an entire cessation. Their desires had been complied with in the most ample manner; and nothing had been omitted to testify the sincerity with which the parent state wished to live on the most friendly terms with its American depend-

encies. But the judgment of those who had predicted that the concessions of Great Britain to America, instead of laying the turbulent spirit which had lately broke out among them, would, on the contrary, increase it, began to be verified in many instances.

The abettors of the late measures of the British ministry were now become the objects of general dislike. While in England the heats occasioned by the difference of opinion concerning the stamp act, were gradually subsiding, in America they seemed to have laid the foundation of an irreconcilable hatred to such as had not sided with the popular party.

C H A P. II.

Effects produced by the repeal of the Stamp Act.

WHEN the temper and disposition of the inhabitants of the different Colonies are considered, it will not appear in the least surprising that they should be eager and alert in the pursuit of what they judged their immediate interest, and jealous of any thing that might have a tendency to thwart it.

The inhabitants of New England are the descendants of those republicans who fled from England in order to enjoy their own notions of religion and government without molestation. They inherited all the republicanism of their forefathers; violent in the extreme in their opposition to kingly authority, when they entertained the least suspicion of its encroaching on their liberties. They may be justly considered as the life and soul of that opposition to Great

Britain which terminated in the loss of America.

New York and Jersey are chiefly inhabited by the posterity of the first founders of that settlement, who were Dutch, and inherit all the industry and frugality of their forefathers.

The greater part of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania consists of Germans, Dutch, and other foreigners, who were driven by poverty and persecution to this friendly retreat. By their labour and industry, Pennsylvania is one of the most fertile and plentiful provinces in the American hemisphere. A considerable part of this province, of which the illustrious Penn was the original founder and proprietor, is still possessed by the Quakers.

North and South Carolinas are chiefly inhabited by a people of foreign extraction

extraction, who still retain the respective disposition of their forefathers.

The primitive adventurers in Virginia and Maryland were people of the most respectable characters, uncorrupted in their morals, and firmly attached to the government at home. But from circumstances which could hardly be expected to produce better effects, the general dispositions of these provinces have undergone a very great change. For many years felons of every description, profligates of both sexes and all complexions, have been sent in shoals to people these two colonies. The consequences, as foreseen by people of discernment, have proved highly injurious to their reputation. They now abound in men of a licentious spirit, and averse to legal controul. In Virginia the standard of defiance to Great Britain was first hoisted, by the resolutions of the General Assembly before taken notice of.

To this general temper and disposition of the Colonies it was owing, that notwithstanding the repeal of the Stamp act, as the other regulations previous to it had not also been repealed, they continued in a discontented mode; which though repressed for a while from a sense of the condescension shown them in that particular instance, soon broke out in a manner that convinced thinking people it would finally be attended with the most fatal consequences.

On the repeal of the Stamp act, the ministry who took that step, conscious that they were, in fact, stooping to the Americans, thought themselves obliged, at the same time, to pass a bill declaratory of the supreme sovereignty of Great Britain over all her Colonies, and of her competency and right to make laws and statutes to bind them in all cases whatever. By the same declaration annulling all the resolves and proceedings of the Provincial Assemblies that tended to *diminish authority in their respec-*

tive districts independant of that of Great Britain, especially the sole and exclusive privilege of imposing taxes and levying money.

Though this step was considered at home as necessary to maintain the dignity of the British Government in the midst of so much concession, it was held by the Americans in quite another light. It was deemed a reservation of claims and pretences, to be brought forth and enforced whenever a favourable season occurred. This greatly diminished, in the ideas of the Americans, the complaisance of England. She appeared rather to temporise, than to yield, with a good grace, to the desires they had so earnestly expressed. The little impression made in America by the lenity of Great Britain, was manifested on the very first occasion that presented itself; an act had been passed by the administration, to which they were so much obliged, providing the troops cantoned throughout the Colonies, with such necessaries in their quarters, as were indispensable for their comfortable subsistence. In direct violation of this act, the Assembly of New York passed another act, whereby the mode of executing the former was altered, and one of their own framing substituted in its room. The news of this refractoriness and disrespect, when brought to England, excited no less indignation than surprise, it was evidently calculated to show, that Great Britain had no condescendence to expect on the part of its colonies, either in matters of greater or lesser consequence, the present object was of the latter kind; yet such was the ill humour prevalent among them, as to cavil about a compliance founded upon the most obvious necessity.

The heat of resentment for such undutiful behaviour, at first was likely to produce very severe measures; but upon weighing the matter deliberately, the moderation that characterises the British Government, dictated

tated more conciliatory methods of proceeding. In order to support the dignity and supremacy of the British legislature, without proceeding to extremities, and yet to make the Colonies sensible of its determination, not to recede from its just rights, a bill was brought in, by which it was enacted, that the legislative power of the general assembly of New York, should be totally suspended, until it fully complied with all the terms of the act in question.

The same refractory disposition equally prevailed at Boston. Notwithstanding the equitableness of granting due compensations to such as had suffered from the licentiousness of the mob, during the riots on account of the stamp act, it was not without difficulty the general assembly was induced to acquit themselves of their duty.

Such proofs of an unruly disobedient temper, at last roused the spirit of the people in power at home; they began to think it was necessary by some vigorous assertions of the rights of Great Britain, to convince the Colonies that it had by no means given up those claims of paramount authority, which it had exercised without opposition during such a number of years. Accordingly the parliament passed an act, imposing duties on tea, paper, painters' colours, and glass, imported into the British plantations in America.

The reception this act met with in the Colonies was marked with no less, if not more disapprobation than that which imposed the stamps. The populace renewed its abusive behaviour, and the better sort immediately agreed to give it the most open and determined opposition. To this purpose, meetings were held in all the principal towns; wherein it was resolved, to bestow exclusive encouragements on the manufactures carried on in America, and to lessen the importation and use of foreign commodities,

a particular enumeration of these was made, which was chiefly levelled at the articles that came from England. A circular letter was likewise sent to every Colony by the Assembly of Massachusetts, which openly took the lead in this re-commencement of a regular opposition to Great Britain, inviting them to join in a communication and harmony of sentiments, expressing their dissatisfaction at the conduct of the British ministry and asserting in the strongest terms, the injustice and impropriety of its present treatment of the Colonies.

In the course of these unhappy altercations between Great Britain and America in 1678, one of the most unfortunate circumstances attending it, was the enmity subsisting between the provincial Assembly of Massachusetts and its Governor. He was unquestionably a man of abilities; but was considered as a secret foe to the cause of America, and as a sworn champion of the royal prerogative.— In this light he met with a constant series of obstructions in whatever he undertook. Bickerings and disputes followed each other uninterruptedly and he had all the violence of a party to contend with, that was animated with as much inveteracy against his person, as with hatred to the measures he supported. The contest was of course carried on with an eye to both these objects: personal rancour was evidently at the bottom of many, if not most, of those perpetual representations and remonstrances with which they never lost the opportunity of assailing him. Neither can it be denied that feeling the stings of their animosity, he often retorted it, and treated them with an asperity corresponding to their own. The consequences of this dissension were fatal to the party chiefly interested in the great questions then in agitation. Great Britain and America owed many of the altercations that arose, and much of the antipathy subsisting between them, to
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the mutual ill-will of the Governor and the House of Representatives.—The new acts of the British legislature renewed and afforded fresh materials for the ill-humour of both. All bounds of moderation were now forgotten in the violence with which the Assembly thwarted him. As the obduracy of the Colonies had highly exasperated the British administration, the Governor was ordered to act with vigour and resolution, and by no means to show any disposition to yield to them as formerly.

The circular letter from the Assembly of Massachusetts had given particular offence, and was viewed as an intention to raise a universal conspiracy throughout the Colonies against Great Britain. He was therefore instructed to require, in the most positive and peremptory terms, that they should rescind the resolution which had passed that letter, and declare their disapprobation of that step as proceeding from temerity and precipitation. Previous to this requisition, he had communicated to the Assembly, a letter written to him from Lord Shelburne, the Secretary of State, and which contained several expressions that shewed how disagreeable and offensive their conduct appeared to the British ministry.

The Assembly highly exasperated at the contents of this letter, accused him of having misrepresented them at home in his official dispatches, copies of which they insisted he should produce, if he meant to clear himself of the imputation they charged him with; otherwise they should consider him in the odious light of a secret calumniator. On his refusal of these copies they wrote letters to the ministers in England, wherein they exculpated themselves from the charges of the Governor, and represented him as guilty of misrepresentation and partiality. They accompanied these complaints with warm remonstrances against the late acts of Parliament, as

unconstitutional, and subversive of the rights of British subjects.

The Governor despairing of being able to pacify men whose violence seemed at the present moment incapable of management, he thought it prudent to adjourn the Assembly, that they might have leisure to cool and ponder, with some degree of temper, on the steps they intended to take in the business that was shortly to become the subject of their deliberations. In the speech accompanying this prorogation, he gave a full vent to his displeasure at the behaviour of the leading members of the Assembly, whose ambitious and popular views he reprobated with great freedom, and whom he described as much more actuated by faction, than by any real concern for the public.

To counterbalance the circular letter addressed by the province of Massachusetts to the other Colonies, another circular letter was written to every Provincial Governor in America, by Lord Hillsborough, lately preferred to the new appointment of Secretary of State for the American department.—This letter was intended as a refutation of the other, which it represented as calculated to mislead the public and fill it with groundless jealousies and suspicions of the designs of Great Britain, as tending to inflame the minds of men with unjust resentments, and to excite them to unite in opposition to the lawful authority of the parent state.

It is generally believed, that had there remained the least inclination to meet the wishes of the ministry so as to put an end to altercation between Britain and her Colonies, a medium on this occasion might have been found by the Assembly of Massachusetts, to reconcile their own rights and importance with the supremacy and dignity of the British Parliament. Concessions might have been made, which would have saved the honour of Britain, without derogating from

edom of the Colonists. But this unity of reconciliation was re- with more unanimity than was led. When the question to re- the resolutions of the former was put, it passed in the neg- a division of ninety two to e n.

refusal was in a great measure oned by their being made ac- red with the consequences that follow it. They were told that e they did not comply, they immediately to be dissolved.—

this information, after consult- gether the space of a week, they d a recess might be granted in order to advise with their tuents. The denial of this ex- ated them, and they forthwith to the above determination.— concluded by writing a letter ord Hillsborough, to justify their edings and by sending to the rnor a message of the same ten- . They delivered themselves in with the utmost freedom of ght and expression. They insisted the propriety of the circular ; that they had a right to com- ate their sentiments to their fel- subjects upon matters in which vere all jointly concerned ; that i the undoubted privilege of the ies to unite in a petition to the e for the redress of their griev- . They reprobated, with great th, the requisition to rescind the tions of the former house ; cal- t unconstitutional and unprece- ds they complained of the epithets ved on their conduct through ggestions of their secret enemies ; at while they were doing no-

but what was perfectly justifi- they should be accused harbour- editous designs. They did not t the same time, to remonstrate st the late acts of the British ment as subversive of the princi- f liberty, and as highly oppressive erica.

But they did not stop here. In- flamed with resentment against the Governor, whom they considered as their capital enemy, and the prime cause of the displeasure expressed against them, they drew up a list of charges, of which they represented him guilty, with much heat and acrimony, declaring him unfit to continue in the station he was invested with, and petitioning for his immediate removal.

This violent behaviour of the Assembly of Massachusetts was like a signal and example to the other Assemblies of the American continent. They treated the circular letters, written to each of them by the Secretary in the American department, precisely in the same manner. They unanimously voted addresses to that Assembly, expressive of their approbation and concurrence in all its measures. They wrote to the American Secretary in the same style ; approving and justifying, in the most forcible terms, the conduct of the Assembly at Boston, and condemning the purport of his own letter with the most explicit freedom.

They meant to show at the same time, that they did not with their dissatisfaction should evaporate in mere complaints, the renewed their former combinations against the use and importation of English goods, and agreed to vend or purchase none that should arrive, after such as had been ordered previously to the expiration of the present year. From this agreement articles only of indispensable necessity were excepted ; and it was to hold good till the late acts were entirely repealed.

A great tumult at Boston took place a few days before the dissolution of the Assembly of Massachusetts. A vessel belonging to one of the principal merchants there, was seized by order of the Board of Customs, in consequence of having neglected to comply with the regulations in force. She was conveyed

Neither did they forget to complain of grievances, and of the imputation of disloyalty under which they unjustly laboured in England; earnestly desiring that he would consent to the meeting of a General Assembly, as the surest and most constitutional remedy they could have recourse to, in their present distress.

The Governor, however, remained inflexible in his denial of their request; advising them seriously to reflect on the dangers they were exposing themselves to, by continuing assembled in defiance of law. He exhorted them to desist from so unwarrantable a conduct, and quietly to separate, before he found himself obliged, as the Representative of the Crown, to assert its prerogatives in a more decisive manner. He told them they might rest assured, that Great Britain was determined to maintain her sovereignty unimpaired, and would find means to insure obedience.

The answer to the Governor's admonitions, was, that the Convention could only be viewed as a private assembly of persons, met to confer amicably on their concerns. In that light, which was the only one they claimed, no criminality or retractoriness could be imputed to them.

The Governor would give no audience to this second message; alledging, that to grant them any hearing, would be admitting them to be legally assembled, and might tend to confer a weight and importance on them, which he wholly disavowed.

His firmness disconcerted them:— They contented themselves with drawing up a report of their proceedings; which, contrary to the style they had used hitherto, was conceived in terms of remarkable moderation. After mentioning the motives of their meeting, and disclaiming all public authority, they recommended entire deference and submission to government, and a respectful dependance on the *wisdom and equity of the king and*

his ministers, for a just and timely redress of their grievances. They added strong protestations of their readiness to assist in their several capacities, in the maintenance of good order, and to co-operate with the civil government in the suppression of all irregularities. And concluded by a circumstantial representation of their own conduct on the present occasion, and of every transaction which related to it. This was done by way of apology, and to obviate or diminish the sinister impressions which the violence of their late proceedings might have occasioned. It was transmitted to their agent in London, who was carefully instructed to make the best use of it for that purpose.

At the time the Convention broke up, several transports arrived with troops, under the convoy of some ships of war. There were difficulties at first about quartering them. As castle William was sufficiently roomy to accommodate them, objections were started to their admission into the town, where no barracks had been prepared for their reception. But this difficulty was luckily removed by fitting up some houses that were to be reputed barracks, and in which they were to be admitted on that footing, in order to obviate any precedent of their being quartered in private houses. On these conditions they came ashore, and were allowed the provisions usual to be furnished by the Colony in such places.

The spirit of turbulence that had reigned so long uncontrouled seemed rather damped on the arrival of this military force. As it was now imagined, that having once begun, Great Britain would continue to act with vigour, those who before had been the open promoters of opposition, began to think it necessary to proceed with caution, and to assume an appearance of moderation. But the tranquility effected by this measure was unhappily of no long duration. A concatenation

of untoward causes, produced a series of incidents that soon put an end to the expectations that had been formed of seeing a cessation of this unprofitable contest.

The late conduct of the Province of Massachusetts had given great offence to Great Britain. It was represented in Parliament, as an atrocious violation of the dignity of the British legislature, an explicit denial of its authority. The public was anxious, in the interim, to see a period of these proceedings, convinced that they would soon terminate, occasion misfortune of a very serious nature. The parties that divided the British Ministry on this subject, subsided still in full force. Those who had at the commencement of the dispute recommended coercive measures, adhered to their former opinion with unusual warmth; and such as pretermit and condescendence, were strenuous in maintaining the rights of their sentiments. In this unusual conflict of ideas, the people were engaged, as before, with earnestness.—Thus the altercation continued in Britain, as well as America, with as little signs of approaching speedily to any conclusion. In this circumstance, principally, kept up the spirit of dissension in America. Had the British nation been left undisturbed on this point, Lord Chatham's assertion in the House of Commons would have been verified, and the resistance of America would only have provoked stronger exertions. But the clashing of the interests in Britain, gave a new turn to the pretensions, and an increase to the transactions in the Colonies, that perplexed the councils of the British nation, and rendered them wavering and indecisive.

The opposition in America was at first, on the contrary, with unanimity, and conducted by persons of abilities, it therefore was not surprising that they should make the

most of the divisions prevailing among the ruling people in Britain, and take all those advantages that necessarily accrue to an enemy from the dissension of his antagonists. Such has constantly been the persuasion of the judicious and discerning, ever since the commencement of this contest. Thus, notwithstanding the resolutions taken from time to time by the British Ministry, to force the Americans to obedience, as the Colonies were well acquainted with the instability of the people in power, they cherished no groundless hope, that in the frequent changes of the Ministry, one might at last arise favourable to their pretensions, and inclined, for the sake of tranquillity, to make the concessions they demanded.

With such an expectation, it was not surprising they should continue to harass every administration that proved hostile to their demands. They had done it hitherto with success, and doubted not, through perseverance, to gain the point they proposed.

Such was the respective situation of Great Britain and America, at the opening of the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty nine; when a new system appeared to have been formed in regard to America, and a determination taken to change the lenity and forbearance hitherto exercised, into severity and compulsion. In pursuance of which, an address was presented to the King by both Houses, wherein they passed the severest censures on the behaviour of the Assembly of Massachusetts; the various resolutions it had passed derogatory to the claims of the British legislature were declared to be null and void. The circular letter it had written to the other Colonies, inviting them to join in a common petition against those claims, was condemned as illegal, unconstitutional, and unwarrantable in a people who acknowledged themselves subject to the Crown of Great Britain. It was,

less reprobated as injurious to the British nation, and evidently calculated to spread discontent and create factions inimical to the parent state, and directly subversive of its sovereignty over the Colonies.

By this address Boston, in particular, was represented as the seat of incessant confusion. Riots and disturbances daily succeeded to each other; and the inhabitants were become so unruly and tumultuous, that no respect was paid to civil government. The officers appointed by the Crown in the various departments of public service, did not any longer dare to attempt the execution of their duty. The magistrates, instead of exerting themselves for the restoration of good order, remained passive spectators of these tumultuous proceedings. It was time, therefore, for the executive power to interpose, in order to effect that by force, which could not be compassed by lenity. It was declared in this address, that the proceedings of the people in their town meetings were unlawful and seditious; that their appointment of a Provincial Convention, and their letters to the several towns, requesting them to elect deputies to that intent, were destructive of all government, and tended to establish an authority independent of the Crown. The meeting of the Convention itself, was a daring usurpation of power, and a manifest defiance of the British legislature. At the same time, it expressed a full concurrence in the measures that had been taken, to reduce that town and province to the obedience due to Great Britain. It promised a firm support of all the measures necessary for that end; and concluded by advising, that an exemplary punishment should be inflicted on the authors of the late disorders. In order to do this the more speedily and effectually, it was proposed that Governor Bernard *might be instructed to transmit the fullest information he could procure,*

of all treasonable acts committed in the Colony of Massachusetts within the foregoing year, specifying the persons most active in their perpetration, that a commission might issue from the Crown, to inquire into, and determine upon the guilt of the respective offenders, within the limits of this realm, in conformity to a statute made in the reign of Henry the Eighth, should sufficient ground appear to warrant such a method of proceeding. Notwithstanding this address was voted by a great majority, yet it was strongly opposed: and a multitude of arguments were adduced, to shew the danger, as well as the impropriety of using coercive methods in America. It was alleged that Great Britain having, by the repeal of the stamp act, renounced all ideas of compulsion, it ought, consistently with its honour and justice, to have pursued in that plan, which, at all events, was the safest.

Meanwhile, the arrival of the British troops at Boston, had been productive of very alarming events.—During some time, an appearance of harmony had subsisted between them and the inhabitants; but the intent of their coming rendered their presence obnoxious. They did not evidently come as friends: they were, on the contrary, the most dangerous foes; as under the pretence of maintaining tranquility, they came with an intent to subvert public freedom, and establish a despotic authority. Such were the ideas prevailing throughout the American continent.

As long as the forces that had arrived continued the same in number, they were too formidable to be insulted with impunity. But the departure of a large detachment having greatly diminished them, the people of Massachusetts came, it seems, to the resolution to expel this small remainder, which they looked upon with equal aversion and contempt. So little were they either regarded or dreaded, that

he town magistrates took occasion
 publicly to represent them as a
 scandalous. The designs forming
 them, were not, however, so
 managed, as to be entirely
 denied. An intimation of this kind
 led to what little cordiality
 has subsisted between them
 and the inhabitants. Mutual insults
 and provocations quickly followed;
 pursuant to the intent proposed,
 the people in the country took up
 arms and prepared to join those of

But before matters were
 settled for the execution of this
 plan an accident happened which
 prevented it from taking place in the
 designed.

On the evening of the fifth of
 1770, some soldiers were as-
 saulted and beaten by a party of the
 people.—A tumult ensued;—the
 inhabitants collected from all
 parts of the town, threatening dan-
 ger to the military, whom they
 armed with clubs and bludgeons.—
 In the heat of this usage, some of the
 soldiers fired upon the populace, sev-
 eral of whom were killed and wounded.
 The consequence of which was, that
 it was necessary to prevent further bloodshed,
 and to remove the troops to
 Castle William. Had they
 proceeded in this manner, it is prob-
 ably would have been cut to

The whole Province of Mas-
 sachusetts was up in arms, and would
 have overpowered the small num-
 ber which they were then reduced.

The troops stationed at Boston,
 effected the purposes for which
 they had been sent. The Colonies
 continued in their former resolu-
 tion to oppose British importations.
 Meetings were publicly formed for
 the purpose; they met regularly, as if
 authorized by law; and appoint-
 ment was made to inspect the cargoes
 of vessels arriving from Britain.
 Resolutions were passed upon all
 matters which concurred in those associ-

ations; and their names were publish-
 ed in the newspapers, as enemies to
 their country. The resolves and de-
 crees of these meetings met with a
 compliance and respect which was ut-
 terly denied to the authority of gov-
 ernment. In some cases, goods im-
 ported from Great Britain were im-
 mediately seized as soon as landed, and
 secured in warehouses to prevent their
 sale; in other cases, they shipped them
 to Great Britain.

Parliament, upon receiving intelli-
 gence of these proceedings, was
 highly incensed, and a determination
 was consequently taken not to relax
 from vigorous measures, which, in the
 opinion of the majority, was become
 more necessary than ever.—In order,
 at the same time, to make it evident,
 that they were no less observant of
 moderation than actuated by zeal for
 the dignity of the British Legislature,
 they repealed all the late duties, ex-
 cepting that upon tea, which was re-
 served merely to save the national
 honour in the midst of so much con-
 descension; and as an object which no-
 thing but a settled resolution to quar-
 rel with Great Britain, could render
 deserving of any animadversion on the
 part of the Americans. Many weighty
 arguments, however, were adduced a-
 gainst the continuation even of this
 duty. It amounted, in truth, to no
 more than sixteen thousand pounds;
 but would be considered in America as
 an inlet to other taxes on the same
 plan, whenever time and opportunity
 were more favourable than the present,
 for the British ministry to make such
 an attempt. Experience showed this
 reasoning to have been well founded.

The continuance of the duty upon tea,
 trifling as it was, excited the murmurs
 of the Colonies in a violent degree.
 They objected to it precisely on
 the same ground the opposition in
 Parliament had done, as an imposi-
 tion, which, if they consented to it,
 would be made a precedent, upon

which others of the same nature might in future be demanded.

In all probability the critical situation of affairs in Europe at this season [1771] contributed not a little to the inflexibility of the Americans. To say nothing of the discontents prevailing from various causes at home, a rupture was apprehended with the House of Bourbon. They who patronised the Colonies, did not fail to urge these as weighty motives to avoid any altercation with them; and to sacrifice the little interests in agitation between them and the mother country, to the greater objects that might shortly employ the whole attention and power of Great Britain.

The concessions made by Parliament to the Colonies instead of allaying this spirit of inflexibility, seemed rather to increase it. These concessions they looked upon as extorted by their own firmness; and as owing, by no means, to the benignity of the British Government. Conformably to this disposition, they continued to encourage their own manufactures, and to discourage those of Great Britain, as far as it was practicable in a country that could not well thrive and flourish without importing a considerable number of the most essential articles requisite for the prosecution of the most necessary branches of business, and could not, at the same times, procure many of them any where upon such advantageous terms as from Great Britain. So that notwithstanding the agreements of nonimportation, in which they were at first so sanguine and zealous, they relaxed by degrees, prompted by convenience and interest; and the general intercourse in commercial matters was carried on as usual, without any material interruption.

The political intercourse was attended every where with perpetual disputes. Governors were embroiled in daily contests with their Provincial Assemblies. Prorogations and dissolu-

tions followed each other of course, accompanied by censures on the one side, and remonstrances on the other. These incessant altercations could not fail further to debilitate the powers of government, already weakened through preceding causes. The reverence due to lawful authority seemed in a manner to be obliterated in the minds of the generality, and they seemed to consider themselves as at liberty to act in all matters of trade and business without any sort of restraint. This unruliness was prevalent every where. At Boston the resistance to the Custom-house officers continued to manifest itself upon every occasion; and was sometimes accompanied with great instances of inhumanity. Among others, a tidseaman, who had seized a vessel for breach of the acts of trade, was seized by the populace, stripped, and carried about the town besmeared with tar, and stuck with feathers. At the town of Providence, in Rhode Island, a place long notorious for smuggling, the people boarded a King's vessel, stationed there to prevent it; treated the commander with great indignity; struck and wounded him; and after forcing him and the ship's company to go on shore, set her on fire. These daring insults were fully countenanced by their ruling men. The General Assembly of Massachusetts did not hesitate openly to notify to the Governor, that they acknowledged no such officers in the Colony as the Commissioners of the King's Customs, nor knew of any revenue that he had any right to establish there.

The settling salaries upon the justices of the Superior Court at Boston, occasioned the most inflammatory language throughout the Province. An address was presented to the Governor, wherein that measure was censured in terms of the greatest asperity; and a committee was appointed to take it into consideration, selected as usual, out of the different districts of

the colony. This Assembly expressly disavowed the supremacy of British legislature over them —

asserted that all men had a right to remain in a state of nature so long as they thought proper; in pursuance of this principle, accused the British Parliament of having violated their natural rights in a variety of cases; but especially by using the powers of legislation against them, in virtue of its own will, contrary to their own consent. — Some of the transactions of this committee were industriously circulated in the town of Massachusetts. They were accompanied by letters, warmly urging the inhabitants to rouse themselves and to remain no longer inert and supine, while the iron of oppression was daily tearing the sweet fruits from the fair tree of liberty. Such were their expressions.

An accident happened in the midst of these disturbances, which contributed remarkably to increase the ill humour and contents of the Province. A number of letters written confidentially to persons in place and power in England, by the present Governor and the deputy Governor, were accidentally discovered, and communicated to the public. They contained unable representations of the dissensions of the people in general, and the secret views of their leaders; and content was to show the necessity of receiving measures, and of altering the form of Government in order to secure the people's future obedience. The wrath and indignation excited on this occasion produced the most violent divisions in the Assembly. The confidential letters had fallen into the possession of their agent at London,

who transmitted them immediately to the constituents. They were carried up to the council by deputies who were strictly enjoined not to let them an instant out of their

In this mortifying manner

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they were presented for inspection to the Governor, who could not deny his own signature. In consequence of this discovery, a petition was sent over to England, earnestly entreating the King to remove both these officers from their places; but contrary to this request, they not only were continued, but the petition was declared groundless and scandalous. This answer added fresh rancour to the animosity and resentment of the people of Massachusetts.

Another transaction was however preparing, the consequence of which were far more fatal. Notwithstanding the resolutions adopted in the Colonies against the importation of tea from Great Britain, means had been found to import it, though in smaller quantities than heretofore, owing partly to the lower price of that brought from other countries. This diminution was very prejudicial to the East India Company; and the more felt at this time, as they had lately experienced some mortifications from government. In order to make them some compensation, the Parliament empowered them to export their tea free of any duty payable by the Company [1773.] In virtue of this permission, the Company freighted several ships with tea for North America, and appointed agents to dispose of it in the several colonies. This open and avowed manner of bringing a commodity among them, in direct defiance to their consent and opposition, was, in their opinion, an insult not to be suffered. Private interest, as well as public aversion to this measure, contributed to render it odious. The dealers in tea foresaw that the profits of this branch of business, which were very considerable, would henceforward center exclusively among the Company's factors. Unfortunately for the measure, these factors were the professed adherents and supporters of the British administration: this, of course, rendered them extremely unpopular; and was alone a suffi-

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ent motive to defeat the business committed to their management.

The persons to whom the tea destined for Boston was consigned, were unhappily of the family, and nearest connections of those who had written the letters that had given such general offence. From these causes, together with the long subsisting determination to counteract the designs of the British ministry, a settled resolution was taken throughout the Colonies to oppose the landing of the tea. They communicated their sentiments to each other, and were unanimous in the persuasion, that if the tea was suffered to be brought ashore, it would become impracticable to prevent the sale of it.— Thus the tax would take place, in spite of all their endeavours to the contrary.

The people in the mean time assembled every where in large bodies; and to make their resolves the more speedily effectual, they compelled the consignees to resign their appointments, and solemnly engaged never to resume them. Committees were chosen, who took upon them to act with great authority. They examined the accounts of merchants, framed public tests, and declared such as refused them enemies to their country. They were inveigled, in short, with all those powers which a discontented people are so ready to trust their leaders with. Under the guidance and sanction of these rulers, every sort of licentiousness was tolerated. The public prints, from one end of the continent to the other, were continually filled with invectives against the councils and policy of Great Britain. They summoned the people to resistance from all quarters, and represented them as devoted to despotism, unless they universally rose to face those internal, as well as external enemies, who were leagued in a conspiracy to oppress them. Such was the purport of the language they used both in their speeches and writings.

These sentiments were not only those of the commonalty; they were now adopted by all classes indiscriminately, and were the avowed principles of the community.

Three ships, freighted with tea, entered the harbour of Boston [Nov. 1773.] while America was deliberating to encounter the designs of Britain. The danger, or rather the impracticability of landing it, was so manifest, that the captains would willingly have carried it back to England, could they have obtained a formal permission from those who were officially authorised to grant one. In this state of suspense, the inhabitants who saw that if they were suffered to remain in the harbour, the tea would infallibly be landed, notwithstanding all precautions against it, resolved to put an end to the difficulty at once, by a blow that should strike radically at all attempts of this kind. After giving notice to the consignees, the owners and the captains, that they would not permit them to bring their teas ashore, and insisting on their departure from Boston with their cargoes, upon finding that the Governor and Custom-house refused their consent, without which the ships could not leave the harbour, a number of men, disguised like Indians, boarded them and threw the whole cargoes into the sea. The same treatment was experienced by the vessels laden with tea in other parts of America. At Philadelphia, the pilots were forbidden to conduct them up the river Delaware; and at New York, though some chests of tea were landed under the protection of a man of war, the Governor was constrained to deliver them into custody, to preserve the public peace. But had the masters of those vessels been suffered to bring the tea on shore, they would probably have found no persons daring enough to take charge of them.

C H A P. III.

Boston Port Bill, with its Consequences.

account of these proceedings in America [1774] a formal was immediately sent from one to both Houses of Parliament, intimating in the strongest manner the necessity of taking the most prompt and speedy measures, to put a stop to them; and of framing such measures as might efficaciously prevent repetition, and secure an entire dependance of the Colonies on the Crown and Parliament of Great

Britain. And to prove the propriety of this message, a large number of papers were laid before the Houses respecting the late transactions in Massachusetts, and in other parts of America, which contained the votes and resolutions of the Colonies previous to the seizure of the ships with the tea; and the conduct of the people when they were met: the menacing speeches in the meetings; and the daring and intemperate language universally used in their publications.

The inhabitants of Boston, on account of their conduct on this occasion, looked upon as highly culpable for their serving of reprobation and contempt. Every endeavour had been made to engage their assistance for the preservation of tranquility; but they had refused these endeavours with scorn and contempt: they had even, in their corporate capacity, publicly insulted the sheriff in one of their town meetings, upon his officially warning them to break up that assembly as unlawful.

Thus they had bidden open defiance to all civil authority, and taken possession of government out of the law; transferring it to them-

selves, and exercising actually all its powers according to their own judgment and determination.

It was concluded, that it being evident from all the documents submitted to the inspection of government, that the re-establishment of peace and order in that Colony could not be effected without a direct and vigorous interposition of Parliament, its powers ought not to be called into action, and could not be too soon exerted. It was urged that such as were intimately conversant in the affairs of the Colonies, unanimously agreed, that in their present circumstances nothing but such a measure would bring them to reason, and induce them to recognize the lawful sovereignty of Great Britain, without further chicanery and dispute.

They likewise began to be viewed without doors in the light of a rash unruly people, ready to plunge into a serious quarrel for slight causes, and forgetful of the amicable intercourse that had so long subsisted between them and the parent state, and of the affectionate manner with which they had been supported even in the present contest, by the good wishes and countenance of a considerable part of the British nation.

This consideration, as well as the preceding arguments, occasioned Parliament to present an address to the Throne; promising their firmest concurrence in the measures it had recommended for the subduing of the refractory disposition of the Colonies.

This address, however, was not unanimous: there were many who thought

thought that previous to the adoption of so weighty a measure, as that of absolute coercion, the motives on which it was founded should be examined and discussed with the utmost freedom and latitude. That this was a step which, when once taken, could not with facility be recalled, and would in the meantime involve Great Britain in such difficulties and dangers as were fitter to be left to the imagination of those to whom they were thus hinted, than to be now made a subject of explicit description. It was argued that America was universally ripe for the most obdurate resistance, in case force should be used in the business of taxation. Parliament might insist upon the lawfulness of taxing the Colonies; but the Colonies themselves would decide whether they would submit or refuse to be taxed. Past experience had shown that they were determined to oppose this measure:—Why should the ministry, therefore, presume to act upon so dangerous a ground as that of coercion, with so many warning of its impropriety? The only prospect of success was founded upon a force superior to that of America: but were Great Britain to put forth her strength upon this occasion, would not the expences prove immense? And were she to succeed, would not the ill temper and resentment of the Americans remain unconquered, and become a source of constant suspicions on our side, and of malevolence on theirs, which would break out on the least opportunity of exercising it to our detriment? In the present dispute, two national bodies differed on a point of speculation; and one of the two was to be materially affected by the issue of the dispute. It became them both, therefore, to proceed with the utmost caution, and to afford no causes of irritation on either side. The point litigated, was of the most delicate nature, involved in doubts and perplexities, and would

not unfortunately, admit of a decision that would satisfy either of the contending parties. Great Britain claimed a right to tax America: America denied that right.—The former had cut short the matter, by deciding in its own favour; but the latter refused to acknowledge the justice of that decision; and pleaded the inequitableness of condemning one of the parties concerned in so summary a manner: this was assuming an authority which was founded upon mere presumption. America, it was true, derived its political existence from Britain, but was now become a considerable nation, and ought therefore to be treated with respect. Due attention should be paid to the ideas prevailing in such a nation; and care should be taken not to give offence to so large a body, by insisting upon their relinquishing persuasions and principles which they hold as fundamental in their constitution. That in this litigation, the contending parties stood on very different ground. Great Britain would lose nothing by making concessions, and waving the rights she had claimed; but America had much to lose by yielding to the demands made upon her. They were of a nature that affected her in the tenderest part; they deprived her of the consequence to which she thought herself justly entitled, and degraded her in her own ideas. This was too much for a numerous and respectable people to bear.—They could not comply without rendering themselves unhappy in their own apprehensions; such a concession ought not, therefore, to be required by a nation that called itself friendly and generous. On these considerations, Great Britain would act a part consistent with its magnanimity, and no ways repugnant to its interest, if duly reflecting on the equity of relinquishing a question which she could not decide in her own favour, without occasioning
— much

amity, she should nobly and
 abandon all pretensions, that
 manifestly her due, and
 sented to by the other party.
 scendence of this kind would
 reat Britain at once from all
 : it would preclude all
 of dispute, by leaving the
 in the quiet possession of
 tions that were so dear to
 and would secure their adhe-
 r the dearest of all ties, that
 nterest, which they were too
 it not to know consisted in a
 achment to Great Britain.—
 ition of this connection must
 dly be attended with many
 iencies to them : but though
 re conscious of this, yet they
 t the less resolved to abide by
 rather than consent to those
 ons on the part of Great Bri-
 ch were the subject of the pre-
 reation. Such had been their
 rom its commencement ; and
 ere of this kind, experience
 owed that the further men
 l, the less they were willing
 e. By these and the like
 its, did the opposers of the
 al measures endeavour to pre-
 r taking effect. But the pre-
 i against America was so
 hat no reasonings could with-
 Such as contended for the
 of asserting the supremacy
 t Britain, at all events, were
 majority that all hopes were
 ending their determinations
 al.
 y be added, that facts were
 side.—The opposition of the
 ns had broken out into acts
 violence. They had treated
 us outrageously, and some
 warrantable barbarity. In
 stment which such behaviour
 the provocation of it was for-
 and chastisement was looked
 no more than a just and ne-
 cessary assertion of the honour and
 of the nation. When the op-

ponents of ministry warned them to
 look back before they proceeded fur-
 ther on this principle, and to ex-
 amine impartially their own conduct
 in America, their answer was,—that
 however that might have been disa-
 greeable to the Americans, it was
 justifiable on the general ground of
 supreme sovereignty, so repeatedly
 asserted by the British legislature.
 Great Britain was now called upon
 to maintain her decision. The que-
 stion therefore was not whether she
 should relinquish her claims, but how
 to support them most effectually. It
 was now moved, that a forcible and
 vigorous plan of acting should be a-
 dopted and carried into immediate
 execution. That in this determina-
 tion to restore peace and good order
 throughout the Colonies, that one
 which had invariably led the way to
 disobedience and confusion, should be
 first animadverted to, and singled
 out as an object of Parliamentary re-
 sentment. This Colony the Parlia-
 ment and the whole nation knew to
 be Massachusetts. Here it was that
 resistance had constantly originated ;
 and here it was incumbent on them,
 for that reason, to begin the work of
 punishment for past, and of prevention
 against future offences.

The late outrageous proceedings
 at Boston, were of such a nature, that
 were Great Britain to pass them over
 without the severity they deserved, it
 would degrade her in the opinion of
 all the powers of Europe, whose at-
 tention was universally fixed on her
 present conduct, and would subject
 her to indignities without end from
 the Colonies. Had the proudest
 power in any quarter of the globe in-
 sulted her in the manner the town of
 Boston had done, she must and would
 undoubtedly have insisted on the
 amplest satisfaction : much more was
 she entitled to it from a place subject
 to her dominion, and which she her-
 self had founded. It was therefore
 proposed that the town of Boston
 should

the opposition zealously seconded petitions. It contended against the delivery of the town of Boston to the power of the Crown, as a measure wholly indefensible, and might, upon future occasions, be an instrument of the most dangerous nature to the liberty of the subject.

No trial had preceded this decision; it was concluded upon merely in consequence of an accusation; and, though possibly well founded, it had not been proved. This was interfering the due order of proceeding, and opening a door to discretionary

Such a power was incompatible with the freedom of the British subject, which enjoins, that no man be tried without a fair and open trial. A sentence of judgment previous to this essential trial, could not therefore be con-

sidered in any other light than as an act of tyranny. Allowing the demand of indemnification for the loss of the tea to be just, was it equitable to suspend at the same time the whole trade and business of a populous city, which had no other means of subsisting? This was wantonly adding the extremes of vindictiveness to the necessity of punishment, on a supposition that there had been a just cause for inflicting it. Ministry ought not to imagine that America would think Boston alone was struck by the blow: it was aimed so visibly at all the Colonies that they would resent it as much as if each separately had felt it. The cause of one was now become the cause of all. The rejection of the tea was the deed of all America; and if it was a criminal act, they all partook of the guilt, and must therefore all expect to share the punishment.

C H A P. IV.

Acts for new-modelling the Government of Massachusetts and Quebec, with their Consequences.

TO temper justice with mercy, and to let the Americans see that conciliation, and not revenge, was predominant in Britain, after passing the act against the town and harbour of Boston (1774) it was proposed that the tax upon tea, which had given birth to the late disturbances in that place, should be entirely repealed. This would evince the sincerity of the mother country, in its endeavours to bring about a reconciliation with the Colonies, and prove that pecuniary emoluments were not so much her aim, as the desire of securing herself from the disgrace of not daring to resent affronts and ill usage. But the ministerial party would not hearken to such a measure; which, in their opinion, favoured of weakness and imbecility, as if Britain repented of the step she had just taken, and in order to deprecate the forgiveness of America, was willing to atone for it by an equivalent condescension another way. It would convince them that Britain was conscious of wanting justice in her claims, or power to make them good. This persuasion would induce them to put no stop to their pretensions; or, what was worse, to bid open defiance to those of Britain, and throw off all remainder of dependence. It would therefore be acting both a more prudent, as well as manly part, to persist in the work begun, and to wait, with an inflexible firmness, the issue of the measures which the wisdom of so large a majority had adopted. It was even alledged, that the preceding act,

however spirited, would not suffice to lay that rebellious disposition which seemed woven into the very frame of the present system of government in the Province of Massachusetts. It was the production of the republican genius that animated the first settlers in that country, and carried with it all the marks of an inveterate hatred to royalty. While it remained in its pristine form, no lasting peace would subsist in the Province of Massachusetts, as no permanent submission to the authority of Great Britain could be depended on. It was therefore become indispensibly requisite to mould it into another shape, and render it more consistent with the spirit of monarchical government. Accordingly a motion was made for the better regulation of government in that Colony.—The purport of it was to alter some parts of its charter; to deprive the House of Representatives of the privilege of electing the Members of the Council; and to empower the Crown to appoint these, together with the judges, sheriffs, and magistrates of all denominations, and to remove them at its pleasure. In doing, this, no more, it was said, was attempted than to place that Province on the same footing as several others. The motive for this alteration was, that Government in that province did not possess a sufficient share of power; too much was lodged in the hands of the people. It ought therefore to be taken from them, to prevent a repetition of those riots, that proceeded from a defect of authority to enforce the

laws, in those to whom the execution of them was entrusted. Their dependence on the people rendered them averse to curb the licentiousness, so vulgar, by disobliging whom they might lose much interest and support.

While such a system was sufficient to continue, no obedience could be expected, as no magistrate would execute his duty in the suppression of disturbances.

This bill was represented by the Crown as a stretch of power unconstitutional in the extreme degree; sufficient of itself to rouse all Americans into opposition, had no other or pretence ever been afforded: the Colonies would immediately sustain that Britain was intending to cut at the root of all their rights and liberties; in a word they destroyed at once all their charters. Britain could treat one Colony in a manner, it would not hesitate to treat them all in the same; it would model their constitution, and reduce them to such a state of dependence on her will, as to leave them even the shadow of freedom. These were dangerous things to do with in a free country. It was striking the charters of the great Princes in England, the Princes of the Stuart line had rendered them odious, and kindled a spirit of revolt among their subjects, that way to the revolution. Great Britain had always expressed a peculiar aversion of such proceedings; could she hold them less disagreeable to the Colonies; If charters were sacred in England, they were so in America: they were the foundation stone of their various governments; they were the original bond between the parent state and the original settlements: to annul them was to dissolve the ties by which they were bound to Great Britain. But the purpose were these charters broken or altered in any particular

Colony? They were all equally hostile to the pretensions of Britain. Did the other Colonies express less repugnance than that of Massachusetts to comply with the ordinances of the British legislature? Were they not from one end of the continent to the other as zealous in opposing them? To attempt an infringement of that Colony's charter, would only open a new scene of contention more dangerous than any of those that had preceded. Former attempts aimed only at parts of their immunities; but this was levelled at the whole. Every Colony would view it in this light; and it could not be doubted that the moment the intelligence of this transaction reached the shores of America, the Colonies would make it a common cause. As to the plea so strongly insisted upon by the ministry, of bringing, by this regulation, the government to a nearer conformity with that of Great Britain, though it might be true in some respects; it was unfounded in the two most essential points; the nomination of the judges, and of the members of the council: these, who are supposed to be in America, what the House of Peers is in England, are by this bill removable at the King's pleasure, as well as the judges; whereas in England both Peers and Judges enjoy their seats independently of the Crown.

The agent for the Colony of Massachusetts, and the Americans in England presented petitions against this bill as they had done against the former, and with the like success. The style of these petitions was extremely pathetic, and foreboded in the minds of those who were acquainted with the character of the Americans, what would indubitably come to pass when they were apprized of what the British Parliament had decreed concerning them. They likewise pointed out, with a kind of prophetic freedom, the consequences that would infallibly

attend the passing of this bill. They implored the House to consider well the severity with which the Americans were treated; and whether it were possible for men of sense and spirit to endure it with any degree of patience; they entreated them to ponder on the warmth of attachment so long and so sincerely felt by the Americans for the British nation; they besought them to remember they were Englishmen in their education and principles; as passionately fond of liberty, and as resolutely determined never to lose it but with their lives; that while Britain behaved to them like a parent, their affection would always prompt them to stand by her as faithful children; but that if forgetting the mutual obligations that bind them to each other, she should unadvisedly endeavour to reduce them to the condition of slaves, she could not reasonably expect them to submit.

These remonstrances were, however, overborne by the torrent of resentment that prevailed against America. The absolute need of putting a final period to the long series of confusions that had distracted that country, was an argument that silenced all others. The present state of that country, it was said, offered nothing but irregularity and lawlessness; in desperate cases, desperate remedies were necessary: the case of America was such in every respect: Great Britain was now compelled to make an option between the total relinquishment of America, or the reduction of it to terms of obedience; upon mature consideration she chose the latter. Having made this choice, it was vain and unworthy of her to cavil and debate any longer about such points as she had resolved never to give up: she was at the same time convinced that her resolution was founded on the most substantial and valid reasons; they had been fully and freely canvassed, and their weight was allowed

by a great majority of suffrages, the only method of deciding questions of such importance.

The success of those two acts induced the ministry to come forward with a third; which was to complete the former, and render them effectual. It was intended for the impartial administration of justice in the case of such persons as might be employed in the execution of the laws, and the suppression of riots, and tumults in the Province of Massachusetts; and it provided, that if persons acting in that capacity should be indicted for murder, and a fair trial could not be had in the province, the Governor should be authorized to send the person accused to be tried in some other colony, or to England, if necessary. This act was supported in the debates it occasioned, by arguments drawn from the necessity of encouraging people to act with courage and confidence, against the irregularities that would probably ensue on the carrying the resolves of Parliament into execution at Boston. It was fully expected the people of Massachusetts would exercise that resistance against them, which they had so often surmised in their remonstrances. As it was determined on the other hand to enforce them at all events, blood would probably be shed; but if the military thus employed in the service of their country, were to be subjected to a court of judicature, composed of individuals belonging to that Colony, partiality and revenge would naturally prompt these to treat them with all possible severity.

The opposition replied to these assertions, that such an act would not produce that impartiality which was its supposed intent: the same spirit of faction which would condemn the accused before an American tribunal, would absolve them before an English one. But it was unjust to cast such suspicions on the Americans. The case of Captain Preston, tried and acquitted

ed by them, proved that they did justice even to those whom considered as their enemies. He caded a party of soldiers who had several of the inhabitants of n; yet in the midst of the rements this action had caused, he ith all the lenity that could be ted. It was further insilled that al design of such an act was to a military government by render- e soldiery responsible to those whose cause they supported. This l encourage them in the perp- n of all kind of violence, and ce- ed much more mischief than could ly arise from leaving them to dinary course of justice in the ry where they might be Stati-

e same concurrence being expres- this bill as in the two preceding, denced ministry to bring a fourth arliament; which was represented els proper at the present season he others. It was to form a per- it establishment in the Province ebec, of which it was alledged overnment had not been carried on any settled plan. By this e limits of that province were led much further than they stood time of the last general peace.— ffairs of the province were put the direction of a council. in the King's Roman Catholic sub- a Canada were to be admitted. members of this council were to ointed by the Crown, and re ble at its option. It was to be d with the powers of legislation, o exercise all the functions an- to such powers, excepting that pssing taxes: the French laws stablished in civil cases without ; and the English laws with a jury only in criminal matters. oman Catholic secular clergy curred in their possessions, and receipt of the usual tythes from

persons of their own communion.— The arguments upon which this act was grounded, were, that the inhabi- tants of Canada having been used to a French government, did not wish for an alteration of either; preferring them in fact, to those of England, and dreadng the consequence of those po- pular systems of governing, of which they saw the effects in the continual disturbances throughout the English Colonies. That as to religion nothing had been done but conformably to the promises made at the time of the capi- tulation; and that as to the extension of the boundaries, it took in chiefly such French people as had settled in places beyond their former limits.

These arguments, however, were far from giving satisfaction to the opposi- tion. They objected that an arbitrary government could not legally sit with- in the British dominions; and that for Parliament to become instrumental in establishing it, was an object of aston- ishment. There was no kind of neces- sity for such a measure: and an assen- bly might have been formed like those in the English Colonies, wherein the Roman catholics of that province might have been admitted, as they were in some of the French ceded islands. As to the attachment of the Canadians to absolute power, it was a bare surmise: no people in their senses that had but tasted of a free government, would give the other the preference. The trial by jury was universally allowed to be one of the wisest institutions ever devised for the benefit of the commu- nity: it was not only eligible in crimi- nal, but equally in civil cases; it pre- vented most effectually the invasion of property, and the violation of personal freedom. The affair of religion was debated with more warmth than any other. By the capitulation, no more, it was said, than the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion was to take place; but the present act went

to a full and circumstantial establishment of it, on a footing superior to that of the Protestant religion, which, by the present measure, could not be deemed to enjoy any more than a simple toleration. Was this consistent with the character of the British nation, hitherto esteemed the bulwark of the Protestant cause? Was it sound policy to encourage a persuasion, from which so much mischief was used to be apprehended, and of which the maxims instilled in their earliest education had taught them principally to beware?—The extension of the boundaries of that Province was reprobated with great asperity: it was justifying, in a manner, those claims of France that had occasioned the last war: it was appropriating territories to a government that was intended to be the seat of arbitrary power; and taking them from those who had assisted in the conquest of them, in the just and well-founded hope of annexing them to their own possessions. This was a flagrant act of injustice, and would unquestionably be considered as such by all the British Colonies.

But if the opposition it met with in Parliament was warm and spirited, the discontent excited without was much greater. As its appearance was inimical to liberty and Protestantism, the nation at large received it with unusual marks of disapprobation. The former acts were esteemed proper in the present exigencies to curb the violence of the Americans; but this was looked upon as an attempt to invade the liberty and the religion established by the laws of the land: though an indirect, it seemed no less a real, attack upon both, and produced much ill-will and suspicion among the generality of people. It had also another effect, of which the ministry was not perhaps aware, when they first ventured to bring it forth. It diminished the popularity of the measures that had been formed against the Americans; it restored

them a number of those friends to their cause, whom their late outrageous proceedings had disgusted; and even cooled the favour with which many had concurred in the views of the ministry. But the zeal and numbers with which their conduct had been supported in Parliament, gave these a full confidence of success. As they imagined the Colonies depended chiefly upon the countenance of their well-wishers at home, they doubted not that upon receiving intelligence, how weak the party was become, to which they looked up for assistance, they would lose courage, and acquiesce in the will of Great Britain; especially on beholding full proofs that she was in earnest in her determination to bring them into her own measures, at all hazards; and would certainly exert her whole strength, if necessary, to compass an end, in which her interest and dignity were equal and essentially concerned. The truth was, that the fame and grandeur of the British nation were such at this period, that it was never imagined the Colonies would seriously dare to contend with so formidable a people. As the late triumphs of Great Britain in so many parts of the world, still continued to make an impression upon the minds of its rulers, they flattered themselves that they would still operate in the remembrance of others. In this expectation they judged that when the Americans saw the ancient spirit of the British administration revive, they would not risk a trial of prowess with those fleets and armies, which the combined strength of the two greatest nations in Europe had not been able to resist.

Such were the ideas and hopes of the ministry, and of a great part of the British nation. They were as justly founded as the general experience of mankind could render them; but as the prosperity and adversity of states, as well as individuals, depend upon events and casualties which it is not in the power of political wisdom always

to foresee ; these flattering expectations, however they might seem reasonable, only served to increase the numberless proofs, how often the wisdom of the completest statesmen is deceived in the calculation of those contingencies that decide the fate of nations.

The expectations entertained from the measures now carrying into execution were various. It was hoped that by depriving Boston of the use of its harbour, the great trade it had hitherto engrossed to itself, would be divided among the other sea ports in the Province of Massachusetts : it was imagined that of course they would exert their best endeavours to retain it, and would not therefore express or feel much concern for the treatment of that town. It was no less believed that the severity exercised upon the Colony of Massachusetts, would strike terror into the others, and might possibly, from the commercial jealousies and competitions that had subsisted between the northern and southern Colonies, be viewed with some secret satisfaction, and hope of deriving some advantage from its depressions.—Hence it was inferred, that each of them would remain quiet on their own ground ; and that instead of entangling themselves in any embarrassing account, the unanimity which had linked them in so many effusions of discontent, would gradually evaporate, and leave them in a more tractable situation. But these expectations proved groundless in every respect.—Instead of showing the least inclination to profit through their misfortune, every proof of attachment and friendship was given to the people of Boston ; and they had the satisfaction of seeing themselves applauded and assisted by the whole American continent.

An unfortunate ignorance of the native character of the Americans, was the cause of a speakable detriment throughout the whole of this

contest. The spirit of opposition had been gathering more strength and determination than was thought of in Britain. The generality of people, many of the first rank not excepted, were fully persuaded that they would never proceed beyond those expressions of discontent, with which they first began. When it was seen, by the measures they adopted upon the rejection of their petitions, that they would not stop at bare complaints, still it was firmly asserted, and unhappily believed, that riots and disturbances would be the utmost of their resentment and resistance. The idea of a steady, regular opposition of force to force, did not enter into the minds of many. It was fondly hoped, that on the sight of the military strength that was now preparing against them, they would decline all further contest, and peaceably submit to the injunctions of Great Britain. But far different in reality from these notions, was the disposition and temper of the Americans : passiveness and humility were no part of their character : they were bred from their infancy in the highest sentiments of independency ; and were taught, by continual examples, to repel every encroachment upon their property, or personal privileges. They were educated in habits of hardness and activity, that fitted them betimes for those labours and exertions that accompany a military life. They were uncommonly expert in the use of fire arms ; and their native courage and intrepidity had been proved upon a variety of occasions, and were never called in question by those who knew them. The late war had trained numbers of them to the regular use of arms ; and they were not deficient in individuals, who had greatly signalized themselves at that time both by sea and land. Such were the people whom prejudice represented as equal-unable and unwilling to face the power

power and valour of Great Britain in the field ; and whom the very terror of her arms would alone be able to conquer. It was not surprising, therefore, that animated by that spirit of liberty which, in a nation aspiring at independence, is ever strongest, they should unanimously conspire to support each other in every difficulty they expected to encounter. This disposition, though common to them all, was conspicuously evident in the Provinces of New-England; the inhabitants of this part of America gloried particularly in their being the genuine descendants of British ancestors, unmixed with foreign blood, and inheriting the qualities upon which the natives of Britain value themselves.

Upon their being duly apprized of the storm that was gathering against them, they coolly and deliberately prepared to meet it. Every measure was concerted for that purpose which their circumstances enabled them to employ ; and they seemed universally resolved to persist, at all perils, in the resistance they had begun. They now were thoroughly convinced that Great Britain was inflexibly bent on reducing them to a state of unlimited obedience, and intended to govern them henceforward entirely upon such plans as she might think proper to form without their concurrence: they doubted not that in those plans her interests would be wholly consulted, and little notice taken of those of the Colonies: these would unquestionably be rendered entirely subservient to her convenience ; and every advantage would be taken that force could give, or policy might suggest. In the full conviction that such would be their treatment, and that of all America, in case Great Britain was suffered to execute her present designs, it was deemed highly proper to combat them by every means in their power. Should they *fail* in their endeavours, and be over-

come by the superior might of their enemy, still their condition would not be worse than if they yielded without resistance ; but if, on the contrary, they proved successful, their future prosperity would make ample amends for the difficulties and distresses they must go through to arrive at the situation they proposed. Such were the general reasonings of the people in America upon the preparation and menaces of Britain to compel them to submission. Instead of intimating or disuniting them, the active measures resolved upon by the ministry, had, on the contrary, bound them more firmly to each other than ever. As they now saw they must stand or fall together, all distinctions of interest or persuasion were immediately lost in the great consideration of self-defence and existence: these became the principal objects of their thoughts ; and Great Britain in taking up arms, rather in hope of terrifying them into compliance than in expectation of coming to hostilities, found them united in a common resolution, to perish sooner than obey.

In the province of Massachusetts, the high and determined spirit that had showed itself so early still continued. In pursuance of a vote against their acceptance of salaries from the Crown, the Chief Justice and the other Judges of the Superior Court at Boston, were required by the House of Representatives to declare, whether they would receive them as usual from the General Assembly: four of them answered in the affirmative; but the Chief Justice, Peter Oliver, had the resolution to give them a denial. This produced a petition to the Governor for his removal, which not being complied with, they proceeded to impeach him for having betrayed his trust, and violated the Provincial charter in accepting a salary from the Crown instead of the customary grant from the Assembly. In this bold and decisive measure

we, eight only declined a con-
 nance out of one hundred mem-
 present on this important occasion.
 Governor, however, refused to re-
 the accusation exhibited by the
 obly, and declined all interference
 matter. They had required him
 in the capacity of Judge on the
 but he pleaded incompetency
 in an office. They did not recede,
 other hand, and insisted that the
 should be executed against the
 Justice, as an example to deter
 from prostituting their abilities
 disservice of their country, es-
 ly in so sacred a place as a Court
 dicature. As it was evident that
 structions would be found
 ent to prevent them from carry-
 point they had proposed, and
 upon a prosecution, which would
 ended with great inconvenience
 anger, the Governor thought it
 it, in order to suspend all fur-
 animosities, to put an end to the
 es at present, by dissolving the
 bly.

h were the situation of affairs in
 rovince when intelligence arrived
 Boston Port Bill. Such a measure
 totally unexpected, occasioned
 astonishment and alarm. A town
 g was immediately summoned,
 ch, the resolution was taken to
 stop to all trade with Britain
 r dependencies, and to procure a
 sation throughout the Colonies,
 only method remaining to in-
 he British ministry to repeal so
 an act; for the extreme impolicy
 office of which they appealed
 judgment and feeling of all the
 ial world.

nerous copies of the act were
 l and dispersed over all the A-
 n continent. They kindled a
 hat proved inextinguishable. In
 o strike the eyes of the multi-
 these copies were on paper edg-
 black, as usual in mourning,
 ote the mortal blow given to the

liberty of America. The act was cried
 about by the vulgar, as a barbarous
 and cruel murder, and in some places
 was committed to the flames with
 great solemnity in the presence of
 crowds summoned together for that
 purpose.

Just at the time these disorders were
 at their height, General Gage arrived
 at Boston in quality of Governor. He
 had been selected by the ministry for
 this post, as an officer of reputation,
 and as a gentleman in favour and esteem
 with the Americans; among whom
 he had resided many years, and with
 whose character and disposition he was
 thoroughly acquainted. The first of-
 ficial act of his government, was to in-
 form the Assembly of their intended
 removal to the town of Salem, seven-
 teen miles distant from Boston, in con-
 formity with the act for depriving this
 place of the use of its port.

The Assembly requested the Go-
 vernor to appoint a day of public de-
 votion throughout the Colony, to de-
 precate the evils impending on it, in
 order to impress the people at large
 with a deep sense of the distressed
 situation they were in; but the pur-
 poses proposed by it were too obvious
 not to meet with a negative.

In the mean time in every Colony,
 provincial meetings were held, where
 they all condemned, in the strongest
 terms of disapprobation, the act that
 had been passed against Boston: they
 unanimously protested against the prin-
 ciples on which it was framed, and so-
 lemnly agreed to resist it to the last,
 and to unite in the most vigorous as-
 sistance of their persecuted fellow
 countrymen. Virginia, as formerly,
 took the lead on this occasion in a
 public avowal of its sentiments. The
 first day of June had been appointed
 for the Boston Port act to take place:
 on that very day the General Assembly
 of that Province enjoined a public sup-
 plication to heaven in behalf of Ame-
 rica. The stile of this injunction was
 remarkable

remarkable: the people were directed to beseech the Deity to give them one heart and one mind, firmly to oppose every invasion of the American rights. The example of Virginia was followed every where; and the first of June observed as a day of universal prayer and seriousness throughout the continent of America.

Besides these acts of devotion, the members of the Assembly of Virginia entered into an association, in which they declared, that to endeavour by force of arms to compel any Colony to the payment of arbitrary taxes was, in reality, an attack upon all the Colonies, and would prove their certain ruin, unless prevented by their uniting in a common resistance. They recommended for this purpose a General Congress of the Colonies, to deliberate on the conduct requisite to be adopted in their present critical circumstances. Though Pennsylvania and New York concurred in the general ideas of the Virginians, they still retained that degree of moderation which a due sense of their condition, as a commercial people, could not fail to suggest. A total stoppage of trade with Great Britain was a measure of too serious an importance, in their opinion, to be adopted before all others had been tried and found ineffectual. The indemnification required for the East India Company, they acknowledged to be just; but they could not admit of a tax which deprived them of the exclusive right to grant their own money. In this matter they continued inflexibly resolved to adhere to their long-taken determinations, and would support the people of Massachusetts to the utmost of their power, against the oppression and ill-usage they might experience on that account. Such also was the general temper and determination of the Colonies on this subject; invariably fixed in their resolution to abide by their refusal of obedience to Britain

in the affair of taxes; but still desirous to abstain from extremities, till every other remedy had failed.

General Gage, in the mean time had a very difficult part to act in his new government. Though much respect was shown to his personal character, yet the task he was commissioned to perform was highly offensive to the people he was sent to govern. When the Assembly of Massachusetts met at Salem, they did not forget to pass a resolution, declaring the propriety and necessity of a general meeting of all the Colonies in Congress, in order to confer together upon the situation of American affairs. Five gentlemen were named to represent their Province, well known for their strenuous opposition to British measures; and a competent sum was voted for their expences. All this they knew must be highly disagreeable to the Governor; but as they were sensible that his instructions were by no means favourable to them, they thought themselves entitled, on the other hand, to take what steps they might esteem necessary to counteract them. Convinced at the same time, that the moment their intentions were perceived, an end would be put to the session, they used all expedition in drawing up a declaration of their sentiments, to be communicated to the public, as a rule for the conduct of the people of Massachusetts, whose implicit confidence in them would give the force of a law to whatever they should lay before them by way of recommendation and advice. This declaration contained a repetition of grievances; the necessity they were now under of struggling against lawless power; the disregard of their petitions, though founded on the clearest and most equitable reasons; the evident intention, of Great Britain to destroy the constitution transmitted to them from their ancestors, and to erect upon its ruins a system of absolute sway, incompatible with

disposition, and subversive of the they had uninterruptedly enduring the space of more than a year and a half. Impelled by motives, they thought it their duty to advise the inhabitants of Massachusetts to throw every obstruction in the way of such evil, and recommend, as one of the most effectual, a total disuse of all communications from Great Britain, until redress had been obtained, every grievance.

Governor, however, was apprised of this business, notwithstanding the secrecy with which it was conducted, and on the very day it was decided, and the report of it made in the House, he dissolved the Assembly, which was the last that was held in that Colony, agreeable to the terms of its charter.

After the dissolution was followed by inflammatory addresses from the friends of the rights of the Colonies at the meetings of the Sons of Liberty in the city of Salem; wherein, after relating the calamities of the people of the Colonies; they entreated the Government towards them with all the authority that remained in his power, and concluded with these remarkable words:—"By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned here, and to our benefit; but nature in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart; and were it otherwise, must be dead to every idea of liberty, lost to all the feelings of humanity, could we indulge one moment to seize on wealth, and see our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbours."

These sentiments will appear the generous and noble, when it is considered that previous to the alterations between Great Britain and her Colonies, warm competitions in trade had been usual among the towns and in the neighbourhood of Bos-

ton, of whose prosperity some of them were not a little jealous.

Salem being now become the capital of the Province, and reaping the fruits of that trade which had been taken from Boston, it was imagined that interest would have gained over to the cause of Britain those who were benefited by her measures; but they who reasoned upon this principle, forgot that the passions of men are always stronger than their interest; and that the consideration of this never preponderates but in minds that are cool, and divested of their influence. The Americans, at this crisis, were under the strongest influence of passion for liberty, and ready to sacrifice to it all that was dearest to them. Depending however upon this principle, the friends of the British government had conceived the most sanguine hopes, that removing the scene of business to Salem, would have so much distressed the mercantile classes, that they would gladly have come into the measures required of them; but they remained firm in their engagements and preferred the inconveniences and detriment resulting from their perseverance, to the loss of character they must have suffered, had they forsaken the cause of their countrymen. To this it may be added, that from the fluctuating and precarious situation of public affairs, they foresaw that little emolument could, at present, be expected from their compliance: they wisely chose therefore to wait for a season of more stability.

In the midst of these agitations intelligence arrived at Boston of the two remaining bills that had been framed; the one for the new modelling of the government of Massachusetts, and the annulling of its charter, the other for the administration of justice, upon a new plan; which was circulated through the Colonies with the utmost diligence, and completed that

massachusetts

measure of resentment which seemed necessary to precipitate them into the most violent measures. Such as before appeared to hesitate, became fixed in their determination. A cessation of all commercial intercourse was again proposed, and a renewal of all those agreements that tended to the sole use of their own manufactures.

Great sums were now contributed in all quarters for the relief of the inhabitants of Boston. Letters and addresses came to them from corporate bodies and provincial assemblies, praising them in the highest terms for the courage with which they submitted to present hardships for the good and honour of their country, and exhorting them to persevere in the steadfast adherence to a cause which could not fail, through such supporters, to become triumphant at last.

There still was however a large number, who reflecting on the terrible consequences of rushing immediately to arms, laboured carefully to instil their sentiments into others, notwithstanding the spirit of violence and hostility to Great Britain, that seemed now to predominate. To these it was owing that the rage and indignation of the majority were kept in any bounds, and that the final decision of the conduct America should pursue, was referred to a general Congress. But though they succeeded so far as to prevent an immediate commencement of hostilities, they could not put a stop to those proceedings that prepared and fitted the minds of men for any that might happen.

The committees in America, that managed the correspondence on public affairs were generally composed of the most noted persons for their abilities, and their antipathy to Britain. Through their efforts and activity, the complaints and discontents at her measures were kept up and propagated; and their zeal was indefatigable in the

encouragement of that spirit of resistance, on which they founded the execution of the designs they were meditating. The arrival of the two last acts of the British Parliament, having raised the fermentation throughout the Province to its highest pitch, this was the time to begin the unfolding of that plan, for which they saw the dispositions of men were daily ripening, and the fairest opportunity given. They prepared an agreement accordingly;—which in imitation of that which the enemies to monarchy framed during the civil wars in England, in the last century, was entitled a solemn League and Covenant. Herein the subscribers solemnly bound themselves, in the most religious manner, to break off all commercial intercourse with Great Britain after the expiration of the ensuing month of August, until the late obnoxious acts were repealed, and the Colony re-possessed of its charter. They obliged themselves neither to purchase or to use any goods imported after that term, and to break off all trade and dealings with any who did, as well as with the importers. They renounced all connection with those who should refuse to bind themselves in a similar manner, either by this or the like agreement, and concluded by threatening to make public the names of all who declined to enter into such engagements. The committee exerted itself with its usual diligence in the promoting this Covenant, which was attended with a circular letter, exhorting all men to set their names to it, as a test of their fidelity to the cause of their country. All New England adopted it with the utmost zeal. Nor was it at Boston only, and the Provinces of New England, that this spirit of opposition prevailed; the same agreements were as readily entered into elsewhere and several parts of the American continent were without them.

The Governor of Massachusetts, in

at this extraordinary proceed-
 ured a proclamation against it,
 n it was stiled an illegal and
 us combination, contrary to
 giance due to the King, sub-
 of the authority of Parliament,
 destructive to peace and good
 People were forbidden to
 any countenance, under the
 es annexed to such offences;
 e magistrates were admonished
 rehend all persons who should
 , subscribe, or abet any such
 ment. But this proclamation
 isregarded; and only served to
 what little authority remained
 at Britain in this Colony. In-
 of paying it any deference, it
 hly attacked in print, and
 d as illegal: the law, it was
 did not prohibit subjects
 assembling to consider of their
 ices, and form associations for
 relief in cases of oppression.

varations were now making for
 ding of the intended Congress.
 elphia, from its situation be-
 the North and South Colonies,
 edged the most convenient
 or that purpose, and the begin-
 f September the proper time
 ating. The deputies who were
 spoke it were chosen by the
 natives of each Province; out
 r respective bodies: two were
 ist, and seven were the largest
 sent by any Province: but no
 had more than a single vote.
 rovincial Assemblies that were
 revious to the meeting of the
 se, foreboded the transactions
 meeting. They were, as usu-
 of resolutions censuring in
 ongest terms, the conduct of
 ritish legislature, and threat-
 to break off all commercial
 onduct with Great Britain,
 she complied with their re-

re was now a full prospect of
 ie people in Britain had to ex-
 om the measures in which they

had been so sanguine. They saw an
 union effected between all their Co-
 lonies, founded on the broad bottom
 of what they esteemed their common
 interest. It was not the intrigues of
 a party they had to defeat, but the
 combined power of a numerous
 people they had to encounter, bound
 together by common resentment.
 Experience had proved it impracti-
 cable to sow dissensions among them;
 they were therefore to be combated
 on their own ground, where unani-
 mity in their cause would produce
 universal resistance, and whence it
 were in vain to look for any support.
 A sufficient earnest was given of the
 firmness and constancy that would
 be met with, in the behaviour of the
 inhabitants of Boston. Neither fear:
 nor interest had worked the least
 change in their determination. They
 continued to bear with a passive, but
 inflexible fortitude, the inconveni-
 encies and hardships to which they were
 reduced by the deprivation of their
 port. These were daily increasing,
 and began to be an object of alarm to
 all classes. The assistance they had re-
 ceived from a variety of quarters was
 very considerable, but was not, how-
 ever, adequate to the exigencies of a
 large commercial city, chiefly peopled
 with individuals employed in the
 numberless occupations created by an
 extensive and flourishing trade. Be-
 fore the present calamity had befall-
 en them, it might with great truth
 be said, that no place upon earth
 could exceed, and few rival the hap-
 piness of its inhabitants. Boston was,
 in fact, the seat of commerce and
 plenty. The immense business it car-
 ried on, afforded not only a sufficient,
 but a comfortable subsistence to in-
 dividuals of all branches and denomi-
 nations. Not only the necessary and
 useful, but the elegant, and even
 some of the luxurious arts were culti-
 vated amongst them. They were
 become a polite, a gay, and, what
 was still more to their honour, a
 friendly

friendly and hospitable people: and conducted their enjoyments in a manner that rendered them worthy of their prosperity. In this happy state of their circumstances, they were sentenced at once to a total deprivation of all means of subsisting. The blow was not partial: it reached every person settled there. Labourers artificers, tradesmen, merchants; every one without exception participated in the general calamity. They bore this sudden reverse with a patience and determination to persist in the same line of acting, that had brought it upon them, which afforded no small matter of surprise to their enemies, and of exultation to their friends. Among these latter none signalized themselves with more zeal and alacrity than the people of Marble-head, their near neighbours, and who by this proximity were the most likely to reap the greatest profit by their distress; but instead of endeavouring to turn it to any account, they generously offered to the merchants of Boston the use of their harbour, wharfs, and warehouses, free of all expence.

Troops were arriving at Boston from all quarters, which occasioned great jealousy throughout the Province. It was looked upon as a denunciation of what they were shortly to expect, in case they continued in their present disposition. But instead of betraying any signs of change, it gathered strength daily. Proofs were continually given that the people in the neighbourhood of Boston kept a watchful eye on the proceedings of the British troops there; and would, on the least notice of any harsh measures against the inhabitants, fly instantly to their relief.

It was reported that a body of the military was posted on the isthmus, that joins the peninsula upon which Boston stands, to the main-land, in order to cut off its communication

with the country, and compel it by famine to submit to any terms that might be imposed. Hereupon the country assembled in great numbers and dispatched messengers to Boston to inquire into the truth of this report, and to assure them they might depend upon the speediest assistance, in case of necessity. They brought with them, at the same time, an errand of far greater importance, as it showed in its fullest light, the reality of their determinations to keep their word with Britain, in resisting her to the last. This errand was to inform the people of Boston, that were they to lose courage so far as to surrender their liberties, the Province should not look upon itself as bound by such submission: Britain, by breaking their charter, had annulled the original contract subsisting between them; and they were now left to themselves, and at liberty to act for their common preservation, as they thought most advisable.

In the month of August, a formal notification of the two last acts relating to the government was received, together with a list of the new council, consisting of thirty-six members. But twelve of the number declined their commissions; and most of those who accepted, were speedily obliged to resign them, in order to save their property and persons from the fury of the multitude. The judges newly appointed experienced much the same treatment. All the inferior officers of the courts of judicature, the clerks, the juries, and all other concerned, explicitly refused to act under the new laws. In some places the populace shut up the avenues to the court-houses; and upon being required to make way for the judges, and officers of the court, they declared that they knew of no court nor establishment in the Province, contrary to the ancient usages and forms, and would recognize none.

ish legislature having thus their former constitution, people refusing to acknowledge which was substituted in dissolution of all government, civilly ensued. If the ad- the British measures pro- nselfs any advantages pparent state of anarchy, greatly deceived. The re- s oppose the designs of itain, produced occasionally notions; but no other con- followed this defect of go- peace and good order ery where throughout the and the people demeaned with as much regularity, aws still continued in their rmal vigour. The truth the people as well as their ked upon their character ition to be deeply concern- occasion. They were con- xhoved them to give the isputable proof that their was by no means unruly: lo far from being inclined i licentiousness, they could ie public peace, and retain sobriety and decency of be- rithout any other restraint of their own habits and in-

In this seeming cessation l government, they display- , the most implicit readiness with every injunction of ra. Conformably to their lft they carefully abstained ug openly to extremities, indefatigably taken up with aration for war: arms were and ammunition procured viduals who could use them, denunciations of revenge st those who should oppose tions.

Gage, upon receiving in- of these preparations, con- ccessary to fortify the neck ready mentioned, in order the town from any sudden

surprize. This excited fresh discom- tens, and afforded ample cause of complaint; it was represented as a commencement of hostilities, and as an undeniable evidence of the design so long suspected, to render the mili- tary absolute masters wherever they should be stationed. Their complaints were so loud on this occasion, that fearing they might proceed farther, the General, by way of precaution against all accidents of this kind, took the resolution of seizing the powder, and other military stores, lodged in the provincial magazines at Cam- bridge and Charlestown. This step appeared the more prudent, as the time was now approaching for the annual muster of the militia, when it was apprehended, that if any hostile designs were in agitation, this would certainly be the season for executing them. It is not improbable that such was the intention of the people of Massachusetts. The resentment and indignation universally expressed at his conduct, and the violent measures immediately proposed, seemed to be dictated by disappointment, and manifested a concerted readiness to proceed to extremities on the first opportunity. With difficulty were they prevented by such as had the most in- fluence over them, from marching to Boston, and threatening to attack the troops, unless the stores that had been seized were immediately returned. But tho' retarded for the present, their revenge was fully determined upon. Not only Massachusetts, but all New England, concurred in this determination. To impress the military at Boston with a due persuasion that no excesses on their part would be at- tended with impunity, an alarm was spread that they were engaged in actual fight with the towns-people; this report brought instantly thousands together, who proceeded towards Boston with the utmost speed, and made no halt till they had full cer- tainty that the report was premature.

At Boston, where the military were absolute, open defiance was bid to the Governor himself. The company of cadets—that used to attend the Provincial Governors on ceremonial occasions, disbanded themselves, and returned him the standard he had, as usual, presented them with on his accession to the government. This slight was the more felt and mortifying; as this body consisted wholly of young gentlemen of fortune and fashion, and of families hitherto reputed to be attached to the British interest. This public renunciation of all further connection with the Governor, by so respectable a corps, was, by discerning people, considered as an evil presage. It had been chiefly occasioned by his depriving their Colonel of his commission.—This was the celebrated Mr. Hancock, a gentleman whose interest and influence were very extensive, and whose character was extremely popular. By disobliging him in this manner, he raised himself an enemy, whose popularity did not fail to create him a multitude of others. Another instance of the like nature happened at the same time. A colonel in the Provincial militia having accepted a seat in the new council, twenty-four officers of his regiment resigned their commissions in one day. From these specimens of the temper of the Americans, it was easy to prognosticate what consequences would infallibly result from their inveteracy.

The towns in the neighbourhood of Boston, during their proceedings, appointed a meeting of their principal inhabitants, wherein they agreed to refuse all obedience to the late acts of the British Parliament, and engaged to indemnify all persons who should be prosecuted for disobedience to the courts, and other powers established by them: they declared all members of the new council violators of the duty they owed to their country,

and warned them to resign their posts, under the penalty of being treated as public enemies. They exhorted the people, at the same time to perfect themselves in military discipline, and to assemble once a week for that purpose. They advised them to be perpetually on their guard against the designs of their enemies; who, it was said, had determined to seize upon those among them who had most signalized themselves by their opposition to the tyrannical measures of the British ministry. Should such an attempt be made, they were directed to resist it; and if it should succeed, to seize, in their turn, every officer they could find, and detain them till their own friends were restored to liberty. They recommended to the receivers of the public revenue, not to deliver it to the treasurer, but to retain it in their own hands, till the constitution of the Province was restored, or a Provincial Congress would otherwise dispose of it. After these, and several other admonitions, they concluded by entreating the people to continue in such a firm, unanimous opposition to their enemies, as might convince them that all their endeavours to oppose America would be vain; and that in so just and noble a cause, “the conduct of the Americans would be such as to merit the approbation of the wise and the admiration of the brave free of every age, and of every country.”—Those were their words.

They next presented a remonstrance to the Governor against the fortifications carrying on at Boston. They herein informed him, that they intended by no means to commence hostilities with the British troops; but were at the same time equally resolved, through the Divine assistance, never to submit to the late oppressive acts. They complained of insulting behaviour from the military, and particularly of the seizure of their mili-

lores and impured the ferment
Provinces, to these causes.

The Council advised the Governor
to a General Assembly in order,
able, to restore things to some
of tranquillity. The writs were
accordingly; but the heats and
furies so widely prevailing, and
inefficiency of a council through the
action of so many of its members,
advised him to countermand the writs
of proclamation. But this latter mea-
sure was held illegal, and the Province
and its deputies, who met at Salem;
after waiting a day for the Gov-
ernor, on his not appearing, they vot-
ed themselves into a Provincial Con-
gress, and chose Mr. Hancock presi-

A committee was immediately
appointed to wait upon the Governor,
to present to him the necessity of
giving the sense of the Colony upon
the present critical situation of its
affairs. They enumerated the grie-
vances already specified, and requested
in the most solemn manner, to dis-
continue the works upon Boston neck.
The Governor's answer was, no inimical
actions were meant by the proceed-
ings of the British troops; self-defence
was proposed. He reminded the
committee how ill it became them to
claim of breach of charters, while
the licence of government, they con-
tinued to hold Assemblies not warrant-
able by law.

These expostulations and recrimi-
nations served only to increase suspi-
cions and resentment on each side. As
mutual good-will and confidence was
completely lost, whatever was done was
considered in a sinister view; and im-
putations of the blackest nature were
addressed to every measure reciprocally
used. So dangerous was the situ-
ation of all adherents to the British
cause become, that they no longer
dared to trust themselves out of Boston.
Boston was the only place where they
could remain in safety. The Com-
missioners of the Customs, and all their

attendants had removed, thither from
Salem. Thus government, adminis-
tration of justice, and commerce were
all equally at a stand.

To prevent the altercations that
might arise from the troops being quar-
tered upon the inhabitants during the
winter, the intention of the Governor
was to erect barracks for the accom-
modation of the former. But this in-
tention was frustrated by the select-
men of Boston, who compelled the
workmen to desist. Application was
made to New York for a supply of
carpenters to as little purpose; and it
was with the extremest difficulty the
troops were provided with winter
lodgments. He had no better success
in his endeavours to procure winter
covering for the soldiery. The mer-
chants of New York, on being applied
to, answered to a man, "That they
would never supply any article for the
benefit of men who were sent as ene-
mies to their country." This treatment
of the military, tended not a little to
increase their dislike of the inhabitants
of Boston. These, on the other hand,
conscious of this resentment, looked
upon them as men who would give a
loose to it on the first occasion that
offered.—Thus hatred and mistrust
increased reciprocally; and became
the more violent and intense, from the
necessity of stifling their appearance,
and covering them with mutual pro-
testations of good-will.

During these proceedings at Boston,
the provinces at large were preparing
against what was universally looked
for the ensuing spring. They formed
magazines of military stores, trained
themselves to the use of arms, and
provided money with the utmost faci-
lity and cheerfulness. Nor paid they
the least regard to the proclamation
of the governor, reprobating the
illegality of their proceedings; but
seemed thoroughly convinced of their
propriety, and fully determined not to
recede.

CHAP.

C H A P. V.

Transactions of the Congress at Philadelphia in the Year 1774.

ACCORDING to appointment the General Congress of all the Colonies met at Philadelphia in the month of September, 1774, and consisted of fifty-one delegates. An Assembly of this kind was an entire novelty in this hemisphere. Throughout the vast dominions possessed by Spain, no insurrections had happened worthy of being recorded; in those belonging to Portugal submission had always prevailed; and France had never found it a difficult task to govern her American possessions. It was refused for Britain to afford the extraordinary spectacle of Colonies severing themselves from the parent state and uniting against her in a regular and orderly resistance. The peaceable obedience to the commands of their respective sovereigns in the Spanish, Portuguese, and French Colonies, is deducible from the nature of their domestic government. Accustomed in their own country to an implicit acquiescence in the dictates of the court, individuals who settled in foreign parts, carried with them those habits of compliance, which, like all others implanted by education, are always retained. But the vast disparity of character formed by contrary habit, could not fail to produce very different effects in the Colonies founded by England. The temper, inclinations, and pursuits, of the English Colonists differed widely from subjects of arbitrary government.

The English, bred in the highest sentiments of freedom, preserve and propagate them wherever they go. Hence in the numerous emigrations from England to America, that have

taken place in the last and the present century, the spirit that was prevalent at the time they happened, always accompanied the emigrators. This accounts in particular for the passionate attachment to republican principles, that marks the character of the people in New England, whose forefathers were the most zealous adherents to that party which opposed monarchy with so much outrageousness and violence in the last century. Fraught with the high spirited notions that characterise the British nation, it is not surprising that the inhabitants of British America should feel the same repugnance to make any concessions unfavourable to liberty, that is professed by the natives of this island; in which these glory, and which they consider not only as the most shining part of their character, but as the source of all those advantages they possess in a superior degree to other nations. Another material cause may be assigned for the firmness expressed by the people of New England, in asserting every privilege to which they thought themselves entitled. This part of British America is chiefly peopled with white men; the proportion of blacks being no more than a twentieth. The lands are divided into small lots, each of them freeholds; this produces a numerous commonalty, who live in plenty, though not in luxury. An equality of circumstances places them on a footing of friendships and mutual intercourse, that renders it dangerous to aim at innovations, or at too much authority over them. A people thus constituted

enjoy

a weight of consequence upon countries where great quantities of land are in the possession of a

Here the number to be brought into the field being small, that business which more easily accomplished, where multitudes are to be conquered. Circumstances set them necessity, and whose education is them habitually attached to constitution of their country.

Before ten long ago, that a time

came when the people of New-England should by claim not only to more in a small extent, but to absolute independency. The principles were brought up in, taught daily to consider the field as their and the jealousy of encroachment upon it, would lead them to repudiate the dependence upon a power distinct from their own.

Once favored, that while unable to break such a yoke, they bore it with reluctance. It was not of astonishment, that thinking themselves able to resist it, they should to bear it any longer. That of resistance of which Great

now so bitterly complained, arose the necessity and native of those Colonies which the

undertaken, fostered, and reared, with much attention and care, to a state of maturity. They

strength and importance to they had attained, and were determined to exercise it according to their

rights. They were now met at the first time, in the presence of their delegates. After having long years dwelt, as it were separated from each other and often differed in various interests, they now set all prepossessions and antipathies aside, and cordially agreed to unite their respective abilities of every kind, in opposition to the power and demands of Great Britain.

These proceedings that naturally drew the attention of all

Europe; but especially of the States that had large possessions in America. They saw the beginning of a contest, the final issue of which might affect them in the most serious manner. Were the British Colonies to succeed in their attempt, to far as to place themselves on a footing of total independence upon Great Britain, this might prove a precedent of the most fatal tendency to their interests. It might induce their own Colonies to imitate those of England, in hopes of meeting with the like success. Those powers, on the other hand, who had no Colonies, viewed with a secret satisfaction the embarrassments of a state whose might they dreaded and wished to see diminished.

By the instructions given to the delegates, they were solemnly to acknowledge the sovereignty of Great Britain over them, and their willingness to pay her the fullest obedience, as far as the constitution authorized her to demand it; they were to disclaim all notions of separating from her; and to declare it was with the deepest regret, they beheld a suspension of that confidence and affection which had so long, and so happily subsisted between Great Britain and her Colonies. But they were no less carefully directed, at the same time to assert the rights transmitted to them by their ancestors. These rights they would never surrender, and would maintain them at all perils. They were entitled to all the privileges of British subjects and would not yield to the unjust pretensions of Parliament, which, in the present treatment of the Colonies, had violated the principles of the constitution, and given them just occasion to be dissatisfied, and to rise in opposition. Parliament might depend this opposition would never cease until those acts were wholly repealed that had been the radical cause of the present disturbances. They were particularly instructed

to preserve the utmost harmony in all their consultations, and to debate nothing with acrimony: whatever should be decided by a majority, the remainder should acquiesce cheerfully. This majority was to be formed, not by numbering the delegates, but by allowing one vote to each Colony. The temper and secrecy with which they conducted their proceedings, was the first object that struck discerning observers: it contributed powerfully to gain them the reverence and favour of the public, and to convince their constituents that they had intrusted their affairs to able hands.

The first public act of the Congress was a declaration approving and applauding the conduct of the people of Massachusetts, and encouraging them to proceed with the same spirit they had begun: they lamented the distresses of the people at Boston, and the oppression they suffered through the illegal and tyrannical acts of the British Parliament: they coincided with all the measures and resolutions taken and proposed by that Province, and recommended a generous contribution of supplies from all the Colonies, to enable their countrymen at Boston nobly to persevere in the struggle they were now making for the common cause. They further declared, that if any attempt should be made to carry these acts into execution by force, all America should join to oppose it; and that if, in the course of hostilities, the preservation of the inhabitants of Boston made their removal up the country necessary, all America should unite to indemnify them for the losses and detriment they might incur on that account. They next wrote a letter to General Gage, in which, after repeating the grievances complained of by the people of Massachusetts, much in their own terms, they informed him of the unanimous resolution taken by the Americans to oppose, with their united endeavours, the acts lately passed by the British

Parliament; and that to this intent the Colonies had appointed them the guardians of their liberties. They entreated him, in the same manner the people of his government had done, to desist from any military operations, as tending to breed blood, and occasion, at last, hostilities, which might frustrate the pacific disposition of the Congress, and render a reconciliation with the parent state a work of great difficulty.

A public declaration of the rights belonging to the British Colonies was next published. Herein they again asserted their title to every privilege enjoyed by Englishmen. They particularly stated, that as the distance of the Colonies from Britain made a representation of them in the British Parliament inconvenient and impracticable, their Provincial Assemblies ought exclusively to possess the powers of legislation, as the only legal representatives of the people, by whom they are chosen. These, conjointly with the Governor appointed by the King, being constitutionally the only lawful rulers in each Province. In order, however, to preserve the connection between Great Britain and her Colonies unimpaired, they consented to pay due submission to such acts of the British Parliament as are avowedly and evidently calculated for the mere regulation of commerce, and to secure the benefits of the American trade to the parent state; but without empowering her to impose any tax whatsoever for the purpose of raising a revenue in America without their consent. They reprobated the idea of being tried for offences any where but at home, by juries chosen among their neighbours. They claimed all the immunities granted to them at any time by royal charters, or secured to them by law: they declared the keeping of an armed force in any Colony during peace, against its consent, illegal; and that a council invested with

legislative powers, and appointed : Crown during pleasure, was ry to the spirit of the constitution and subversive of freedom. They l on these rights as unalienable, the lawful power of none to de- hem of. They were founded on carest natural justice, and could asonably be called in question. enumerated those acts of parli- by which they thought them- illegally aggrieved, and of which eclared the repeal indispensibly ry for the restoration of harmony n Great Britain and America. g these was that relating to e, which they explicitly termed a act for establishing the Roman lic religion in Canada ; abolish- e equitable system of English and erecting a tyranny there." act, they said, was peculiarly to the Colonies, from the dis- ide between the religion, laws, overnment, established among anadians, and those of the Co-

The French in that Province t forgotten the enmity formerly ing between them and the Eng- lonies, and that it was by the ce of these, they had been torn he dominion of France. They eclared, that to obviate in the fectual manner the evils impend- on them, through the unjusti- neasures of the British ministry, ld be proper to frame a body of ions against the importation and ption of English goods, until ts were repealed that imposed upon tea, wine, coffee, sugar, olasses imported into America, er with the Boston port act, or altering the charter of Mas- et, and the administration of in that Colony, and that re- to Quebec. The regulations importing or using any articles from Britain, were much ne that had been adopted on

former occasions, and have been al- ready specified : the principal differ- ence was, that they were now enacted in a more formal manner, and recom- mended with more earnestness and so- lemnity. They did not forget to re- turn the warm thanks of America to those members of Parliament who had so zealously, though ineffectually, es- poused its cause ; as well as to the se numerous individuals in England, that had stood up in its defence in their speeches or writings.

After this a petition was sent to the King, an Address to the British nation, another to the Colonies, and a third to the French inhabitants of Canada.

They complained particularly in their petition to the King, for a mili- tary commander in chief being ap- pointed Governor of a Colony during peace ; an armed force employed to compel the payment of taxes ; new offices created and attended with much expence and oppression ; salaries and fees on the Court of Admiralty pay- able out of the effects condemned ; Custom-house officers authorized to force entrance into houses without permission from the civil magistrate ; heavy forfeitures for light offences ; false informers exempted from indem- nifying the parties accused ; unreason- able security demanded for those when defending their right. After dwelling upon these, and the various instances repeatedly mentioned as objects of complaint amongst the Americans, they declared their attachment to the parent state, their fidelity to the Crown, and affection to the King's person and family, with a more re- markable warmth and energy of ex- pression, than had hitherto been used on such occasions.

Their address to the British nation contained the highest encomium on the common ancestors of the people of Britain and of America. It as- serted all the rights of freemen as

common

common to both, and declared their irrevocable resolution to surrender them upon no consideration.

They next addressed the Colonies. They informed them, that after having weighed with the utmost impartiality and attention, the conduct reciprocally observed towards each other by Great Britain and America, since the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four, when the present unhappy quarrel had their first commencement, truth obliged them to declare, that "it is clear, beyond a doubt, that a resolution is formed, and now carrying into execution, to extinguish the freedom of the Colonies, by subjecting them to a despotic government."

They represented the hostile treatment of the town of Boston, and the Province of Massachusetts, as part of the system concerted against the Colonies: these were not less guilty of opposition to Britain than Massachusetts; but British policy aimed at disuniting them. It had to that intent selected, for the first trial, the most powerful, and most likely, for that reason, to break out into some act of violence that might not meet with the concurrence of the other Colonies; this would afford a pretence for connecting that Province with a heavy hand, without the interference of the others, who might not, till it was too late, discover the impropriety, as well as the ingratitude of suffering it to be crushed in the very bud, as it were, of its exertions for the common cause. Notwithstanding, they said the behaviour of Britain, and the present circumstances of the Colonies, would justify in re-active measures than those they should recommend, yet in order to preserve consistency of character, and to make it evident to the world that nothing but extreme necessity should alter the passive disposition they had hitherto professed for the parent state, they judged it advisable still to

continue that moderation and forbearance. Influenced by such motives, they had once more presented a loyal and affectionate address to the Throne, in hopes of obtaining its protection and assistance for the redress of their grievances. They had, with the same view, appealed to the British nation, and endeavoured, by awakening them to a sense of their own interests, to engage their interference and mediation in the behalf of their persecuted fellow subjects on this side of the Atlantic; warning them, at the same time, to be aware of consequences, should matters be brought to extremities; for in that case they would had the Colonists prepared to meet them and to show themselves worthy of that liberty for which they were contending. This trial, however, they hoped would never take place; nothing should be wanting on their part to induce a sincere reconciliation; the reciprocation of benefits and services so long subsisting between them and the parent state; and the ties of consanguinity; the remembrance of their common origin; all these, they flattered themselves, would operate in England as well as in America; and it was their ardent wish, never to see the day, when forgetful of all these motives to consider the Americans as their brethren, the English, by assuming the character of tyrants, should cut asunder the bands that had so long, and so happily held them together. They concluded by reminding the Colonies, that they had not long to wait for the final option of the British nation, between friendship or enmity with America. They declare, however, "that in the piety, generosity, and good sense of the English, they repose high confidence; and cannot upon a review of past events, be persuaded, that they, the defenders of the true religion, and assertors of the rights of mankind, will

ke part against their affectionate
 tant brethren in the Colonies,
 our of the open enemies to these,
 our own secret foes, whose in-
 s, for several years past, have
 viously exerted in sapping the
 ition of all civil and religious

our last address was directed to
 rench inhabitants of Canada. To
 they stated the right they had
 ed, upon becoming subjects to

Britain, to enjoy all the ad-
 ges of the British constitution.
 Royal proclamation at the con-
 g of the last peace, had solemnly
 sed them a participation of these
 ; but as they had been withheld
 them by ministerial artifice, in
 npt of public faith and express
 tions; and as the Canadians
 their education, and long ac-
 cence in a very different form of
 nment were total strangers to
 perior excellence of that to which
 ere now entitled, the Congress
 nt it just they should at present
 de acquainted with it. To show
 this superiority did not exist
 y in their own assertions, a vari-
 of those benefits were cited in
 mation of it, that so conspicu-
 distinguish the government of
 Britain from that of all other
 ries. It was under the protec-
 nd influence of the English con-
 ion, the Colonies had prospered
 nspicuously, and were now be-
 so populous and powerful.

then adverted to the Quebec
 which they represented as cal-
 ed to establish the most rigorous
 tism. It took away all shadow
 wer from the people and lodged
 ively in the hands of men who
 wholly at the disposal of the
 n. What name could be given
 ch a government, but that of
 re and arbitrary in the extreme
 e? It was insinuated upon this
 on, that whatever tyranny they

might formerly have experienced while
 under the dominion of France, they
 had certainly made a much worse
 exchange by becoming subject to Eng-
 land. The French were their coun-
 trymen, and would from that motive,
 be prompted to treat them with some
 degree of lenity; but no reason of that
 kind subsisted at present, to shield
 them from the ill treatment of mis-
 takers who were aliens to them, and of
 a nation at all times the protected ene-
 my of their own. These would con-
 tinually suspect them of harbouring
 designs unfavourable to their interest,
 and of perpetually watching for an
 opportunity of returning to their old
 masters. Though this insinuation
 was not contained in the address, it
 was carefully conveyed to them, at
 the time, in a manner no less effectual.
 Upon so critical an emergency, they
 invited them, in the warmest terms, to
 join with the English Colonies, as the
 surest means to secure themselves from
 ill usage and oppression. In order to
 work the greater impression upon their
 minds, they referred them, on this oc-
 casion, to the wisdom and authority of
 their own countryman, the great
 Montesquieu, a name venerated by all
 Europe. What advice to use their
 own words, would that truly illustri-
 ous man, that advocate of freedom and
 humanity, give you, was he now liv-
 ing, and knew that we, your numer-
 ous and powerful neighbours, animat-
 ed by a just love of our invaded rights,
 and united by the indissoluble bonds
 of affection and interest called upon
 you, by every obligation of regard for
 yourselves and your children as we
 now do, to join us into our righteous
 contest, to make a common cause with
 us therein, and take a noble chance
 for emerging from a humiliating sub-
 jection under governors, intendants,
 and military tyrants, into the firm rank
 and condition of English freemen,
 whose custom it is, derived from their
 ancestors, to make those tremble who

dare to think of making them slaves. "Would not this be the part of his address? Seize the opportunity presented to you by Providence itself you have been conquered into liberty, if you act as you ought. This work is not of man. You are a small people compared to those who, with open arms, invite you into a fellowship. A moment's reflection should convince you, which will be most for your interest and happiness; to have all the rest of America your unalterable friends, or your inveterate enemies. From Nova Scotia to Georgia, every Colony is now associated: Your Province is the only link wanting to complete the bright and strong chain of union. Nature has joined your country to theirs; do you join your political interest.—For their own sakes, they never will desert or betray you. Be assured that the happiness of a people inevitably depends upon their liberty, and their spirit to assert it. The value and extent of the advantages tendered to you are immense.—Heaven grant you may not discover them to be blessings after they have bid you an eternal adieu!" They next proceed to the article of religion; and from the liberality of sentiments on this subject that now characterizes the French nation, they declare themselves entirely confident, that no obstructions will arise to prevent a sincere amity.—They appeal to the concord subsisting between the Protestants and Roman Catholics in Switzerland, as an illustrious proof of the benefits produced by such an union. They continue by exhorting them to beware of those secret abettors of arbitrary measures among themselves, who from private views of avarice or ambition, may oppose the real interest of the Canadians, and dissuade them from accepting the advantageous offers now laid before them. They inform them, that Congress have unanimously voted, that they will consider the violation

of their rights in the same light as if it were levelled at those of the English Colonies. They advise them to call a Provincial Meeting for the election of Delegates to represent them in the next continental Congress; and conclude by these solemn and remarkable words:—"It is our fervent prayer, that God may incline your minds to approve our equitable and necessary measures; to add yourselves to us; to put your fate, whenever you suffer injuries which you are determined to oppose, not on the strength alone of your single Province, but on the consolidated powers of North America."

The various addresses framed by the Congress in this critical juncture of affairs in America were to this general sense and purport. The conduct and measures which they adopted and proposed, met with the universal concurrence and applause of their constituents. In no age or country was ever a greater confidence testified in its rulers, than the members of the American Congress experienced from their countrymen. This indeed was the natural consequence of the disposition the people were in from one end of the continent to the other. No parties or divisions prevailed among them; their unanimous accord against Great Britain, had silenced and put an end to all those lesser causes of contention that are common in all countries. The same spirit animated their leaders; there was but one voice among them,—That of opposition to Britain.

The meeting and proceedings of Congress were now become an object of equal curiosity and importance in Europe. The political part of society was busied every where in forming opinions and passing judgments upon them; and individuals were solicitous in framing conjectures upon their issue, according to their respective wishes or fears. But however they

it differ in their sentiments
 y the justice of their cause,
 greed that their measures
 lucted with a wisdom and
 orthy of the most consum-
 micians. Nothing contribut-
 owerfully to impress people
 favourable opinion of their
 an those public documents
 fies of which the summary
 fies given. The strength of
 energy of thought, and
 f argument they displayed,
 even those who were averse
 pretensions, that they were
 by men of spirit and capa-
 t beside these compositions,
 of other publications were
 arriving from America,
 the natives great honour.
 fested a vigour and compre-
 s of mind, unfettered by
 feminary of thinking. They
 those maxims of liberty,
 ancient times filled the
 epublics with statesmen, pa-
 l heroes. The truth was,
 estance of America was an
 at struck the monarchial
 urope with admiration and
 nt. Accustomed to obey
 licit veneration the royal
 of their respective sovereigns,
 ardly enter into their con-
 that any subjects of so great
 t a Prince as the King of
 ain, would dare to disobey
 , emanating jointly from
 ity, and that of the British
 ; their concurrence seemed
 te a weight able to crush at
 opposition. This opinion
 the limited sphere of ideas,
 he principles of education
 in European monarchies,
 mscribed the thoughts of

It may even be said, that
 in Europe, the British ex-
 re carry reflection much be-
 t they are taught by their
 lence proceeds a disposition
 nage; and which, when

occasionally provoked to break out
 into murmurs and discontent, is soon
 apt to return to submission, on the
 appearance of coercive measures to
 reduce them to obedience. While
 threats only are employed for this pur-
 pose, they may keep aloof, and threat-
 en resistance; but when they see the
 arm of power lifted up against them,
 their spirits fail, and they tremble to
 face the coming storm.

This daring spirit in the Ameri-
 cans was easily to be accounted for,
 as this position was precisely such as
 will generally induce men to act in
 the same manner. They were the de-
 scendants of the freest people upon
 earth, whose notions they had imbibed,
 and whose privileges they claimed
 in their fullest extent, as their un-
 doubted inheritance. Remote from
 the seat of power and corruption,
 they were not over-awed by the one,
 nor debilitated by the other. Their
 immense distance from the metropolis,
 had hitherto preserved them from the
 contagion of ministerial influence:
 few were the means of detaching in-
 dividuals from the interest of the
 public. The principal posts and of-
 fices in the gift of government, were
 chiefly bestowed on the natives of
 Britain; and the inferior employ-
 ments were neither numerous nor
 lucrative enough to purchase many
 adherents. Those honorary distinc-
 tions which birth and titles create,
 were hardly known among them:
 every man occupied the rank which
 his own industry, or that of his fa-
 thers had procured him. This af-
 forded every individual the prospect
 of rising to importance through the
 exertion of his talents, and encourag-
 ed him, of course, to make a proper
 use of them. Hopes of this nature
 excited universal emulation, and pro-
 duced a laborious and diligent race of
 men, full of projects for the making
 of their fortunes, and not easily dis-
 heartened by difficulties. They were

wealthy, but it was in the riches of nature. The voluptuous opulence of Europe had not yet reached them. Society might be said to have just attained the state of manhood among them. Their enjoyments were neither far sought, nor dearly purchased; and left their minds and bodies unimpaired, and fit for the prosecutions of an active life. The similarity of pursuits and occupations among them, created a levelling spirit, which in the present posture of their affairs was of admirable service. It united them thoroughly in a cause, which was the more a common one, as they were all equally to partake of the benefit or detriment accruing from its success or failure. They were at the same time remarkably fond of the ways and habits of life by long custom established among them. They did not wish for an introduction of those political systems, which by conferring imaginary excellence on particular classes, contribute only to estrange them in affection and interest from the rest of the community. Nothing sets this in a clearer light, than the readiness with which all America concurred in the very outset of its confederation, to provide against the future establishment of the hereditary honours.

The British government have been taxed with oversight, by many politicians both in Britain and the other countries of Europe, in having not long ago introduced such distinctions among the Americans. Titles of nobility create a natural attachment to the power that confers them: by drawing individuals nearer to the throne, and making them in some measure participate in its splendour, they procure it supporters in the day of need. But whether such a measure would have much availed Great Britain in the present case, is a matter of doubt. No people are more attached to their country, nor to the *they lead in it*, than the inhabi-

tants of the English Colonies in North America. Like the native Indians dispersed throughout the immense tracts of that vast continent, they delight in personal independence, and seem to look on the boundless wilds and forests that surround them, as retreats from oppression, should the iron hand of tyranny compel them to abandon their present mansions. Inured from early years to the occupations and toils of a country life, they dwell in the midst of rural plenty, and were totally unacquainted with ideal wants. Such being the condition of an infinite majority of the inhabitants, and the manners and inclinations of many of the most opulent, corresponding with theirs in a very considerable degree, they formed, altogether a body of men too well affected towards each other, through that sympathy which arises from similitude of disposition, to have been easily disunited.

No situation contributes more effectually to invigorate the human faculties, than that which is equally removed from the pressures of want, and the excess of affluence. Either of those extremities is fatal; by creating discouragement or indolence. Thus we see that in countries where wealth is distributed in very unequal proportions, excessive wretchedness engenders sloth and indolence on the one hand, and that too much opulence produces dissipation and carelessness on the other. This happy medium between poverty and riches, was the most desirable circumstance that could attend the Americans at this period. It approximated and cemented the great body of the people; it made them duly sensible of the strength and importance resulting from an equal diffusion of property, and inspired them with a resolution to maintain themselves in such a state.

Throughout the whole of this contest the Americans entertained a very clear idea of their own situation, and

of Great Britain. They stood on their own ground, where of resources were at hand; not these prove sufficient to and the power of Britain, they new where others might be

The jealousy of all Europe, states in particular whose en-

Britain was natural and here was a fund from whence to supplies, which political in- would render inexhaustible e quarrel lasted.

Britain on the contrary was with divisions at home, that lone half of the nation an ene- the other. The very subject dispute with America was the endleſs conſt.

She had an ocean to croſs before ſhe ar- the ſcene of action. The

ion and expence for ſo vaſt an ze, were neceſſarily prodigious.

this the avowed unwillingneſs tudes of thoſe who were to e ſword in this quarrel, and led opinions of the wiſeſt men tion what plan of acting was eligibile. But independent

difficulties, which were ſu- o alarm the moſt forward and

t, there was another of ſuch de, as ſeemed of itſelf to ren- attempt impracticable. This

critical ſituation of the public Great Britain was now at the

war, that threatened to prove perilous and expenſive of any

waged for ages. Her reſour- ough great, were in evident

of ſoon diminiſhing through tions. The ſtanding revenue

equate to the demands of the this occaſion; and the fears

who could alone advance the ſupplies were to be overcome of intereſt.

French were the firſt in eſpouſ- uſe of the Americans. They

th the more warmth and e, as the Engliſh nation was

ſional object at which theſe

were levelled.—They ſound or invent- ſufficient cauſes to irritate the Co- lonies; they ſet their imaginations on the rack to furniſh them with pretexts for renouncing all further adherence to the parent ſtate, by which they re- preſented them to have been treated in a manner unworthy of the attach- ment they had ſo long, and ſo inva- riably teſtified for her; and that en- tirely abſolved them of all obligation to remain any longer in her ſubjection.

France beheld with pleaſure the probability of a moſt ſanguinary con- teſt between her ancient rival, and the

Colonies which ſhe had taken ſo much time to found and bring to maturity,

and had protected at ſo vaſt an expence. She rejoiced to ſee the fruits of ſo

much ſagacity and care, the produce of near two centuries, on the point of

being torn for ever from the hands that planted them. Her only apprehen- ſion was, that a ſenſe of their mu-

tual intereſts, might reconcile the jar- ring parties, and prevent them from

coming to thoſe extremities into which her clandeſtine endeavours were now

ſedulouſly exerted to precipitate both. The meeting of the American Con- gress opened the faireſt proſpect of

realizing the ſanguine expectations ſhe had entertained, that America, confi- ding in her ſtrength, would reſuſe to

make the conceſſions demanded by Britain; and that neither of the con- tendants being in any diſpoſition to

yield, diſputes would ariſe to ſuch a height as to render an appeal to force

unavoidable. Elated with theſe ideas, the French miniſtry viewed this meet- ing of the Congress as the firſt ſtep to

the great revolution they were looking for. The altercation, from being a

difference of opinion begun and main- tained by individuals, was gradually

become a national quarrel of the moſt ſerious nature. It had already pro- duced an effect of the laſt importance;

it had united all America under one government; Britain had no longer a

ſingle Colony to contend with; ſhe

had

had

had

had them all to face under one denomination. The difference between the language they held when asunder, and the stile they now assumed, was manifest to every observing man. They did not, indeed, cast off at once all respect and submission; but their conceptions were bold beyond any former precedent, and their expressions were animated to a degree that bordered on defiance.

What added, doubtless, considerably to the zeal thus manifested in the common cause, was the spirit exerted upon this occasion by the independent clergy. They faithfully adhered to the people; and by their conduct and discourses, showed that they considered themselves as equally interested with the rest of the community, in maintaining its various claims. There is probably no country upon earth where the inhabitants are more under the influence of their preachers than New-England. To speak with impartiality, they are usually men of irreproachable character, sincere and laborious in their vocation, and exemplary in their lives and manners. Men of this description, many of whom were eminent for their learning and eloquence, were powerful assistants in spiriting up the people to co-operate with their leaders in resisting the designs of Britain, which were painted to them in all the colours of injustice and tyranny. The discourses addressed to the people from the pulpits in New-England, made the greater impression as they were unbought and flowed from principle. The cause of the public, from this method of supporting it, became more sacred and respectable. It created a kind of religious attachment, and inspired men with an enthusiastic courage to defend it. The consequence was, that the

inhabitants of New-England took up arms with the most conscientious persuasion of the justice and rectitude of doing it. They went to the field of battle, convinced that if they fell, it was in a cause that Heaven approved. Sentiments of this kind could not fail to produce intrepidity.

Congress beheld with much satisfaction this universal disposition to coincide with the measures, which, it perceived, must soon, be taken in the present circumstances. From the irresistible power of the British ministry, it clearly foresaw that the utmost efforts would be made to reduce America by force of arms. The resolutions adopted in the last session of Parliament, left no hopes of reconciliation otherwise than by complying with the acts it had lately passed, and which were the chief cause of the present fermentation of the Colonies.

They were duly aware of the dangers they must encounter in so arduous an undertaking as that of meeting regular troops in fight, flushed with former victories, and commanded by officers of tried valour and experience. But they relied, at the same time, on the nature of the country wherein the war would be waged; full of passes and defiles, intersected with numberless rivers and streams, and covered in so large a proportion with woods and hills. All these were powerful impediments to the motions of armies; and would render the superior discipline of the British forces much less formidable than it might at first appear. They were careful in procuring lists of the number of fencible men in every Colony, and of those especially who had served during the last war, and found of this description no less than 12,000 men.

C H A P. VI.

Proceedings in Britain relative to America.

GRESS after a session of near
months broke up, and intel-
of their meeting and transac-
edily reached England; but
standing their importance they
seem to occasion much alarm
generality of people.

public had lost all patience on
ject. So much had been as-
and contradicted on both sides
question, it was involved in so
quibbles and uncertainties, that
of the nation began to drop
attention to American topics.
ould have thought by the in-
ce with which they were treat-
ar the greatest number, that
d resolved, as it were, to give
es no further concern about
until some event should happen
serious a nature as to render
unquestionably of the utmost
nce.

was the temper of the nation
, when a new Parliament met,
ember, 1774, which soon ap-
to be no less disputed than the
to adopt and pursue with
the ideas and views of the mi-
specting America.

were informed, in the speech
the throne, of the disobedient
ill prevailing in Massachusetts;
was abetted by the other Co-
that due measures had been
to enforce the acts passed by the
Parliament; that an inviolable
union had been embraced to main-
tain the supremacy of the British le-
gislation in every part of the empire;
and in the support of so just a

determination, no doubt was entertain-
ed of their warmest concurrence.

The address was in conformity to
the sentiments expressed in the speech,
and voted by a prodigious majority.
But they who were of a different opi-
nion, exerted themselves on this occa-
sion with uncommon vigour; and
though borne down by the weight of
numbers, did not seem inclined to
give up any part of the contest upon
that account. The refusal of their
concurrence was founded on the ne-
cessity of a direct examination of what
the preceding Parliament had done,
before they ventured to give it their
approbation.

To require them to give their sanc-
tion to the plans in agitation among
ministers, was an attempt to impose
upon their common sense and experi-
ence. It was inviting them to add
fuel to a fire that was consuming one
of the noblest monuments of British
genius and industry. America was
now, it clearly appeared, to be de-
voted to ministerial vengeance, for
having fully proved the incompetency
of the schemes that were now in pro-
secution. With what presumption
had its immediate fall been foretold,
beneath the terrors awaiting the arma-
ments that had been sent forth? But
had any supplicating voice been heard
among the Americans? Were they
not, on the contrary, standing in a
firm and compact array, prepared to
meet our utmost wrath, and full of
confidence in the justice of their cause.
It were imprudent in the extreme,
with such a sight before them, to go
forward

affirm they will make the crown not worth his wearing :—I will not say that the King is betrayed, but I will pronounce that the kingdom is undone."

The efforts of Lord Chatham in favour of the Americans, availed them nothing. Coercion was now decisively resolved upon by the majority, and no other plan was allowed to be admissible. They renewed all the arguments tending to criminate America, and to justify the conduct of ministry. The time was now arrived, said they, for a final resolution not only to be taken, but enforced. Parliament is determined to be obeyed ; America refuses obedience ; what then but force can decide ? To postpone coercion after so many threats, would be derogating from the national dignity. Delays in so urgent a business would defeat it without remedy, as the Americans were daily increasing their preparations and strength to encounter it. Years had elapsed since it had been the duty of Great Britain to employ her superiority of means in crushing this rebellious spirit: she had suffered it already to go too far. But if relying on the groundless hope that America might be reclaimed by other measures, she neglected those of compulsion, she would only render it a task of more difficulty to employ them successfully in future, as she would certainly find to her cost, that she must employ them at last, however unwilling, if she meant to retain any power over the Colonies. After a violent contest, supported chiefly by a repetition of what had so frequently been urged, the motion was rejected by a majority of sixty-eight to eighteen.

In the mean time, the merchants and manufacturers throughout the kingdom, in imitation of those of London and Bristol, laid a variety of petitions before Parliament against the hostile projects of the ministry respecting America. The treatment of these petitions was remarkable : they were

highly displeasing to the people in power, as tending directly to defeat all the purposes they had so much at heart ; but as they could not be rejected with a high hand, without adding considerably to the multitude who opposed the ministry, a committee was appointed to take them into consideration, which was not to take place till after a previous committee on the affairs of America. The reason assigned for separating these two objects, was, that the consideration of commercial matters ; each of these being sufficiently perplexing, without other embarrassments. While the attention of the House was taken up with the one, it ought not therefore to be distracted by the other: both together would puzzle and perplex : but asunder, would be discussed with much more ease and perspicuity. But opposition would not admit of such a reasoning. To disunite politics from commerce, in treating of the business of America, were dividing, in a manner, the body from the soul. To what purpose should we concern ourselves about America, unless it were for the sake of commerce ? But were it otherwise, there was no class of men whose correspondence assisted more in the illustration of political knowledge than that of merchants ; they corresponded upon all subjects necessary for each others information ; among these the political occurrences of the times constituted a principal part ; as according to these, they regulated their mercantile proceedings. To exclude the intelligence that must arise from blending commerce with politics, would therefore be extremely unwise, especially in a case where they were so intimately linked as in all that related to the British Colonies. To defer the hearing of these petitions till the other committee had sat, was in effect to reject them. They were intended as reasons to influence that

very

committee against the proposals. The truth was, they were as the most formidable objections to these proposals, and were not, for reason, to be permitted to enlist, till the enemy they were to combat, had moved off the field. Manifestly, under pretence that no opposition appeared to oppose them. The House of Commons was exclusively for ministerial measures, and the House of Lords. The questions carried in their favour by one hundred and ninety-seven, against one.

Consequence of this decision, the result of that had been presented from Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, Norwich, Birmingham, Glasgow and other commercial towns, excessively consigned to, what was humourously entitled, the state of Oblivion.

The merchants of London however determined not to give up a consequence so weighty a kind, without testifying to the world how much they regretted the proceedings of administration contrary to sound policy. They drew up a kind of protest, in which they asserted, that the connection between Great Britain and America was principally of a commercial nature, as the benefits derived from it were chiefly such. During the war, and more, the wisdom of the present had been perpetually evident in encreasing and encouraging the trade carried on between them, as an act of the last importance. That the various regulations adopted for the mutual prosperity of the Colonies and the mother country, formed the political chain that united them together. Questions of commerce and navigation, wherein both are concerned, ought therefore never to be divided, but to be examined jointly, as composed of one whole, of which the parts can only be well perceived, unless they

are placed in one point of view. This remonstrance was presented on the day appointed for the previous committee to take place.—It was warmly seconded by the opposition, who insisted on the indignity offered to so respectable a body as the merchants of London, in referring the petition to a mock examination. A direct refusal would have been less mortifying.

Never did ministry and opposition engage with so much warmth as on the present occasion. The latter, who felt how light they were in the scale of power, exerted all their eloquence and abilities in order to render their antagonists odious. They represented them as incapable, neglectful, and inconsistent; and the acts framed under their auspices, as the offspring of false information and ignorance. They were threatened with a severe vengeance, when the day should come, as it must at last, that the nation would open its eyes to the iniquity of their administration. The last Parliament was described as deeply participating of their guilt; and no language was spared in drawing it in the most defamatory colours. Among a variety of charges, one in particular specified, that it began its political life with a violation of the sacred right of election in the case of Middlesex, that it died in the act of Popery, by establishing the Romish religion in Canada, and had left a rebellion in America, as a legacy to the nation. The final conclusion of this scene of altercation and inveteracy was, the rejection of the motion in favour of the merchants' petition by a division of two hundred and fifty to eighty-nine.

But opposition was not alone in this day of trial. America seconded them strenuously in the persons of her agents, one of whom, on this memorable occasion, was Doctor Franklin, whose genius and abilities had, at the time of the Stamp act, been so successfully

fully exerted in the service of his country.

These gentlemen presented a petition, originally addressed by the American Congress to the King, who had referred it to Parliament.

Hereupon a violent debate immediately arose. No petition, it was argued, could be received from the continental Congress. It was no legal body; and to admit of any hearing on their behalf, would be a sort of recognition of their legality. The general Assemblies, and their agents, were the only lawful representatives of the Colonies: none else could be admitted. And, after an ineffectual struggle, the American agents had the mortification of seeing the petition rejected by a majority of two hundred and eighteen to sixty-eight.

In the mean time a conciliatory plan was preparing by the Earl of Chatham. Preserving the undauntedness and perseverance of his character, he resolutely determined to exert his whole abilities in opposition to the hostile schemes proposed by ministry. To this effect, he laid before the House of Lords a bill, the intent of which was to settle the troubles in America, and to assert, at the same time, the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the Colonies. He requested the House, in the most earnest and pathetic terms, sincerely to assist in so salutary a work; to lay aside the prejudices of party, and to consider well the importance of the subject before them.

The contents of this famous bill were, a specific acknowledgment of the supremacy of the legislature, and the superintending power of the British Parliament. It declared that no taxes or charges should be levied in America but with the free consent of their Assemblies. It asserted a right in the Crown to keep and station a military

force established by law, in any part of its dominions; but declared, that it could not be lawfully employed to enforce implicit and illegal submission. It authorized the holding of a Congress in order to recognize the supreme sovereignty of Great Britain over the Colonies, and to settle, at the same time, an annual revenue upon the Crown, disposable by Parliament and applicable to the exigencies of the nation. On complying with these conditions, the acts complained of by Congress were to be suspended, with every other measure pointed out as a grievance; and the constitution of their governments to remain as settled by their charters. But this bill, of which the illustrious framer had conceived so much hopes, met with the fate of every proposal that had been made in favour of America. It was opposed with universal violence condemned without reserve, pronounced at once totally inadmissible, and was ultimately overthrown by a great majority.

The determination to oppose all conciliatory measures was equally remarkable in the House of Commons. A petition was presented to it by the proprietors of estates in the West India islands, representing their alarm at the association of the American Colonies, and at their intended stoppage of all trade with the English islands. Should this be carried into execution, which it certainly would, if Parliament did not repeal the acts they complained of, the situation of the islands would become very calamitous. The property of Britain in the West India islands amounted to more than thirty millions. A fund of several other millions was employed in this trade: it was of the most extensive nature; all quarters of the globe were concerned in it; the returns centered in Britain, and were an immense addition to its intrinsic opulence. The shipping was an object of still greater consideration,

by

the vast number of seamen which constantly maintained. But the *West Indies*, however wealthy, did produce the necessaries of life in great abundance for their inhabitants. Large importations were continually wanted, which North America was the only place to supply : were they to be cut off from a communication with that continent, they would be reduced to the utmost dis-

ress. His petition, however did not alter the disposition of those who supported the ministry. They seemed resolved to treat all petitions as the ravings of fiction. The general opinion of those who approved of coercive measures, was that however inconvenient, they ought not to be retarded by such a consideration. Hostilities were necessarily attended with a variety of disagreeable circumstances ; these ought nevertheless to be submitted to, sooner than put up with humiliations and disgraces ; which, in the end, often detrimented a nation more than war itself.

In the mean time, it was become necessary to let the nation be fully apprized of the ultimate resolves of ministers respecting America. This was done in the House of Commons, by a speech, wherein the present circumstances of affairs in America were stated with great accuracy. The behaviour of the different Colonies were pointed out, and the consequences necessary to be observed with respect to them. The universal fermentation prevailing among them, was asserted to be the result of unwarrantable arts and designs to dispose them against the powers in Britain. It was asserted, too, that notwithstanding all complaints, the public charges by individuals in America, were, by the strictest computation, not more than one to fifty, when compared with what was paid by individuals in England. So immense a disparity, removed

at once all reasons for complaining. Nothing but a settled determination to quarrel with the parent state, could induce the Americans to persist in their disobedience to the lawful injunctions laid upon them, which were neither injudicious nor oppressive ; but on the contrary, framed with all possible lenity, and counterbalanced by advantages which were not possessed by the inhabitants of Great Britain. It was therefore a spirit of resistance that animated America, and not a discontent at oppressions, which it was plain did not exist. Upon this ground the quarrel now stood ; and every measure now adopted should be founded upon that idea. This, in the minister's own words, " was the great barrier which disunited both countries ; and on this ground alone of resistance and denial, he would raise every argument leading to the motion he intended to make for an address to the King, and for a conference with the Lords, that it might be the joint address of both Houses." The measures now proposed to the House, were to send a greater force to America, and to pass a temporary act, suspending all the foreign trade of the different Colonies of New England, and particularly the Newfoundland fishery, until they consented to acknowledge the supreme authority of the British legislature, pay obedience to the laws of this realm, and make a due submission to the King ; upon doing of which these restrictions should be taken off, and their real grievances, upon making proper application, should be redressed. The expressions of ministry were very clear and explicit upon this occasion. New England, they said, was most culpable, was justly singled out as an object of punishment. The other Colonies, as less faulty, would, it was hoped, be brought back with less compulsion. But " the question now lay within a very narrow compass : it was simply, whether we

would abandon all claims on the Colonies, and give up, at once, all the advantages arising from our sovereignty, and the commerce dependent on it; or whether we should resort to the measures indispensably necessary to ensure both?" The address voted in consequence of the ministerial motion fully coincided with all his views. It represented the Colony of Massachusetts to be in actual rebellion, and encouraged by the other Colonies. It declared the resolution of Parliament to maintain the supreme authority of the British legislature in every part of the King's dominions. It besought him to enforce this authority by the power constitutionally lodged in his hands; and assured him of their concurrence, at all hazards, to support him in the prosecution of such measures.

An address of this kind was in effect a declaration of war against America. It was considered as such by the opposition, and the consequences which it would have, were pointed out with the utmost freedom. Some, indeed, contended that the accusation of rebellion fixed upon the Province of Massachusetts, was false: the people there had done no more than what the constitution allowed: they had resisted arbitrary measures, after the examples that had so frequently been set them at home.

After a long and violent altercation, the question was carried for the address by a division of two hundred and ninety six, to one hundred and six.

The minority made a motion however shortly after, to re-commit the address. It was argued that the consequence that would probably result from the prosecution of the measures it recommended, impelled them to solicit the House for a re-consideration of it: they appeared of such magnitude, that no time or attention could be misemployed in a fresh investigation. A recapitulation followed of the dangers that would in-

evitably attend a war with America. The likelihood of other powers interfering, and the immense risks we should incur for the sake of an object far beneath such a terrible contention.

A long debate followed this motion and was supported throughout with all the abilities and eloquence of the two contending parties. The truth was, they both felt the magnitude and importance of the question before them: so great a one had not been agitated in Parliament during the present century. All that mass of argumentation was re-produced on this occasion, which had composed the materials of the numberless debates that had filled both Houses of Parliament during the last ten years, and had been repeated all over the nation to no other purpose than to breed ill blood among the disputants.

All the resistance and disturbances in America, were imputed to the opposition in plain and explicit terms. A factious republican spirit was gone forth, that agitated every writer and speaker in the American cause; it filled the nation with disloyalty, and the House with incendiaries. America, it was said, would never have hoisted the standard of rebellion, if the trumpet of sedition had not been heard in Britain. This violent debate lasted till three o'clock in the morning, when the motion for recommitting the address was rejected by two hundred and eighty eight, against one hundred and five.

Thus terminated the most important business that had, in the memory of man, engaged the attention of the British Parliament. Not only the natives of this country, but all Europe was impatient to learn the decision of this great question. While it was impending, the foreign ministers in London were continually employed in watching the motions of administration, and the debates of Parlia-

they justly considered it as not with consequences that might give a new turn to the face of Europe.

The very next day a conference was held between the two Houses, and they both agreed to unite in address.

In the mean time petitions had been prepared by the London merchants, trading to America, and from persons concerned in the West India trade, to be laid before the House of Commons.

The Marquis of Rockingham, principal peer in the opposition, was proposed to on this occasion to preface the motion, but he was prevented by a motion in favour of the address.

This however did not hinder the debate concerning the propriety of receiving them. It was carried on with no less heat and liberty of expression than that which had taken place the day before in the House of Commons.

The whole night was consumed in debate; it concluded with the defeat of the Marquis of Rockingham's motion: the number for him was only twenty-nine, those against him were hundred and four. This produced a remarkable protest, supported with uncommon energy, and strongly characterized the temper of the opposition at that period. It concluded in the following words, which may be considered as a summary of the sentiments entertained by the members of the ministry, both in Parliament and throughout the nation.

The means of enforcing the authority of the British legislature is confined to persons who have hitherto no effectual means of conciliating, or educating those who oppose that authority. This appears in the consequence of all their projects, the deficiency of all their information, the disappointment of all the measures which they have for several years

held out to the public. Parliament has never refused any of their proposals, and yet our affairs have proceeded from bad to worse, until we have been brought, step by step, to that state of confusion and violence, which was the natural result of desperate measures.

"We therefore protest against an address founded on no proper Parliamentary information, which was introduced by refusing to suffer the presentation of petitions against it, (although it be the undoubted right of the subject to present the same) which followed the rejection of every mode of conciliation; which holds out no substantial offer of redress of grievances, and which promises support to those ministers who have inflamed America, and grossly misconducted the affairs of Great Britain."

The address thus jointly voted by both Houses, was carried to the throne, and answered with an assurance of taking due measures to enforce its contents, and a message, exhorting Parliament to make speedy provision for the effectually carrying into execution the measures they recommended.

After providing a military force to be stationed at Boston, it was perceived that farther measures would be necessary to execute the plan proposed. Soldiers might quell insurrections and insults, but could not enforce the observance of laws and regulations, without the intervention of the magistracy; and it was evident that no assistance of this kind was to be expected from the people of Massachusetts. They beheld with silent abhorrence the coercive scheme that had been formed to compel their obedience to the injunctions of the British legislature. Though they abstained from the active resistance, they were determined to throw every impediment in the way of compulsion, and

and if they could not face it openly, to fatigue it by indirect and secret opposition. The difficulty lay in procuring assistance from the inferior body of Magistrates; as few of them were well-willers to the measures in agitation, it was found impracticable to employ them in their execution; yet it was only through such means the commonalty was to be brought to a state of regular and peaceable obedience.

An indissoluble adherence to each other among all orders and classes in Massachusetts, rendered it impossible to seek for co-operation among them, and as the ministry was fully determined to proceed on the plan of coercion, the only method remaining to make it effectual, was to extend it in such a manner, as to affect indiscriminately all the inhabitants of the Province without exception. By including them in one general punishment, it would become the interest of all to conform unanimously to the laws enacted for them, in order the more speedily to procure its removal.

For this purpose a bill was brought into Parliament, the purport of which was to restrain the commerce of the four Provinces of New England to Great Britain, Ireland, and the English islands in the West Indies, and to prohibit them from carrying on the fishery at Newfoundland. The reasons alledged in support of this proposal were, that as the Colonies had entered into agreements not to trade with Britain, we were entitled to prevent them from trading with any other country. Their charter restricted them to the act of navigation; the relaxation from it were favours, to which by their disobedience they had no further pretence. The Newfoundland fisheries were the ancient property of Great Britain, and disposable therefore at her will and discretion: it was no more than just to deprive rebel of the use of them. Though the other

Provinces of New England did not seem directly concerned in the rebellion, yet the British government was little respected there, that they deserved little more indulgence than that of Massachusetts. In New Hampshire, the populace had seized upon a powder magazine, in one of the King's forts; and from the neighbourhood of that Province, and the temper of its inhabitants, the act would be eluded, unless they were included in it. Connecticut manifested the same disposition.—Upon the report of a fray between the soldiery and the people of Boston, that Province rose in great numbers, and marched directly to their assistance. This showed at once what we had to expect from that quarter. As an alleviation of the severity of this act, it was proposed, that all persons should be excepted from it whose good behaviour the Governor of the Province would certificate, or who should subscribe a test acknowledging the rights of Parliament.

This bill after long debates, was carried for ministry by two hundred and sixty-one votes against eighty-five. A petition against it was, however, presented by the London merchants concerned in the American trade: It was principally founded on the danger that would accrue to the fisheries of Great Britain from such a prohibition. But in order, at the same time, to counteract the general intent of the petition against the bill, a second petition was presented by the merchants and principal inhabitants of the town of Poole, in direct opposition to that from London.

This petition represented that the restrictions intended that the bill against the New England fishery, would not prove any wise detrimental to the trade of England, which was fully able with proper exertions to supply the demands of foreign markets. The produce of this fishery already exceed half a million, the whole of which

d in Britain ; whereas profits of the fisheries the Colonies, remained at materially rendered wfoundland fishery more his country than that of was that it bred a great rdy seamen, peculiarly ce of the navy ; whereas and seamen are by act , exempted from being

produced a remarkable House of Peers. The med it, spoke with un- ity of the system on was founded. " That id they, which attempts authority by destroying subjects, and by involv- ent and guilty in a com- t acts from a choice of onfesses itself unworthy ; ty to find any other, ad- olly incompetent to the ution." They accused of endeavouring to pur- on's consent to this act, them the spoils of the fishery. This they said, ne full of weakness and f indecency, because it ed that the desire of the s created the guilt ; and

of weakness, because it supposes that whatever is taken from the Colonies, is of course to be transferred to ourselves."

This protest took severe notice of an opinion, which some persons labour- ed industriously to circulate through- out the nation ; and which has been maintained in both Houses of Parlia- ment. This was the assertion of which notice has been already taken, that the Americans wanted spirit to go through what they had undertaken ; and that Britain would find them an easy con- quest. An opinion of this kind was represented by the friends of America, as highly unbecoming such an assem- bly as that wherein it had been deliver- ed. It was not supported by truth, and could only be viewed as the effusion of party resentment ; it was thrown out in the heat of debate, as an induce- ment to coincide with the measures in agitation, and to remove all apprehen- sion of the danger which might arise from their prosecution. It was like- wise imprudent and unadvised, as it tended, in case of coercive measures, to slacken the care and solicitude with which they ought to be pursued ; and to occasion remissness in our Admirals and Generals, from a persuasion of the insignificancy of the enemy to be en- countered.

C H A P. VII.

Warlike preparations against America.—Consideration of several Remonstrances of Petitions.—Further restrictions on the American trade, &c.

GREAT Britain having now taken her final resolution, ministry was employed in making those preparations that were judged requisite to carry it into execution. The number of troops intended for New England amounted to ten thousand men. This, according to the opinion of those military men who were consulted upon this occasion, appeared a force fully sufficient to execute the measures of government.

But before the scene of action was entered upon, the ministry resolved once more to attempt a reconciliation with America. A motion was accordingly made in the House of Commons, importing, that when the Governor, Council, and Assembly of any of the Colonies, shall propose to make provision, according to their respective circumstances, for the common defence, such proportion to be raised under the authority of the Colony, and disposable by Parliament; and shall engage to provide for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice, it will then be proper, if such proposal should be approved of by the King in Parliament, to forbear levying or imposing any taxes on that Colony; those duties excepted, that may be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce, the net produce of which shall be carried to the account of the Colony where it is raised.

This motion was grounded on the *sincere desire of giving America full*

proof how far it was from the intentions of Britain to adopt harsh measures, if they could possibly be avoided. Parliament, in its late address to the Throne respecting the Colonies, not only meant to show its final determination to support the claims of Great Britain, at all hazards, but also its willingness, upon proper concessions, to restore America to her favour. That notwithstanding the British legislature could not give up the right of taxation, yet if the Americans would propose such a mode of contribution, as might at once be agreeable to themselves, and answer the end of Parliament, would consent to suspend the exercise of that right, and yield to America the authority of raising in their own manner, their share of the contribution.

A resolution adopted on the ground of this motion would, it was said, be "an infallible touchstone to try the sincerity of the Americans. If their professions were real, and their opposition founded only upon the principles which they pretended they must, consistently with those principles, agree with this proposition. But if they were actuated by sinister motives, and dangerous designs in contemplation, their refusal of these terms would expose them to the world.—We should then be prepared, and know how to act. After having shown our wisdom, our justice, and our humanity, by giving them an opportunity, of redeeming their past faults, and holding

ut to them fitting terms of accommodation : if they should reject we should be justified in taking of coercive measures."

s motion after a long dispute carried for the ministry, by two and seventy-four votes, to eight.

he mean time, the situation of colonies of North America, had, in a particular manner, the of the British islands in the Indies, incapable, from their size, of resisting the authority of Britain in the same manner, they silently the progress of a dispute threatened to terminate in such consequences. One of them, er, ventured to espouse their cause to the throne : this was and of Jamaica, the most flourishing powerful of any. This petition-like the many others that had repeatedly employed in favour of ica, availed it nothing. Ministry, on the contrary, daily to be further persuaded that more reasons were necessary.

other bill, was recommended by Lords, was brought accordingly he House to restrain the commerce of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and, Virginia, and South Carolina in the same manner as that of England. The motives alledged the accession of those Colonies : resolutions adopted by New and, respecting the British trade manufactures. This bill was y agreed to.

though petitions were rejected, tioners were not to be less sollicit in supporting them, and in accumulating the facts on which they founded. The West India merchants and planters in particular, sent the petition they had lately ted with a detail of circumstances relating to the British islands at part of the world, that was y copious and important. This

business was conducted in their behalf with great ability, by Mr. Glover, author of the poem Leonidas, a gentleman equally celebrated for his literary talents, and his commercial knowledge. He stated with great energy and exactness, the prodigious value of the West India islands to Great Britain. It appeared from his inquiries and researches, that exclusive of the intrinsic worth of the islands, their stock in trade, and other property, amounting to no less than sixty millions, the exportation to Britain, of late years, amounted annually to near two hundred thousand hogheads and punchons of sugar and rum, the weight of which was ninety five thousand tons, and the value four millions. The direct revenue arising from this immense trade, consisted of above seven hundred thousand pounds, beside that which accrued from the collateral branches depending upon it. The danger in which a war with America would place this advantageous commerce, was enlarged upon with much accuracy, and the necessity of a continual correspondence in trade between the islands and the continent, was pointed out in a variety of instances.

But among the Parliamentary transactions at that time, none was more remarkable than the conciliatory propositions, respecting the Colonies made by Mr. Burke, a gentleman whose abilities and eloquence had for several years been much admired in Parliament. He introduced these propositions in a speech, that has been deservedly celebrated, for its various excellencies.

These proposals were grounded on the non-representation of the Colonies in the British Parliament, the inconveniencies for their being represented at such a distance, the readiness with which they had always complied with requisitions lawfully made to raise money for public services, and the superior utility of their granting subsidies

8. HISTORY OF THE LATE WAR.

to the laying on taxes upon them by the authority of Parliament. The debate on these propositions was long and spirited. The objections against them were, that they gave up the object in contention, as notwithstanding the right of taxing was not formally, yet it was virtually renounced. Should these proposals be adopted, there was no certainty that the Americans should answer them with any returns of duty and compliance.

After a debate supported with great vigour and ingenuity of argumentation on both sides, Mr. Burke's propositions were negatived, by two hundred and seventy votes, against seventy-eight.

This rejection did not however discourage opposition from another attempt. A few days after the failure of that made by Mr. Burke, another gentleman of great knowledge and abilities followed his example. This was Mr. Hartley; who proposed that a letter of requisition should be sent to the Colonies by a secretary of state, on a motion from that House, for contribution to the expences of the whole empire.

As this motion seemed to coincide with the opinion established in America, as well as with the interest of Great Britain, it was expected by many of his friends, that a favourable reception would have been given it, and that it might have proved a basis upon which to erect the superstructure of a treaty; but these expectations were totally frustrated, and the motion was rejected with out a division.

The rejection of this, and the preceding proposals occasioned, mean while, much discontent throughout a great part of the nation. The character and abilities of the gentlemen who had framed them, were highly respected; and many people began to wish, with impatience for the peaceable settlement of a dispute, from the continuation of which no good could

possibly be expected; and which they were desirous should be terminated upon any terms.

But the partiality expressed for America by such numbers of people at home, did them much disservice on this as well as on some other occasions. Those who were of contrary sentiments, began to dread the consequences of favouring the republican opinions that had gradually become so current in the Colonies, and thought that it ill became the inhabitants of a country, that had suffered so much from such principles, to give them any countenance, by espousing the cause of those who professedly adhered to them. They looked upon this partiality as criminal, and were convinced, at the same time, that it was owing to the machinations of a party, which sooner than miss of a revenge for being discarded, would wreck it on their own country. The supporters of this party were looked upon by many as the propagators of those seditious maxims that had filled England with discontent, and had kindled a rebellion in America.

Experience, in some measure, authorized this opinion. So outrageous for many years had unhappily been the temper of all factions in this country, that they kept no measures in the prosecution of the objects they had in view, and employed, indiscriminately, all means whatsoever to attain them. Opposition was, in consequence of the persuasion that they were actuated by the same principles, accused of harbouring the most unjustifiable designs. As they were not permitted to rule the state, they were, it was said, determined to embroil it, and to render the power lodged in the hands of others, a source of continual vexation to them.

Influenced by such notions, many were those who entertained unfavourable suspicions of whatever was proposed, that bore the face of benevolence to America. They thought the

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appeared on both sides of the
from several manufacturing
Great Britain and Ireland;
tending for the necessity of
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complaining of the bad conse-
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asserted and denied with equal vhe-
mence.

The opposition contended, that the
petitions militating for ministerial mea-
sures, were promoted by persons who
had no concern, or but a very distant
one, in the commerce with America.
They were, it was said, of a party
which had been long proscribed in this
country; but which, unhappily for it,
possessed a fund of obduracy which
neither time nor disappointments could
overcome; they had seized this oppor-
tunity to revive the odious and ex-
ploded principles of absolute uncon-
troulable sovereignty, which had for-
merly done so much mischief: in a
word they were the Tories. From the
intrigues of people of this description,
proceeded those representations in fa-
vour of the violent resolves against A-
merica, which were now brought forth
in order to counter-balance the weight
of those addresses for peace and recon-
ciliation which came from those who
really traded with America, who had
already felt, and experimentally knew,
how severely they should feel the loss
or suspension of that necessary trade.

Among other petitions, one was
presented to the Throne from the Bri-
tish inhabitants of Canada against the
Quebec bill. It represented the trouble
and expence they had undergone in
settling themselves in that Province;
that through their endeavours and
industry, the value of that Colony was
more than double since its acquisition;
but that by the late act of Parliament
they were, without having deserved
such treatment, deprived of all the pri-
vileges of British subjects, and placed
under an arbitrary government, con-
trary to the expectations and solemn
promises which had induced them to
settle in that country.

A like petition from them to the
House of Lords was presented, and
vigorously supported by Lord Cam-

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den, upon the principles of the English constitution, and the necessity of protecting the Protestant religion, at which a severe blow was aimed by the act in question: he called upon both the temporal and spiritual Lords to unite upon this occasion, in their respective characters of guardians, of the laws and religion of the land.

Administration opposed him with no less warmth. The French inhabitants of Canada, were declared to be perfectly satisfied with that act; by which they considered themselves as entirely restored to the same condition they were in when under the crown of France. They had expressed their satisfaction upon that account to General Canton on his arrival in that Province in quality of Governor. They had transmitted an address of the same tendency to the King, acknowledging, in terms of the highest gratitude, their thankfulness for restoring them to their ancient rights and privileges. These were unequivocal proofs of the general contentment effected by that measure; and how impolitic it would be to repeal it in favour of about three thousand individuals, to the mortification of more than one hundred thousand.

After a long and animated altercation, the motion to reject Lord Camden's proposal was carried by eighty-eight votes against twenty-eight.

Another petition from the English in Canada, of the same tenour as the foregoing, was presented by Sir George Savile to the House of Commons. It stated, among the other particulars, that the petition of the King, in the name of all the French inhabitants in Canada, in virtue of which the Quebec act had passed, was not obtained in a fair and open manner. So far from being countenanced by the generality of people, it had not even been communicated to them. It was handed about in a private manner, and signed by a few of the nobles and lawyers,

with others in their confidence, through the instigation of the Romish clergy. The community at large, it was notorious, did not approve it.

But the advocates for ministry contended no less strenuously for the propriety of attending to the addresses of large and avowed bodies, in preference to the uncertain and unauthorised surmises of private individuals. The Canadians were a numerous and warlike people, whose attachment it was prudent to secure amidst the universal defection of our own Colonies. By indulging them with a restoration of their own laws and usages, we made them our fast friends. This was certainly a just measure; as we might probably stand ere long in need of their friendship and assistance, in pursuance of the plan proposed for the reduction of our rebellious Colonies.

It was however intimated, that notwithstanding the unfavourable appearance of affairs in America, there were good reasons for hoping that tranquillity would soon be re-established upon durable foundations, without appealing to the sword. When our refractory subjects beheld themselves surrounded on all sides, when they saw our armies encamped on their shores, our fleets stationed along their coasts, their communication with other nations cut off, and their back-settlements threatened by the allies who were secured to Britain by the very act in question, and whose enmity they so much dreaded, and had so often experienced in former wars: in such a situation, they would hardly think of facing so many difficulties, and would be probably glad to accept of those offers that were still held out to them.

The issue of this debate was, that Sir George Savile was not more successful in the House of Commons, than Lord Camden had been in the House of Lords. His motion for repealing

g this act was rejected by a vast majority, one hundred and seventy-two to eighty-six.

Notwithstanding the ill success of my petitions, an humble but firm remonstrance was presented by the body of the petitioners. It spoke the language of friendship and friendship peculiar to their situation, and recommended lenient measures accordingly:—But it dealt, at the same time, their intimate conviction, that in real attachment to the sovereign and royal family, to the nation and people of his country, the Americans were exceeded by no subjects in the British dominions.

While petitions came from so many quarters, the city of London determined to give them that countenance which would arise from its weight and influence. It presented a remonstrance to the throne, in which the measures of the ministry were condemned in most explicit and forcible language. It recapitulated all the American grievances, and all the fatal consequences of them, that had been so frequently predicted. It looked with horror, said they, at the measures in agitation. Not satisfied by the specious artifice of despotism dignity, they plainly perceived that the real purpose was to establish arbitrary power over all America. They justified the resistance of the Americans upon the principles of the English constitution. Animated by these principles our forefathers fought about the Revolution; they rescued the sceptre out of the hands of tyrants, and placed the House of Brunswick upon the throne of Great Britain.

Your petitioners," continued "are persuaded, that the measures now pursuing, originated in the advice of men, who are enemies to your Majesty's titles, and to the liberties of your people; and your Majesty's ministers carry into execution by the same

fatal corruption which has enabled them to wound the peace, and violate the constitution of this country. Thus they poison the fountain of public security, and render that body which should be the guardian of liberty, a formidable instrument of arbitrary power. Your petitioners do therefore most earnestly beseech your Majesty, to dismiss immediately, and for ever, from your council, those ministers and advisers, as a first step towards a redress of those grievances which alarm and afflict your whole people."

This petition produced the following answer.

"It is with the utmost astonishment that I find any of my subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which unhappily exists in some of my Colonies in North America. Having entire confidence in the wisdom of my parliament, the great council of the nation, I will steadily pursue those measures which they have recommended for the support of the constitutional rights of Great Britain, and the protection of the commercial interests of my kingdoms."

Such, to the great concern of all reflecting men, was now become the stile, of intercourse between the Crown and the people.

In the mean time, another remonstrance was presented to the House of Commons from the Assembly of New York. It was introduced by Mr Burke, to whom it had been transmitted for that purpose. He represented, in a strong and urgent manner, how greatly that province had signalized its attachment and fidelity to Britain in the midst of the present disturbances, and how much it had incurred the displeasure of the other Colonies upon that account. He assured the House that the remonstrance he wished to lay before it, was conceived in terms of the highest decency and respect.—Though it complained of some acts of Parliament,

Parliament, which in that Colony were deemed grievances, yet he was of opinion, the remonstrance ought to be received, that if any matter contained in it should appear to the House to need redress, it might be granted accordingly.

This application he considered as a circumstance improveable to the highest advantage in the present posture of affairs. It afforded an opportunity of coming to terms of reconciliation with America.—A direct channel was now opened to communicate through the medium of New York with the other Colonies. The utmost care should be taken not to shut it, lest no other avenue should be found.

The ministerial objections were, that it was incompatible with the dignity of the House to suffer any paper to be presented that questioned its supreme authority. Condescension enough had been shown in a variety of instances; but nothing was admissible that tended to invalidate the right of taxation.

Particular notice was taken at the same time, that the title of petition did not accompany this paper: it was called a Representation and Remonstrance, which was not the usual, nor

the proper manner of application to Parliament. This singularity alone was sufficient to put a negative on its presentation.

After having been foiled in the House of Commons, it now remained to be decided whether that Colony's representations would meet with a more gracious reception in the House of Lords.

But here the difficulty was still greater than in the other House. The dignity of the Peers was said to be insulted by the appellation under which it had been presumed to usher those representations into that Assembly. They were styled a Memorial; such a title was only allowable in transactions between princes and states independant of each other, but was unsufferable on the part of subjects.

When the rejection of these applications in both Houses was announced to the public, a great part of the nation expressed the highest discontent.—They now looked forward with dejection and sorrow at the prospect of mutual destruction that lay before them, and utterly gave up all other expectations.

C H A P. VIII.

Affair at Lexington.—Boston blockaded.—Transactions at Boston.—Meeting of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia.—Crown Point and Ticonderago surpris'd by the Americans.—Arrival of reinforcements at Boston.—Action at Bunkers Hill.—Consequences of the Quebec Act.—Further proceedings of the Congress.—Accession of Georgia to the American Confederacy.—General Washington appointed to the chief command of the American Forces.

ABOUT the end of February, 1775, General Gage received information that a number of field-pieces had been brought to Salem. Judging from the proximity of that place, that some hostile designs were in agitation, in order to prevent them in time, he dispatched a body of men to seize the cannon at Salem. On their march they were obstructed by a river, over which there was a draw-bridge, which the people on the opposite side had drawn up, to hinder their passing and refused to let down, notwithstanding the commands and threats of the officer at the head of the detachment. Upon this refusal a boat was seized by the military to ferry them over; but the country people perceiving their intention, jumped into the boat, and cut open the bottom with axes: this occasioned a fray between both parties, which would probably have ended fatally, had not a clergyman interposed. He represented, on the one hand, to the commanding officer, the inevitable consequence of using force, and advised the people, on the other, that as it was late in the day, and impossible from that reason for the military to execute the orders they were sent up-

on, to let the detachment pass over the bridge without opposition. His advice was complied with accordingly; and the military, after remaining some time in possession of it, withdrew, without being able to execute their orders.

This transaction, though of no consequence in itself, discovered the temper of the people; and showed at the same time how little they were to be intimidated. It showed, too, how disposed they were to rush to extremities, and how readily they would do it on the first provocation.

The time came at last that was to change these preludes to hostilities into more serious scenes, and to realize those apprehensions that had so long hung over the minds of all thinking men throughout the British empire.

It was now far advanced in April, and it was not doubted that the people of Massachusetts had formed a plan for action. A large quantity of military stores was collected at Concord, a town not more than twenty miles distant from Boston, and where the Provincial Congress was held. On receiving this intelligence, a detachment was sent from Boston, in order to destroy these stores, and at the same time,

time, as it was said, to seize on Mr. Hancock and Mr. Adams, the principal directors of that Assembly.

This detachment, under the command of Colonel Smith, and Major Pitcairn, set out from Boston on the 19th of April, before break of day, and proceeded with all expedition towards Concord, hoping to reach it before the country was alarmed. But notwithstanding the silence in which they marched, and the precaution of securing every one they met on the way, they found by the continual firing of guns, and the ringing of bells in all the neighbouring villages, that they were discovered, and that people were assembling from all sides.

They arrived at Lexington about five in the morning, a place fifteen miles distant from Boston. The militia belonging to this town was exercising on a green adjacent to the road: an officer called out to them to throw down their arms and disperse; at the same instant some shots, it is said, were fired from a house. This occasioned a discharge from our people, by which several of the militia were killed and wounded.

The detachment then proceeded to Concord, where they destroyed the stores according to their orders. Here a skirmish ensued, when several were killed on both sides.

The country rose upon them from all parts. During the course of a long and very hot day, they were exposed to a continual, though irregular fire, supported with great vigour and resolution. In the retreat from Concord to Lexington, a space of six miles, they were pursued with the utmost fury by a large body of the Provincials, and fired at in the mean time from the houses, walls, and other covers.

By the time the detachment had reached Lexington, its ammunition was wholly expended. Here they had the good fortune to be joined by

a considerable reinforcement under Lord Percy, sent to their relief by General Gage, from an apprehension of the danger they were in.

Boston lay, however, no less than fifteen miles off. Harassed already with the duty and fatigue of the day, the troops had yet this laborious march to perform, surrounded by enemies, whose number increased every moment; who had the advantage of the ground, and could advance or retire at will. With all these disadvantages, the British troops made good their retreat, and arrived at Boston about sun-set. The ground they had measured that day was above forty miles.

Thus ended the memorable affair of Lexington, famous for being the first engagement wherein the blood of British subjects was mutually shed by each others hands in America.

Notwithstanding it lasted the whole day, the number of slain and wounded on the British side was no more than two hundred and fifty, and of prisoners about thirty; a small loss when the prodigious superiority of the enemy is considered. The secret of the expedition had got vent: the whole country was in arms for forty miles round; and all the best marksmen in the Province were present in the engagement. The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded was about sixty.

The British detachment did not exceed two thousand men. They were excellent troops; but they were confined in a narrow road, flanked on each side, a great part of the way, with stone walls, low enough to get over, and high enough to cover the assailants from the fire of men, who were marching with all speed, and had not leisure to stoop behind for any shelter, after giving their fire. Had it not been for two field pieces, brought with Lord Percy's detachment, the slaughter must have been greater. As they were managed in
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ill and activity, they repressed the impetuosity of the Americans.

To do these justice, it must be acknowledged that in this first trial of courage and military prowess, they fought with great spirit, and fully recharged of timidity, so unjustly on them.

Reputations of inhumanity were rarely made upon this occasion. Charges of this kind are usual in war, where hatred and rancour are more inveterate than between friends; but if there was any truth in it, it is probable there was far exaggeration. Whatever might happen in the heat of battle, when action was over, due sentiments of humanity took place; and the fallen and wounded were treated with civility and care.

News of this engagement raised the whole Provinces: crowds flocked to every district, and Boston was immediately surrounded on every side. Here were the Provincials in their full service, that it was easy for them to collect numerous bodies of men. They formed altogether an army above twenty thousand.

Their line of encampment extended from Roxbury to Mystic, a space of thirty miles, and was tolerably fortified with cannon. Their commanding officers were Colonels Ward, Heath, Prescott, and Thomas, though they might not perhaps be figured at the head of an European army, were men of undoubted

valour and resolution, and not inadequate to the charge they undertook.

They were joined soon after by a body of troops sent from Connecticut, under the command of Colonel Mifflin, an old American officer of intrepidity and great experience. He served in the two last wars, and distinguished himself by several actions, which required capacity as well as

valour. He placed himself in such a position, as to be able to afford timely

succour to any part of the troops before the town that might want it.

The Provincial Congress was now removed to Watertown, about ten miles from Boston. Here they framed an address to the people of Great Britain, in which they entered into a minute detail of every circumstance relating to the affair at Lexington, and endeavoured to prove that the British troops were the aggressors both at Lexington and Concord, and had been guilty of many irregularities at both places. They relied on the good sense and generosity of the British nation, for a speedy termination of evil, which must in the consequence affect equally Great Britain and here Colonies. They expressed unshaken loyalty; but still persisted in declaring the most inflexible resolution never to submit to any species of tyranny. They solemnly appealed to Heaven for the justice of their cause, for which they now had, and would still continue to lay down their lives.

They next voted for the array and support of the army, regulated the pay of officers and soldiers, and enacted rules for its good government. In order to provide a fund of military expences, they voted a considerable sum to be issued in paper currency, receivable as money, the payment of which was secured on the public faith of the Province.

Among a variety of other resolutions, they passed one, by which they declared that General Gage was, by the late and the preceding transactions, disqualified from acting in the station of Governor; that no farther obedience was due to him; and that he should henceforth be considered and treated as a public enemy.

As soon as the affair at Lexington was known, it kindled wrath and fury throughout all the Colonies. Notwithstanding they had been long prepared for such an event, yet it was received with as much apparent astonishment and indignation, as if it had been wholly

wholly unexpected. It furnished them with an additional reason to quicken their warlike preparations, and to make ready for events of a similar nature.

But what was of more consequence, it enabled them to represent themselves as more formidable than had been suggested by their enemies. The courage manifested in that engagement by the Provincials was now become the subjects of universal conversation: it excited a prodigious spirit of emulation, and infused a degree of confidence to which they had not hitherto been used.

Those who had fallen in this action were extolled at the first martyrs of public liberty: their names and families became objects of respect and veneration, and they were pointed out as examples of necessary imitation in the arduous conflict wherein America was now engaged.

In the midst of this universal fermentation, plans of revenge against Britain were framing every where. The heads and hearts of all people in the Colonies were equally warm upon this occasion; and they seemed, as it were, to vie with each other who should exhibit the most violent proofs of resentment.

The first mark of the public resentment of America, was to put a total stop to the exportation of all provisions from their ports. This they knew must bring infinite distress on the British islands in the West Indies, whose only dependence for their necessary subsistence was on the importations of that nature from North America. While they were thus universally intent on the means of prosecuting their revenge, the conciliatory propositions, moved by Lord North in Parliament, were brought to America. But this was no season for their reception: the people now entertained a rooted suspicion of every offer of that kind which came from England.

The first public body before which *slavery laid* was the Assembly of

Pennsylvania. But here they met with a total rejection: they were represented as dangerous and inadequate to the wishes of America. The same opinion was adopted by the neighbouring Colony of Jersey; and, after the example of these, they were entirely rejected every where.

In the mean while, the British troops at Boston were closely blockaded. They were cut off from all supplies of vegetables and fresh provisions, and reduced to subsist wholly on salt meat. The inhabitants were in the same condition. The provincials were the more strict in the prevention of all supplies, as they intended thereby to compel the Governor to permit the departure of the town's people, whose number was too great to be maintained out of the stores appropriated to the garrison; or to suffer, at least, the women and children to depart, according to repeated solicitations to that purpose.

After much entreaty from the inhabitants, an agreement was at length concluded, by which they were to be at liberty to quit the place, and carry off their effects on delivering up their arms. They cheerfully acquiesced in this proposal; but after making this surrender, numbers were, to their great disappointment, still detained; and those who had permission to depart, were obliged to leave all their effects. This reduced many genteel families to great indigence. The poor and the helpless, indeed, were all dismissed.

During these proceedings, the Continental Congress met at Philadelphia. They began their session with resolutions to raise an army, and to establish a large paper currency to defray the public charges, the Colonies in their united capacity becoming security for the payment of it in due time, in real money.

They next adverted to the means of distressing Britain most effectually in her American concerns. To this intent they strictly prohibited the supplying of the British army upon the

of Newfoundland, with any provisions whatever. Fully to effect this, all exportation was forbidden in the Colonies in America that still stood in her subjection.

It was a proceeding wholly unexpected in England. It was severely felt among the British settlements, and more so, at Newfoundland. In order to prevent a real famine, many vessels were necessitated to return home with empty holds, to fetch cargoes of provisions. The subsistence of the people there, while Congress was occupied in this manner, it received the agreeable news, that the people of New York had decided to join with the other colonies to adopt the resolutions they had taken, and the measures they had taken against Britain. This colonial long continued on a plan of inaction in hopes of being able to about a reconciliation; but the news that Lexington had now put an end to all such expectations.—Upon receiving the news of that engagement, our associations of the party in opposition to Britain, were immediately dissolved, by which the Provincial Congress was elected.

In the situation of the city of New York, as it lay open to the sea, it was altogether impracticable to defend it against a naval attack. For this reason it was thought most advisable, before the approach of a British squadron, to remove the military stores and to remove the women and children out of all danger. In this department of so many individuals whose presence would have hindered them, the inhabitants prepared for all other contingences. In the mean time they found themselves unable to prevent the enemy from taking possession of the city their final determination was to commit it to the flames.

In the Provinces of the sea coast repairing for their defence, the inland settlements of the American Colonies were not less occupied. Some active and resolute indi-

viduals, without waiting for orders or communicating their designs to their ruling powers, concerted together a plan which denoted the enterprising spirit that animated the Americans at that time: it was to surprize Crown Point, Ticonderago, and the other forts that commanded the Lakes, which formed the line of communication between the Colonies and Canada. Several persons, it is said, formed the same project, unknown to each other, and fell on together on their way to execute it.

The principal conductors of this expedition, were, Colonels Fallon and Allen: the body under their command consisted of two hundred and fifty men. At the head of these they set forward with great secrecy and expedition, and had the good luck to surprize both the garrisons of Crown Point and Ticonderago, which fell into their hands without the loss of a man on either side.

The seizure they made on this occasion was very considerable: they found two hundred pieces of cannon, besides mortars, and a large quantity of military stores. They took two vessels completely equipped, and materials in readiness for the construction of others,

This successful expedition gave to the Americans entire command of those important passes for the possession of which so much British and French blood had been shed during the last war. It was in its immediate consequences, a heavy blow to the interests of Great Britain; as, Boston excepted, she had not now a single hold left her in the revolted Colonies.

Towards the close of May, the long expected reinforcements arrived at Boston, together with the Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, all officers of approved merit, and whose behaviour in the last war had justly gained them much reputation.

By these arrivals, the troops now formed a large and respectable body—both the officers and soldiers were, with

out exaggeration, equal to any in Europe for discipline and valour. From the character of those who now commanded them, it was expected they would not long remain inactive and that their operations would not be confined to so narrow a scene as Boston.

It was become in some measure necessary to extend the quarters of the army, for such at present the forces at that place might be reputed. The provincials boasted that they were besieging those who had been sent to subdue them; and as there was some truth in this vaunt, it was incumbent on our people to remove it.

Since the blockade began, some skirmishes had happened in the islands that lay in Boston Bay. They were occasioned by the endeavour of both parties to carry off the stock upon hand; the Provincials had the advantage: they burned in the last, an armed schooner, left aground by the tide, which the crew after standing a heavy fire of musketry and cannon, were obliged to abandon. It had been proposed immediately after the fight at Lexington, to lead the provincials on to Boston, while their spirits were animated with the business of that day; but this proposal was overruled by the consideration, that the storming of such a place would necessarily involve in one common slaughter, both the military and the inhabitants.

Other motives had probably their share in this prevention. The number of ships of war and armed vessels of all denominations that surrounded and guarded the town on every side, would have rendered such an attempt next to impracticable. The troops were numerous enough for a defence; and from their skill and courage added to the expectation of no quarter from an enraged enemy, would have made a most desperate resistance; they were well provided with artillery and ammunition, and knew perfectly how to use them.

Those, on the other hand, who com-

manded the Provincials would not endanger a repulse which must then have been attended with much slaughter. They had been witnesses to the causes that militated for them at Lexington, and were sensible of the difference between an engagement in close passes, and narrow lanes, where the enemy they attacked was avowedly retreating, and the facing of him on a ground he had chosen, and where he stood prepared to fight: were the Provincials in such a conflict to be defeated, it would throw a damp on their ardour that would be followed by worse consequences than the mere loss of men they would suffer on such an occasion; this might be repaired; but the diminution of spirit and alacrity they were conscious, was the greatest of all losses in war, especially to men just entered into that arduous career, whom little successes would animate, but whom such an overthrow would entirely discourage.

While both parties at Boston were standing, as it were at bay, and watching each others motions, and the Continental Congress was taking the most vigorous measures, and acting with a spirit that astonished all men who reflected that they were but in the infancy of their exertions.

They boldly passed a resolution similar to that upon which the British nation, a century ago, founded the Revolution. They declared that the obligation of obedience to the Crown of Great Britain from the Colony of Massachusetts, being dissolved by the violation of its charter, the people were legally at liberty to proceed to the choice of a House of Representatives, and a Council, in conformity to the spirit and substance of the charter thus violated.

They passed another resolution, by which they forbid the acceptance or negotiation of any bill of exchange, note, or order of any British officer or agent, or the supplying them with money; and

d the furnishing the British army with provisions, or de- any kind, er to evince how securely their n and gratitude might be de- n by their friends and adher- at the same time to show how y disregarded the frowns and e of the British Court they ed Dr. Franklin Postmaster in America, an office from had been removed in Eng- account of his adherence to of the Colonies.

e twelfth of June, a Procla- was issued by the British go- at Boston offering a pardon, ing's name to all who laid ns, and returned to their nd occupations. Two persons re excepted, Mr. Samuel and Mr. John Hancock whose represented as too great and to escape punishment. All not accept of this offer, or led, abetted, or corresponded n, were to be deemed guilty n and rebellion, and treated ply. By this proclamation it ired, that as the courts of e were shut, martial law should e, till a due course of justice re-established, is act of government was as rded as the preceding. To the world how firmly they rmined to persevere in their and how small an impression by the menaces of Britain. ickock immediately after his on, was chosen President of refs.

oclamation had no other ef- to prepare peopl's minds for that might follow. The ap- of traitors and rebels, was most honourable and safe in : such as were suspected of id attachment to Great Bri- in fact the most exposed to a and danger ; and obliged,

for the sake of personal security, to dissemble their real sentiments.

The reinforcements arrived from Britain, the eagerness of the British military to avail themselves of their present strength, and the position of the Provincials, concurred to make both parties diligent in their preparations for action. It was equally the desire of both ; the first were earnest to exhibit an unquestionable testimony of their superiority, and to terminate the quarrel by one decisive blow ; the o- thers were no less willing to come to a second engagement, from a confidence they would be able to convince their e- nemies that they would find the sub- jugation of America a much more dif- ficu't task than they had promised themselves.

Opposite to the northern shore of the peninsula upon which Boston stands, lies Charlestown, divided from it by a river about the breadth of the Thames at London bridge. Neither the British nor Provincial troops had hitherto bethought themselves of secur- ing this place. In its neighbourhood, a little to the east, is a high ground cal- led Bunker's-Hill, which overlooks and commands the whole town of Boston.

In the night of the sixteenth of June a party of the Provincials took posses- sion of this hill, and worked with so much industry and diligence, that by break of day they had almost complet- ed a redoubt, together with an in- trenchment, reaching half a mile as far as the river Mystic to the east. As soon as discovered, they were plied with a heavy and incessant fire from the ships and floating batteries that surrounded the neck on which Charlestown is si- tuated, and from the cannon planted on the nearest eminencies on the Boston side.

This did not however prevent them from continuing their work, which they had entirely finished by mid day, when it was found necessary to take more effectual methods to dislodge them.

To this purpose a considerable body was landed at the foot of Bunker's Hill, under the command of Generals Howe, and Pigot, the first was to attack the Provincial lines, the second the redoubt. The British troops advanced with great intrepidity; but on their approach, were received with a fire from behind the intrenchments, that continued pouring during a full half-hour upon them like a stream. The execution it did was terrible: some of the bravest and oldest officers declared that for the time it lasted, it was the hottest service they had ever seen. General Howe stood for some moments almost alone; the officers or soldiers about him being nearly all slain or disabled; his intrepidity and presence of mind were remarkable on this trying occasion.

General Pigot on the left, was in the mean time engaged with the Provincials who had thrown themselves into Charlestown, as well as with the redoubt, and met with the same reception at the right. Though he conducted his attack with great skill and courage, the incessant destruction made among the troops, threw them at first into some disorder, but General Clinton coming up with a reinforcement, they quickly rallied, and attacked the works with such fury, that the Provincials were not able to resist them, and retreated beyond the neck of land that leads into Charlestown.

This was the bloodiest engagement during the whole war. The loss of the British troops amounted in killed and wounded to upwards of a thousand. Among the first were nineteen, and among the last seventy officers. Colonel Abercromby, Majors, Williams and Spealowe, men of distinguished bravery fell in this action, which, though it terminated to the advantage of the King's forces cost altogether a dreadful price.

The loss on the Provincial side, according to their account, did not exceed five hundred. This might be

true, as they fought behind intrenchments, part of which were cannonproof, and where it was not possible for the musketry to annoy them: this accounts no less for the numbers they destroyed, to which the expertness of their marksmen chiefly contributed. To render the dexterity of these completely effectual, muskets, ready loaded, were handed to them as fast as they could be discharged, that they might lose no time in re-loading them, and they took aim chiefly at the officers.

During the whole time of action, the Provincials were supported by continual reinforcements; these were clearly perceived by the numerous spectators of this engagement on the tops of houses and every rising ground in Bolton. Thus when fatigued, they were relieved by others who took their places, and renewed the fight with fresh vigour. In this manner it was computed, that first and last, upwards of five thousand Provincials were employed in the service of this day.

The great slaughter occasioned on the left of the British troops from the houses of Charlestown, obliged them to set fire to that place. The Provincials defended it some time with much obstinacy, but it was quickly reduced to ashes; and when deprived of that cover they were immediately compelled to retire.

The valour displayed by the British troops in encountering and overcoming so many obstructions, did them the highest honour in the opinion of all impartial men. The entrenchments cast up by the Provincials, though the work of a few hours, were contrived with great strength and judiciousness; and to do them justice, they did not forsake them till after a very gallant resistance.

The man whose fall was most lamented among the Americans, was Doctor Warren, a physician, he was a gentleman in high reputation for his eloquence, and various abilities; he

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the principal and most active of the Continental Congress the preceding year, and was the president of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts; he commanded the line of Bunker's-Hill as a general on that memorable day,

his station in the redoubt during Pigot's attack. He fell at the head of his men just as pointing to, and reminding him, it is said, of the motto on the American colours in their intrenchments; on which were these words:—*ad te Hæc*:—and on the following—*Qui transiit*, meaning that the same Providence which brought their ancestors here, would now support their arms.

Notwithstanding the honour of the day remained to the British troops, the Americans boasted that the real victory was on their side. They thought they, so much weakened by the loss in this engagement as to be unable to stop to their operations. Coming forth, and improving on their pretended victory, they did not venture out of the trenches and positions they had constructed.

The apparent benefit gained by this, was that they kept possession of the ground whereon Charlestown stood; they fortified it on all sides, in order to secure themselves against sudden attacks that were daily to be expected from so numerous a force as the now invested Boston.

The enlargement of their quarters, though it contributed to render the confinement less irksome, added a little to the military duty they were obliged to go through, and increased their fatigues at a season when the heat rendered them more than at any other. These, together with the want of fresh provisions occasioned much illness among

The provincials, on the other hand, to convince the troops how little their success had availed them, raised intrenchments on a height opposite Charlestown, intimating to them that they were ready for another Bunker's Hill business, whenever they thought proper, and were no less willing than they to make another trial of skill.

In expectation of another attempt of the like nature, they covered the weakest parts of their encampment with strong redoubts, and extended their works close to those that had been erected by the garrison on Boston Neck, where they attacked and burnt a guardhouse.

Their boldness increased to a degree that astonished the British officers, who had unhappily been taught to believe them a contemptible enemy, averse to the dangers of war, incapable of the regular operations of an army. The skirmishes were now renewed in Boston bay. The necessities of the garrison occasioned several attempts to carry off the remaining stock of cattle and other articles of provision they might contain. But the Provincials, who were better acquainted with the navigation of the bay, landed on these islands, in spite of the precautions of the numerous shipping, and destroyed or carried off whatever could be of any use; they even ventured so far as to burn the light-house situated at the entrance of the harbour, and afterwards made prisoners a number of workmen that had been sent to repair it, together with a party of marines that guarded them.

Mean while, in order to remedy the distresses under which the garrison and shipping began jointly to labour, armed vessels were sent out, that made prizes indiscriminately of all the coasting craft laden with provisions that came in their way. The crews sometimes landed in quest of necessaries, but they met with great opposition, and were some-

sometimes driven back by the country people. These proceedings occasioned much animosity on both sides.

Another cause of discontent, was the seizure of ships for breach of the regulations lately made, the owners making all possible resistance on the one hand, and the severell compulsion being used on the other. These unceasing contests produced many scenes of mischief, and the refusal of compliance with the established injunctions, brought heavy punishments upon some of the places on the coast.

While these transactions were taking place in the British Colonies, the Province of Quebec began also to participate in the public discontents: the acts which had been framed for the regulation of that Province, produced effects far different from those that had been expected from it. The majority of the Canadians received it with the most evident marks of disapprobation and cordially united with the British settlers in that government, in reprobating it as tyrannical and oppressive.

It had been confidently expected, that the good will and interest of the French Canadians would have been entirely secured, by thus replacing their government on its former footing. Administration had flattered itself that General Carlton, the new Governor, would have raised with all facility, a numerous body of troops in that Province, with which to co-operate with General Gage. So sanguine was that expectation, that twenty thousand stand of arms, and a great quantity of military stores had been shipped to Quebec for that purpose.

But instead of expressing the least satisfaction at the frame of government transmitted to them from Great Britain, or any willingness to second the designs of ministry, they seemed decidedly averse to both.

They were now, said they, under the government of Britain, and would

demean themselves peaceably and loyally; but were total strangers to the nature of the disputes between that government and its American dependencies, and it would not become them to make themselves parties in such disputes. Were the Governor to raise the militia of the Province, they would obey him so far as to defend it if attacked; but would not march beyond its precincts, nor attack their neighbours.

In this difficulty, application was made to the Bishop to influence the people, through the respect and deference they owed to his function and dignity, to a cheerful acquiescence in the views of the British government. He was urged to issue an episcopal admonition to that end, to be read in churches by the priests to their parishioners: but he declined all compliance with such a measure, as contrary to the rules of the Roman clergy.

Some ecclesiastics however were found, who exerted themselves in the service of government, but with very little effect.

The principal efforts were made on this occasion by the Noblesse. As they reaped the chief benefit of the act, they thought themselves bound in gratitude to manifest their zeal and attachment to those who framed it: they accordingly were strenuous in maintaining the necessity, as well as the duty of not only paying a faithful and entire obedience to the laws enacted for the government of the Colony, but also of complying readily with the desires expressed by their superiors.

But the Community at large stood immovable in their determination to remain in a state of perfect neutrality between Great Britain and her Colonies. The truth was, that they had sufficiently experienced the superior advantages of a British government: to be desirous not to relinquish

It was now almost fifteen years since the reduction of the Province ; and during that space, been treated with so much lenity, and had been so much benefited by the increase of trade and business of all kinds, that they were fully convinced it was their interest to preserve their present, and to operate so as to have a tendency to bring them back to their former situation.

His persuasion, notwithstanding their previously submitted to the form of government imposed upon them by the British ministry, they refused to take any active part in forcing their submission, which they hoped might terminate to their detriment.

Yet it is improbable, that the reward and thinking people among them might view the disturbance of the British Colonies, as a motive to induce the British ministry to treat them more favourably, in order to secure their allegiance, and to prevent them from accepting those offers of co-operation which were held out to them by the Colonies.

His reason it might chiefly be, though they acquiesced in the argument made for their internal government, they did not incline to proceed further, and thought that by doing so, they had sufficiently testified their fidelity, and ought not to be required to do any more.

Not only too, the arguments that had been made before them in the addresses presented to them by the Colonies, have produced some effect, and have given to these a number of particular well wishers among a people who are now acquainted with, and who relish the English maxims of government.

The fault of the Canadians, hopes entertained of engaging the various Indians that lay on the backs of the Colonies, to take up the cause of Great Britain — agents were employed for that purpose, and large presents were made

to their chiefs and leading men, with a view to win their concurrence.

A strong and vigorous attack had been proposed on those parts that lay most exposed, as the most seasonable diversion that could be made in the present circumstances of the Colonies : it would have alarmed and thrown into confusion a considerable proportion of the Colonies, and would have much weakened those efforts they were obliged to make for their defence on the sea coasts, where they were liable to be continually and closely pressed in many quarters.

But the endeavours of such as were employed on this occasion were not successful. The Indians were not by any means disposed to hearken to any solicitations tending to hostility. They did not, said they, understand the nature of the quarrel : they were surprized that Englishmen should apply to them for assistance against each other ; they respected them all, and could not distinguish who was in fault, whether those who dwelt in America, or those who lived in the other side of the ocean ; they advised them to be reconciled, and not to shed the blood of brethren ; it gave them serious grief and concern to behold such enmity among them ; but as they knew not whose cause was just, they would espouse the side of neither.

These secret negotiations were very alarming to the Congress : they knew the dangers that would arise from a war with the native Americans, assisted by the power of Britain : they had lately experienced how much mischief they could do alone. The importance of a good understanding with them in so perilous a situation as that of the Colonies awakened all their attention to prevent a rupture. In order if possible, to obtain their good will, they represented to them, that the English on the other side of the water, had formed the wicked design to enslave them ; and that they had only taken up arms to defend their freedom : they hoped therefore, that as the original natives of A-

merica were the freest people upon oath, they would not assist in taking away that liberty from others, of which they were so justly fond themselves.— Were the English against whom they were now fighting, to overcome their brethren in America, they would soon make slaves of all the other people in that country, as they were become so proud and haughty, that they would not suffer their commands to be disobeyed, however unreasonable and unjust.

With reasonings of this kind the emissaries of Congress found means to prepossess in their favour the minds of many of the principal Indians; they succeeded even so far as to render it necessary for those who were employed on the part of the English, to consult their personal safety by withdrawing themselves.

Having thus provided for the safety of the weakest parts of the Confederacy they were now at leisure to look forward with less anxiety, and to prosecute the residue of those measures, which would have suffered so material an interruption, had the endeavours of Britain succeeded in bringing the Indians upon them at this time.

The action at Bunker's hill had filled the Americans with much higher notions of their ability to resist the efforts of Great Britain than they had ever entertained. Notwithstanding the noted bravery of the British troops, they had found means to face them in a manner, which though it did not place them upon a full equality of valour and discipline, yet showed that they were a formidable enemy; and that they knew how to make the most of every advantage.

This persuasion, which was certainly well founded, animated them to a surprising degree, and was a circumstance which operated with great force in all their deliberations: those of Congress itself, took a bolder turn from this period. They had from the beginning been resolute and firm; but they now

assumed an air of ardent and decisiveness which indicated that they felt their strength, and were entirely confident, that by exerting it vigorously, they would be able to surmount all difficulties, and would not fail, with perseverance, to obtain the end proposed.

Nothing was more remarkable throughout the whole of this unfortunate war, than the religious manner with which the people of the Northern Colonies especially, encouraged each other to do their duty in the field. It reminded one of the similar methods so much recommended and practised among the opponents to the Royal cause, during the civil wars in England, in the reign of Charles the First.

It was not only in the New England Provinces this religious fervour prevailed: it was strikingly conspicuous in both the Colonies of New York and Pennsylvania.

The declaration of Congress, and the exhortation of the clergy produced wonderful effects in the minds of the public.—Convinced that they were fighting in a righteous cause, people took up arms every where with the utmost cheerfulness, and behaved in a manner that fully verified the maxim, that a persuasion of acting justly, will always inspire a man with courage, and supply the defects of knowledge and discipline.

In order to obviate the dangers that would ensue from the enmity of the Indians, a plan was formed by Congress, whereby more perfectly to secure their fidelity and adherence to the Colonies. They were divided into several districts, over which, persons well conversant in the language, ways, and manners, were appointed as commissioners. They were to maintain a continual correspondence with them; to watch all their motions; to be assisting to them in all their reasonable requests, and to supply them in their wants and necessities.

For this purpose a considerable sum was raised, and put into the hands of

Commissioners, to be distributed to the Indians in their respective settlements, and thereby to counteract the endeavours of the same kind that used by their adversaries.

In the mean time, it was become necessary for Congress to come to a decision: a resolution in regard to the contrary motion made in Parliament by ministry. It had already been decided in the declaration they had issued touching the necessity of their arming up arms, and represented in an unfavourable light.

The friends to this motion in general thought very differently, and even so sanguine as to promise an exception to it, and that people in America would probably consider it as preliminary to reconciliation.

At this expectation, a gentleman in office, was directed by ministry to give up a formal notification of their opinion upon this matter, in order to be presented to Congress.

The impression which was made on the minds of the Congress by this notion, did not correspond with the action formed in England: they received it with seeming indifference, instead of taking it into immediate consideration, it was ordered to lie on the table with other papers.

Full two months before the report of the committee to which they referred it, was brought into debate. It had been received on the thirtieth, and the Congress came to no opinion about it till the last day ensuing.

The explicitness of the opinion they expressed upon this occasion, made full amends however for their tardiness. It was every respect an ultimatum to the Colonies on the part of Great Britain. It showed, at one view, the line which was finally embraced by America; and so clear and too that it was irrecoverable, the superior strength of British arms would render it otherwise.

In the time when the Congress drew near to the conciliatory mo-

tion, their affairs wore a prosperous aspect. The Royal army had, ever since the affair of Bunker's Hill, been blockaded in Boston: death and illness had considerably weakened its strength; and the great superiority in numbers of the enemy, rendered it imprudent to attack them in the very strong position they were in, till fresh succours arrived from Britain.

The Americans, on the contrary were daily increasing in strength, and acquiring experience:—the whole country lay before them; and provisions were cheap and plenty every where. All possible encouragements were given to those who took up arms; and, at present, the service was easy from the little force that Britain possessed in America.

All these circumstances emboldened Congress to declare its sentiments to the world without any further restraint. They thought it necessary to assume a style of firmness and decision on this occasion, in order to forward the spirit of activity and enterprize which was exerting itself so diffusively among all classes, and to which was due that success in several undertakings, which partly induced Congress to behave so resolutely on this particular emergency.

They had now formed themselves into a regular train of government: hostilities having put an entire end to the authority of Great Britain, they were acknowledged every where, and considered themselves of course as lawfully invested with the power of the State.

The dissensions prevailing in Georgia, had hitherto prevented that Colony from acceding to the general union. A powerful party subsisted there in favour of Great Britain, and long prevented its antagonists from carrying their schemes into execution, with the same facility as in the other Provinces: but it was at length overpowered by a majority, that increased in a short time so considerably as to bear down all opposition.

A provincial

A Provincial Congress assembled in the beginning of July, which adopted, in their fullest extent, all the determinations that had been taken by the general Congress of the present, and that of the preceding year. Deputies were appointed to repair to Congress, and to notify their desire to join in the confederacy: they declared that notwithstanding the acts of Parliament which affected the other Colonies in so oppressive a manner, had not been extended to them, they viewed that omission rather as a slight than a favour, and were too well convinced of the justice of the claims of America, and the propriety of all the colonies uniting in one body on this critical occasion, to remain separate from them, while invited by so many motives.

By this accession the Congress saw itself at the head of all the English Colonies of consequence throughout the continent, from the limits of Nova Scotia, to those of Florida: neither of these from various causes had it either in their inclination any more than their power, to join the American alliance. But their situation and circumstances were such, that as no benefits could be expected from them, so very little detriment was apprehended.

As troops were continually raising and training in every Colony, it was now deemed expedient to unite them more effectually together, by placing them under one head. To this intent it was resolved, that a General should be appointed to the supreme command of all the forces that should be raised throughout the continent.

Before such a resolution was taken, the eyes of all America were fixed upon a man whose character and fitness for so important and arduous a situation was probably the chief motive that induced the Congress to declare it expedient and necessary.

This person was George Washington, a Gentleman well known throughout the whole continent for his gallant behaviour during the last war. He had,

at an early period of life, displayed a military genius that recommended him to the peculiar notice of those who were competent judges. His modesty was equal to his merit, and his disinterestedness no less conspicuous.

He was appointed by the unanimous choice of the Congress, Captain General, and Commander in Chief of the American army, with as ample a salary as it was in their power to bestow, and with a very extensive degree of authority.

After accepting of their nomination with unfeigned reluctance, he generously declined all pecuniary emoluments. He earnestly desired every person present to remember that he acknowledged himself unequal to so momentous a charge, and that he undertook it solely in compliance with their positive request.

No appointment could have been more popular. Exclusive of his personal abilities, he possessed an affable fortune, which he enjoyed in a polite and hospitable manner. His disposition was friendly and affable, and his behaviour decent and becoming a man of rank. All these circumstances contributed to render him very much beloved among his acquaintance, and highly respected by the public.

It was in consequence of the reputation he had justly obtained by these various qualifications, that he was called, by the united voice of the people, to the important employment that was now conferred upon him. It was not only in Virginia, his native country, that he stood so high in the general esteem; his popularity was not less in the other Provinces, those of New England especially; and it was, at their particular application, that he was now raised to the supreme command.

The most fortunate circumstance attending his election to this office, was, that contrary to what usually happens in such cases, it was accompanied with no competition, and followed by no

It produced universal satisfaction. Every one voted him, as it were, the man that could be found in the field, for the purpose of raising expectations, and fixing their views.

He spoke impartially, he fully answered every hope they had formed. In the midst of an arduous war, and in the midst of frequent and severe trials, he fully justified the opinion the people had entertained of his valour, courage, and perseverance.

The appointment of General Washington was attended with other provisions:—Horace Gates, and Charles Lee, two English officers, much esteemed in the military line, were chosen, the first as Adjutant General, the second Major General. Artemus Ward, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam, Americans of known bravery and experience, were nominated Major Generals. These were added eight Brigadier-Generals:—their names were, Peter B. Porter, Richard Montgomery, John Woolter, William Heath, John Spencer, John Thomas, John B. Totten, Nathaniel Green. They were all men of undoubted courage and ability in their profession.

The army was sufficient and comfortable. There was also provided for the sick and soldiers in the army, and they were taken to remove all occasions of complaint on that quarter.

In the beginning of July, Gen. Washington repaired to the camp before Fort Mifflin, in order to assume the command of the army that invested it. He was accompanied by General Lee. In the place through which they passed on their journey, they were received with every demonstration of respect. They were escorted by numbers of volunteers, who had formed themselves into companies of volunteers, and honoured with public addresses from the local Congresses of New York, and Massachusetts.

The general Congress itself had also, as it were, the signal in what

manner they expected the man they had chosen to stand at the head of the union, should be treated. The day following his appointment, they resolved unanimously, in a full meeting, and in terms of great attachment and respect, that having elected him to the command of the forces employed in the maintenance and preservation of American liberty, they would assist and adhere to him with their lives and fortunes in the defence of that cause.

This spirit of unanimity and resolution was diffused throughout the Colonies, in a degree that was never exceeded either in modern or ancient times. It produced the most extraordinary and wonderful effects. Persons of all ranks and all ages, were now totally taken up with martial occupations and ideas. Gentlemen of birth and affluence, mixed familiarly in the ranks with the common men, and went cheerfully through the same duties and fatigue.

At this memorable period, religious prejudices themselves gave way to the enthusiasm of patriotism. The meek and passive tenets of the Quaker persuasion, could not prevent many of their youth from entering into military associations, and learning the rudiments of war.

The number of men actually in arms at this time throughout the continent, was certainly very considerable: almost all men, indeed, that were able to bear arms, made it their business to acquire the use of them by constant practice and exercise, so far as the indispensable calls of their professions would permit them. Every day produced fresh proofs of the warmth and eagerness of all individuals to concur in this military spirit.

Among other particulars, one happened very worthy of being recorded, in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia:—A set of men associated, and formed a body, which, from its being composed of elderly people, was denominated the Old Men's company. It consisted of

about

about fourscore men, all of them German emigrants, who had served in regular armies, either in Germany, or other parts of Europe.

The man whom they appointed to lead them to the field, on the first day of their muster, was near one hundred years of age. He had been forty years in the military line, and had been present in seventeen pitched battles. The drummer was eighty four.

In place of a cockade in their hats, they wore a black crape, to denote their concern at those unfortunate causes that compelled them, in the decline of life, to resume the profession of arms, in order to defend the liberty of a country which had afforded them a retreat from the oppression which had forced them to abandon their own.

The very women became desirous, on this occasion, to signalize the zeal they felt in their country's cause. At a meeting of the gentlewomen belonging to the county of Bristol, in Pennsylvania, they made a large collection of money, to fit out a regiment raising there, and wrought a magnificent suit of colours for their use, with devices and mottos of their own composing. The gentlewoman who was appointed by the others to present them in their name to the regiment, made a very gallant and spirited speech on that occasion, which she concluded by giving it in charge to the officers and soldiers, never to desert the colours of the ladies, if they ever wished that the ladies should lit under their banners.

Instances of this nature, though of little importance in themselves, serve,

however, to denote the general disposition of a people. These influences were numerous in every part of America, and effectually contributed to keep up and increase the spirit of independence, and the determination to face all dangers in support of the common cause.

What assisted no less, perhaps, in fortifying this disposition, and animating all classes to emulate each other in the service of their country, was the praises bestowed on those that had fallen at Lexington and Bunker's Hill. Both these engagements were become topics of universal attention: every particular relating to them, and every incident that had befallen the Americans upon each of those days, was dwelt upon with uncommon earnestness and avidity. Those who had fallen were commemorated with unceasing applause and their names were ranked among those of the bravest and most illustrious patriots.

The prints and publications of the time, resounded, as it were, with the glory they had acquired for their country. The most elaborate eulogiums were penned in their honour; and whoever had expired with arms in his hands, was rewarded with every expression of gratitude that could be paid to his memory.

Among the subjects of this kind that exercised the zeal and ingenuity of the Americans, the death of Warren was the principal:—He was extolled as the Hamden of his day, and proposed as the most accomplished model of imitation, to all who like him, were ready to devote themselves for the public.

C A A P. IX.

actions in Canada.—Chamblé, St. John, Montreal, taken by Americans—Quebec attacked by Generals Arnold and Montgomery.—Transactions in Virginia, in North and South Carolina, and in Massachusetts.

THE Americans now, flushed with the successful appearance of their arms, were exerting their activity in every advantage they had. They now saw the whole continent, from Nova Scotia to Florida, entirely in their own possession. They looked upon the troops of the British, to be in such a condition, as to wish for a release from their service, by being permitted to retire to their native towns unmolested, than as in a position to be able, to venture an attack upon the powerful army that surrounded them.

In this prosperous state of their affairs, they now determined to consider themselves no longer to be in a defensive posture. Casting their eyes on the various parts of the British empire in America, that lay most open to an attempt, and from whence, in case of success, they should derive most glory, as well as reputation, Canada, called the Province of Quebec, seemed the most likely to answer their wishes and expectations.

It was indeed inhabited by a people who had long been their natural enemies; but conquest and habit had now for centuries of years familiarized them to the manners and ideas of the English. Though of a different religion, and though of a different disposition of the government in matters of this kind, they had entirely quieted all apprehensions on that account. They had during a long space, enjoyed the advantages of an easy and equitable

system of ruling, and began to feel an attachment to it, founded on the best of reasons, the benefits and domestic happiness it had procured them. Though averse to broils, and willing to obey without murmur, they plainly perceived that the late regulations introduced among them, were intended to render their Province totally dependent on the ministry, and to make the inhabitants subservient to its designs against the English Colonies.

Though the clergy and the noblesse were in the interest of the ministry; it was far otherwise among the inferior orders. They were almost to a man displeased with the accession of authority accruing to their superiors in consequence of the act lately passed. They remembered with what haughtiness these had comported themselves in former days, when under the dominion of France. They did not therefore wish for a return of that dependance and vassalage under which the bulk of the Canadian people had so long been kept, to the great impoverishment and oppression of the community, and the evident obstruction of the general prosperity of the Province.

The number of individuals who had removed from the Colonies into that Province, and the many others who had gone over to it from Britain, had powerfully contributed to confirm those dispositions in the French inhabitants. The late subversion of the English laws, was considered by the British settlers as an act utterly unjustifiable. As long as the

custom emboldened these to speak their minds with uncontrollable freedom, they represented to the Canadians that they were treated in the most unwarrantable manner, and that they were by no means bound to submit to the new forms of administration framed for them by Parliament, as they were totally repugnant to the spirit of the English constitution, and absolutely illegal.

They further represented this act as founded on falsehood and deception: it was obtained by their secret enemies the noblesse, who had basely made use of their name, to induce the British ministry to procure the passing of it, as an acceptable deed to the generality of the Canadians.

This unworthy and surreptitious manner of ill treating their countrymen, ought therefore to be resented, if the community meant to prevent the repetition of that tyranny which they had so long endured, and fruitlessly complained of. till kind fortune placed them under the influence of an English Government, the spirit of which did not allow any part of the community to oppress the other. But this oppression would now return, and be felt more heavily than before, if they did not unite in defence of their just and natural rights, and manfully resist all species of tyranny.

With speeches and representations of this kind did the opponents of ministry in Canada inflame the minds of the people against the measures proposed by government in the passing of the Quebec act. Nor were insinuations wanting at the same time, from those who secretly wished well to the Colonies, how fair an opportunity the Canadians had at this present time to emancipate themselves wholly from the shackles imposed on them by that act. Were they now to hearken to the friendly advice contained in the addresses made to them by Congress, they need never after apprehend ill-usage from Britain, or any other power, and would

at once provide for an uninterrupted continuance of domestic tranquility and happiness.

The Congress was perfectly acquainted with the discontents of the Canadians, and of their averfeness to act against the Colonies; they knew that the British settlers in that Province were, with few exceptions, inclined to favour them, if it could be done with safety to themselves; and that what chiefly retained them in obedience under the new system of government, was their inability to resist it.

They reflected, at the same time, that unless the intent of that act was obstructed by an early opposition, it would operate in a very fatal manner to their interests. Its professed and avowed purpose was to arm Canada against the Colonies. With such a manifest intimation of the danger with which they were threatened, they would stand inexcusable to their constituents, if they neglected any practicable means of warding off so terrible a blow.

The only means by which to prevent it, was obviously by striking the first blow themselves, and making a vigorous attack upon that very quarter while yet destitute of a power sufficient to resist a sudden and spirited impression.

The success they had met with at Crown Point and Ticonderago, had already paved the way to an enterprize of this nature. They had, by taking them, broken down the fences, that guarded the frontiers of Canada, and were now at liberty to enter, and contend on equal ground with the small number of troops remaining for its defence.

They were duly sensible, on the other hand, that by taking so bold a step, they changed at once the whole nature of the war. From defensive on their part, it then became offensive, and subjected them henceforwards to the imputation of being the aggressors in this unfortunatè quarrel: many who before such an attempt had warmly ex-

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ed the Americans to prosper in their
proceedings, they would rejoice at any
successes they might obtain: if, on the
contrary, from a lukewarmness, or ig-
norance of the necessity of taking the
most resolute measures, the people of
England should condemn them for
such an enterprize, it were better to
incur their disapprobation, than to
hazard the safety of America by an
untimely complaisance, for which their
real friends in Britain would be no less
ready to blame them, than all the ju-
dicious part of the world.

As to those arguments that were
drawn from the danger of exasperating
the enemy to a degree that might in-
crease the resentment he already felt,
and provoke him to additional exer-
tions, they were weak and futile: his
wrath was already kindled to the high-
est pitch; he had done, and intended
to do all the mischief that lay in his
power. Intelligence was daily arriv-
ing of the vast preparations he was
making to subdue the Colonies. His
intentions were hostile in the highest
degree. To conquer, or to ravage
America, was his fixed determination.
—Did it become men of sense and
courage to hesitate in such a case a-
bout the propriety of any measure that
could distress an enemy so outrageously
bent on their destruction? The rea-
diest method to obviate his threats,
was to show him that they had not
intimidated the Americans, and that
instead of waiting for the issue of his
menacing declarations, they would
anticipate every step he proposed to
take, and carry the operations of war
into his own precincts, before he was
in readiness to wage it upon their own
territories.

In a quarrel such as the present,
where the ruling power was engaged
on the one hand, and subjects on the
other, it was the worst of all policy to
temporize. Moderation would only
produce

Produce pride, and averſeneſs to terminate the diſpute from a notion that their ſpirit began to fail, and that they were fearful of giving too much offence, leſt it ſhould create irreconcilable-
neſs in the breaſt of an irritated conqueror.

Were ſentiments of this kind to be once admitted, they would deſtroy all ſpirit and energy in their councils. America had better end the conteſt at once, by ſubmiſſion to the dictates of Britain, than perſevere in it any longer, unleſs weak and wavering meaſures were totally diſcarded. It was in vain to expect favourable conditions by forbearing to exert themſelves. This would only be giving advantages to the enemy, and protracting the war to their own detriment.

The laws of war and of nations allowed the foreſtalling of an enemy. In their particular caſe, it would in all probability prevent infinite miſchief. —If they forbore to attack the enemy in the quarter propoſed, it would be pre-
ciſely from thence he would make the moſt dangerous irruption. It was there he would collect his principal force, and come upon them without delay, as ſoon as it was ready. Happily for America, he was not yet in a formidable poſt, nor could be duly prepared till next ſpring. Now therefore was the ſeaſon for action. —They had ſufficient numbers to ſpare for ſuch an expedition : it would be undertaken with more alacrity than any other, as the purpoſe of it was to ſecure their back ſettlements from the incuſions of the Indians, whoſe barbarities they were experimentally acquainted with, and multitudes of whom would not fail to join a foe that would entice them by the double motive of pay and plunder.

This buſineſs could not be deferred. As ſoon as winter was over, fleets and armies would ſail from Britain to invade their coaſts, and their whole ſtrength would then be wanted to protect them. —Then would they feel the conſequen-

ces of having neglected to annoy the enemy in the effectual manner now propoſed ; they would be aſſailed on every ſide, on that particularly to which their attention was now directed.

There were no ſurmises : it was publicly known that large reinforcements were expected at Quebec the enſuing campaign, which would, in conjunction, with the Canadians and Indians, form a conſiderable army. With this, the deſign of the enemy was to penetrate into the heart of the Colonies, while a ſuperior force was landed on their ſhore. The only poſſible expedient left them to leſſen theſe difficulties, was by immediately reſolving to march with an expedition to Quebec, and uſe their moſt vigorous efforts to make themſelves maſter of that place. The poſſeſſion of it would defeat the moſt dangerous project they had to apprehend, and open, in all likelihood, a variety of reſources, by enabling the inhabitants to declare and act according to their inclinations, which were well known to be favourable to the Colonies.

All theſe conſiderations duly weighed it were inconſiſtent with ſound policy, to delay an attempt from which they had every reaſon to hope for ſucceſs. If they did not riſk a previous attack on their part, it was inevitable on that of the enemy, and no doubt could be entertained that he would take every precaution to render it ſucceſsful which pecuniary advantages could procure.

No time was to be loſt ; for though the military force there was not numerous, yet it was commanded by an intrepid and vigilant officer, whoſe military ſkill and enterpriſing diſpoſition made him formidable in any ſituation he might be. Conſiding in theſe qualities the Britiſh adminiſtration had intruſted him with powers that rendered him abſolute maſter in the Province in which he was appointed Governor.

He was commiſſioned to lead the people of Canada, and to turn their heads againſt the Colonies.

Canadians were tardy in their obedience, yet he would, on the arrival of reinforcements be soon able to command them to it. He had already collected a numerous body of Indians, and promised more. The troops he had, though few, were well disciplined; and rather leisure and opportunity were afforded him, every thing was to be deduced from a person of his spirit and abilities.

It was with great reason that Congress entertained this opinion of General Carlton. Notwithstanding the disadvantages he laboured under in his Government, such was his diligence and care, that with a handful of regulars, a small number of such as he could upon, he found means to repress the Indians, and to contain them in their haunts, though infinitely superior in strength, and continually encouraged by the secret machinations of the Colonies to throw off the English yoke.

In consequence of the determination of Congress, a body of three thousand men were put under the command of Generals Montgomery and Schuyler, and orders to proceed to Lake Champlain, where the flat-bottom boats were waiting to convoy them to the entrance of the Sorel, a river that flows in a direct line to the fort which bears that name, and there discharges itself into the great river of St. Lawrence.

When General Montgomery, who headed the first division, was arrived at Crown Point, he was informed that several armed vessels, some of which of considerable force, were stationed at St. John's, a fort of great strength on the Sorel, from whence they were to sail, in order to obstruct his passage across the lake.

Upon this intelligence, he hastened with all speed, and took possession of the point and that commanded the mouth of the Sorel, and from whence he could attack their entrance into the lake.

At the arrival of General Schuyler, who was the superior in command, they jointly agreed in publishing a ma-

nifesto, inviting the people of Canada to join them. To support the design of this declaration, they advanced towards St. John's, situated about twelve miles from the lake; but they could not make good their landing under the cannon of that fort, and being apprehensive, from the appearance of strength, and the countenance of the garrison, that they should meet with great difficulties in such an attempt, they landed at a distance, in a part of the country full of woods, swamps and rivulets. But here they were immediately attacked by a large body of Indians, and found it necessary, from the inconvenience of their situation, to retreat with all speed to the Island which they had first occupied.

Illness having obliged General Schuyler to remove to Albany, the sole command devolved upon Montgomery, a man every way fit for the business he was now intrusted with. He united in an eminent degree, the character of a soldier and a gentleman; polite, well-spoken, and humane; brave, cool, and thoroughly versed in his profession.

He soon found means, by his address, to detach from General Carlton numbers of those Indians who had joined him; and upon the arrival of the remaining troops destined for this expedition, he determined to lay siege to St. John's.

In the mean time various parties of the Americans were dispersed over the frontiers of Canada, where the inhabitants received them with great friendship and hospitality. They not only furnished them with provisions, but assisted in carrying on the siege, and reinforced them with numbers of their own people.

While General Montgomery was employed in this siege, Colonel Allan, a bold and enterprising man, to whom chiefly the Colonies were indebted for the taking of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, now formed the project of surprising Montreal. He marched to this place at the head of a small party of resolute

resolute adventurers, like himself; but the officers who were stationed there, having received intelligence of his approach, went out and attacked him with the militia and a detachment of regulars. His party was totally routed and himself taken prisoner, with a number of his men. Their treatment was rather severe; they were loaded with irons, Allan himself not excepted, and sent prisoners to England on board a man of war.

The siege of St. John's went on slowly at first for want of ammunition; but General Montgomery having acquired a large supply of powder, by the taking of Camblee, a small fort at a little distance from St. John's, he now was enabled to push his operations with vigour.

The garrison behaved with great courage, and supported with uncommon patience the distresses to which they were reduced by the want of sufficient provisions. They were commanded by Major Preston, who acquitted himself on this occasion with equal skill and valour.

General Carlton, conscious of the importance of this place, made every possible exertion to relieve it. His situation was in every respect highly unfavourable; the regular troops in his province were now an inconsiderable number; the necessity of providing for the defence of St. John's, had obliged him to garrison it with the major part of them: the few he had left were dispersed at a considerable distance from each other; and it was chiefly upon new levies he was now to depend.

In this exigency, it was proposed by Colonel Maclean, an active and gallant officer, to raise a regiment out of the Scotch Highlanders that had lately emigrated from their country: with this body of men, assisted by some Canadians, the Colonel posted himself at the junction of the Sorel with the river St. Lawrence.

In the mean time General Carlton

repaired to Montreal; where, with infinite pains, he collected about a thousand men, chiefly natives of Canada. With these, and a few regulars and British volunteers, he set out to join Colonel Maclean, intending to march with him directly to the relief of St. John's.

But the Provincials, who perceived his design, gathered a superior force, and attacked him on his endeavouring to pass from the island where Montreal stands, to the eastern shore: his Canadians were soon routed by the Provincials, and the whole scheme was defeated.

Another body of Canadians who had joined Colonel Maclean, hearing of the disaster that had befallen their countrymen, abandoned him instantly, and he was compelled to hasten back to Quebec with all possible speed.

These two successive defeats were powerful encouragements to the Americans, who were besieging St. John's: they carried on their works with double ardour, and made such progress, as to prepare for an assault on the body of the place. The garrison as resolutely waited for it, intending to defend themselves to the last extremity.

But the news of the two last unsuccessful engagements being communicated to them, and the utter impossibility of being succoured represented by General Montgomery, they yielded to necessity; and as any further defence could only occasion needless bloodshed, they consented to treat for the surrender of the fort.

The terms demanded by the garrison, were, to be permitted to withdraw to Great Britain; they had even insisted, at first, on some days respite, in expectation of General Carlton being able either to raise the siege, or throw in refreshments and succours; but both these requests were peremptorily denied. The only terms allowed them, were to march out with the hon-

of war, in consideration of their behaviour; but then to lay their arms, and deliver them up as prisoners. They were permitted to keep their private property; other respects were treated with humanity which characterized General Montgomery.

The reduction of fort St. John took place on the third of November, seven-ty-eight. The number of prisoners amounted to upwards of five hundred men, and near two hundred Canadians: among these were some of the principal noblesse of that Province, who had very zealously embraced this notion of testifying their attachment and fidelity to the British government. The loss of this place was a heavy and unexpected blow to the British in America. The flower of the military and of the Canadians were here. It was universally expected that General Carleton would have been able to relieve it. His ill success, which proceeded from causes that were inevitable, and which neither force nor valour could oppose, raised the estimation of his antagonists to a high pitch, and added fresh courage to the Americans and their adherents.

A body of Provincials who had followed Colonel Maclean to abandon the post of Sorel, lost no time in erecting batteries on the point projecting furthest into the river St. Lawrence, with the view of preventing the shipping at Montreal from going to Quebec: rafts and other structures of that sort, well provided with cannon, were stationed in the river, and every preparation made could effectually obstruct the General's passage.

At length, again, the Americans met with the completest success. After several fruitless attempts made by the British vessels from Montreal, to force their way down the river, they were at length in their turn, forced to retire, pursued by the Provincials, who now become masters of both sides

of the shore, and threatened to reduce Montreal as they had already done St. John's.

After taking this fortress, General Montgomery advanced immediately with his victorious forces towards Montreal. His approach being daily expected, the few British forces in that town repaired for safety on board the shipping, in hopes of some auspicious opportunity of escaping down the river; but it was so well and so closely guarded by the Provincial floating batteries, that all escape was soon discovered to be impracticable. Thus, whether in the town or in the shipping, they now saw that they must unavoidably fall into the hands of the Provincials.

In this extremity, the principal of the British and French inhabitants applied to General Montgomery, for the grant of a capitulation; but he gave them to understand, that being defenceless and entirely at his discretion, they could not expect such a concession on his part; as he came not, however, with any intention to oppress or molest them, but, on the contrary, to give them protection and freedom, he would promise, in a solemn manner, that they should remain in the unviolated possession of all their property and rights, civil and religious. He expressed his hope, that the Canadians would speedily have an opportunity of settling their government and laws conformably to their own desire, in a Provincial Congress of their own choosing. This would establish their freedom and domestic affairs upon a permanent footing, and deliver them from the inconveniencies of which they justly complained under the form of government lately introduced among them for iniquitous purposes.

He engaged, that in the mean time, the execution of the laws should be conducted as near as possible in the spirit of the English constitution, and that the people should be treated with

the utmost lenity both in private and public concerns:

Having thus adjusted all matters to the entire satisfaction of the inhabitants, he took peaceable possession of Montreal on the thirteenth day of November, seventy-five.

After the loss of St. John's, and the surrender of Montreal, people began to think that Quebec would shortly share the same fate. Destitute of a sufficient garrison for its defence, and full of malcontents, it seemed to offer itself an easy conquest to the Provincial army, elate with such rapid successes, and led on by so able a commander. It was not doubted this would be his next attempt, and the general expectation was, that he would succeed.

What contributed particularly to this apprehension, was the absence of the Governor, who was himself in the most imminent danger of being made prisoner; in which case all hopes of preserving either the capital or the province itself, would be finally given up.

General Montgomery, who fully knew the importance of making such a prize, neglected nothing to secure it; he was diligently constructing flat boats, to carry guns of a sufficient weight of metal to attack the British armament on his side, and thus to put it between two fires.

No expectation now remained of effecting its escape: all that could possibly be attempted, was to watch the opportunity of a dark night, to carry the Governor safely off. This was happily executed accordingly, in a small boat, rowed in the profoundest silence with muffled paddles instead of oars, of which the motion would, by its noise, have inevitably occasioned an alarm among the enemies' craft, so thickly stationed along the river.

Having thus provided for his safety, the next step was to capitulate with the Provincials; but the conditions were entirely their own. The whole *armament* was obliged to surrender: it consisted of eleven armed vessels, with

a number of prisoners, some of British officers of rank; General's foot was one; together with considerable quantity of military

In this manner was the dominion of Britain in Canada added to the city of Quebec. The fear of its being lost with the rest, as the more certain and indubitable was now threatened by an enemy less intrepid and enterprising than Montgomery himself.

This new enemy was Colonel *Montgomery*, a man of the most undaunted courage and singular activity. While the Provincial army was encamped before Montreal, he conceived the bold design of invading Canada, in a manner never attempted, in the many expeditions that had taken place during the wars that had been waged in America between the French and the British Colonies.

Hitherto the only practicable route to that Province was by the St. Lawrence; they afforded the only convenient communication even in peace. Little it expected that a military force would ever imagine it were possible to penetrate that country by any other way.

About the middle of September a body of chosen men, consisting of twelve hundred, left the camp of Montreal under the command of Colonel *Montgomery*. They proceeded to New York, a sea port, situated at the mouth of the Merrimack, from whence they embarked for the mouth of the Kennebec.

This was the river intended to be the line of their expedition. It was at no great distance from Quebec the ultimate object of their undertaking; but its stream was rapid, difficult to be stemmed; and it was thrown with a multitude of rapids that made it excessively dangerous.

They began this laborious and fatiguing navigation on the twenty-first day of September.—They were

constantly to work upwards against impetuous current, that frequently set their boats, or filled them with ice. They were often compelled by rapids and other impediments, to land and continue their march on shore, loaded with their boats and other war-burdens, no less cumbersome. In encountering of these, and many other difficulties, they suffered great loss of stores, and provisions; to say nothing of the excessive fatigue they underwent continually, the carrying-cases proving not seldom very long, and full of obstructions, one of them marching no less than a dozen miles in the midst of these incessant difficulties, Colonel Arnold exerted all his vigilance to prevent a surprize. The Indians, indeed were the only people on whom such a thing could be apprehended in the frightful wilderness in which he was now engaged. In order, however, to obviate any danger of that kind, besides the strictest guard and picket on every side, he used the precaution of reassembling every night, when encamped, the various divisions which had marched a part during the

After reaching the head of the river Kennebeck, they had still to make their way through forests and swamps, over mountains and the rocky summits of those high ridges of land which separate New England from Canada.

The prodigious hardships they had undergone before their arrival at this place had occasioned numbers of their men to be sickly. In their progress along the shores of that river, they had sometimes been forced to clear a passage, by cutting down the underwood, many miles. These continual obstructions retarded them so much, that on some days they could hardly get four or five miles forwards. Their provisions, too, were lost by the frequent losing of them by accidents on the water, and from the great and unexpected length of this painful journey, were become so

scarce, that many of them were obliged at last to kill their dogs for food, and to have recourse to other shifts of that sort for their sustenance.

On quitting Kennebeck, Colonel Arnold, in order to rid himself of all incumbrances, dismissed the sick and disabled, and with his own division proceeded forwards with all possible speed; but unfortunately for the expedition, here one whole third of his people with a Colonel at their head, composing the rear division, took advantage of his absence; and pretending a want of sufficient provisions, deserted him, and returned home the way they came.

Undismayed by this desertion, the body under Colonel Arnold pushed onwards, and after having, with the same courage and fortitude as before, overcome a variety of obstacles, they arrived at length on the banks of the Chaudiere, which discharges itself into the river St. Lawrence, not far from the city of Quebec.

On the third day of November, full six weeks from the beginning of the dreadful march of which they now saw happily an end, they entered the cultivated parts of Canada, and met with the habitations of men, after having lost sight of them for above a month.

They met with the same welcome that had been shown to their countrymen in other parts; they were supplied with all kinds of necessaries, and experienced every sort of encouragement they could desire.

The Canadians were struck with amazement, when they beheld an embodied force emerging, as it were, from the bosom of the wilderness. They were not unaccustomed themselves occasionally to visit those deserts in hunting parties; but it had never entered into their conceptions, that it was possible for human beings to traverse such an immense wild, where obstructions arose at every step, that had hitherto proved insurmountable; and where Nature itself seemed to have forbidden such

such an attempt, by throwing the most dreadful and terrifying discouragements in their way.

The novelty of the enterprize, the spirit that gave it birth, the intrepidity and genius that conducted it, the courage and constancy with which it was achieved, all contributed to render it the most striking and memorable event that happened during the war.

It did the highest honour to its conductor, and to those he commanded: they were chiefly New England men; major part of whom had never been in war. It showed they possessed the innate bravery of their forefathers, and were truly deserving the name of Englishmen.

But it was not only in America this expedition was extolled, as a feat of the most consummate skill and bravery: it was spoken of in England itself, and over all Europe in terms of the highest admiration, and allowed by military judges to be an exploit of the first rate merit.

While it was viewed in this light by the European world, we are not to be surpris'd that throughout the American continent, the people whom it so deeply interested, should represent it as one of the most stupendous transactions that ever happened in war, and compare it to the march of Hannibal over the Alps.

While the inhabitants of Canada were in this state of astonishment at the boldness and success of the New England people, Colonel Arnold published a declaration in the name of General Washington, which had been previously concerted between them on his departure for this expedition.

It invited them to accede to the general union of the Colonies, and to fight like them for American freedom against European oppression. They were told that the intention of Congress in sending troops amongst them, was by no means to exercise hostilities but to give them countenance and pro-

tection, and afford them an opportunity of asserting their own just rights. Far from considering the Canadians as enemies, they were strictly ordered to treat them as friends and allies, with whom they were jointly to co-operate in expelling the common enemy.

In consequence of these solemn assurances, they were desired to remain in their dwellings with the utmost confidence and security, and to furnish the troops with all the necessaries in their power, for which they might depend upon full payment.

The intelligence of Colonel Arnold's arrival in Canada, together with the surprising manner of his having penetrated through such a multitude of obstacles, threw the city of Quebec into the utmost consternation. It was at this juncture in a very weak situation. The inhabitants, and especially the natives of Britain, and of the Colonies settled there, were highly averse to the Quebec act, and with the general system respecting the Colonies. Their discontents had exposed them to the resentment of the ruling powers; they were mistrusted and regarded as secret enemies, who would not fail to seize the first opportunity of acting openly an hostile part.

In the mean time, their behaviour was such as manifested how much they conceived themselves ill used by the preference given, as they said, and partiality shown to those Canadians and British individuals, who differed from them in sentiments, and affected, on that account, a superior degree of loyalty.

Born and bred in principles of freedom, they complained that they could not express themselves on these subjects firmly and explicitly, without incurring the censure of the adverse party, and being reproached with malevolence to their king and country.

They imputed to these injurious suspicions the refusal to embody them for the defence of the city, when they had

requested it, and at a time, when the departure of all the military, was left in a state absolutely deplete, notwithstanding the immense property it contained, which had unavoidably have fallen into the hands of the Provincials, together with the city, had it then been attacked, as was daily apprehended.

But the English settled at Quebec were not the only malecontents there; far greater number of the French inhabitants were in the same disposition. As the Quebec act affected the inferior classes among them chiefly, though they did not dare to vent their dissatisfaction at it with the same freedom as the natives of Britain, yet they were no less ready to oppose it in every way they could, without coming to open resistance.

Whether either was it doubted, that they would at last have recourse to this, if the circumstances should prove unfavourable to the interest of Britain in the Colony. The behaviour of their countrymen in many parts of the Province, those especially remote from the seat of government, and where the multitude was under no controul had afforded convincing proofs what little dependence could be placed on their attachment, and was a sufficient earnest that might be expected from the French inhabitants of Quebec.

The heart burnings and animosities daily arising from these causes, at their height when Colonel Arnold made his appearance on the opposite shore, in sight of the town. Feigning for the place, intimation of approach had been given time enough to remove all the boats and craft, otherwise he would probably have made himself master of it in the first moments of the general confusion he had occasioned.

His disappointment retarded his progress some days: he was obliged to fly to the Canadians for assistance; and gave it with great cheerfulness.

But another difficulty remained: the river was guarded by frigates and armed vessels, that were now posted in such a manner, as to render his passage impracticable by day. He was compelled to wait for an obscure night, favoured by which, he found means, by great management and circumspection, to elude the vigilance of the men of war people, and to land his men on the other side of the river.

In the mean time, necessity had effected a reunion of all parties in Quebec. The property contained in that city was so great, and the apprehension of losing it, should the city be taken, so well founded, that both English and Canadians agreed to join sincerely and cordially in its defence. They were according to their desire, formed into an armed body, and did military duty with all possible alacrity.

In this exigency, application was made to the men of war in the river for the assistance of all their sailors and marines. They were landed accordingly, and were stationed at the cannon on the ramparts, where they behaved with their usual intrepidity, and did essential service.

In such a march, as that executed by Colonel Arnold, it had been utterly impossible to bring any artillery. He now greatly experienced the want of it. He had found none in his crossing through Canada. It is probable that he relied upon some fortunate contingency for a supply to necessary for his present undertaking; or that he promised himself to be able to carry the place by surprize; or possibly, that the numbers of the wellwishers to his cause, would have overpowered the other party, and delivered the town into his hands.

On the failing of these expectations, he had no other plan to follow than to seize the avenues to the city, and cut off its communication with the country.

country in order to distress it for want of provisions, and thereby accelerate its reduction on the arrival of those troops that were now daily expected to besiege it in due form.

He posted himself on the heights of Abiam, famous for the victory and fall of General Wolfe, in the late war. From thence he sent a flag, summoning the town to surrender; but the garrison fired at, and refused to admit his message. Finding this trial ineffectual, he withdrew to some distance from it in order to refresh his men; not forgetting, however, to place them in, such a position as to intercept all supplies from without. Here he determined to remain till joined by those forces that had taken St John's and Montreal, and which he doubted not would use their utmost endeavours to close the successful campaign they had made by the taking of Quebec.

This was their earnest desire, as well as that of General Montgomery, who commanded them. The surrender of Montreal had supplied them with the cloathing necessary for so rigorous a climate as that of Canada during the winter season. It was now begun, and had been severely felt by them; but such was their confidence in the abilities of their General, and their readiness to second his designs, that they bore all hardships with the greatest patience and alacrity.

Such behaviour in them was the more singular and unexpected, as the natives of the British Colonies have a remarkable antipathy to regular and formal subordination: the people of New England especially, are much more intolerant of controul than the others, and are peculiarly averse to any exterior display of authority. In these respects, the Colonists partake of the natural disposition of their neighbours, the Indians, who are notoriously more jealous of their personal independence than any other race of men.

A disposition of this nature was not to be combated with the severity of military discipline which would have quickly occasioned discontent and desertion, and thus put an end to the operations intended. On this occasion the General had constant employment for the various abilities he possessed. His discretion, his firmness, his talent of persuading, were all needed to keep together men, who had no other motive to induce their obedience, than zeal for the common cause, and respect for his character.

In the mean time General Caron was returned to Quebec. His presence was itself a garrison. His exertions were such as bespoke the most determined resistance, and contributed by their prudence to revive the courage of all men. That no danger might be harboured within the walls, all that were unwilling to bear arms in defence of the town, were ordered to quit it. The force he had was carefully exercised, and though small and consisting mostly of people unused to arms, it became shortly expert and useful beyond their own expectations.

Had any army of sufficient strength invested the place, the garrison it contained would not certainly have proved sufficient to defend a town of such a size, and encompassed with such extensive fortifications. Their whole amount did not exceed sixteen hundred; among whom there was only one company of regulars, and a few marines. The chief dependence was upon the seamen, who were about five hundred.

Happily for the garrison, the besiegers were not so superior to them in point of numbers, as to cause much apprehension on that account. It was justly foreseen, that with proper management, a sufficiency of strength would be found to cope with every attack they might make; and that if they should become masters of Quebec, it would

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him to make his approaches without
any other interruption than the fire of
their guns, which were well served,
and did considerable execution.

The Provincial forces had been much
diminished by the necessity of leaving
detachments at Montreal and St.
John's, and sending parties out to col-
lect provisions. This proved a great
hindrance to the pushing the siege with
vigour and dispatch.

As it was necessary, however, to
preserve a good countenance, General
Montgomery summoned the town in
due form. He insisted upon the
strength and goodness of his troops,
the spirit which with their successes
had inspired them, and the danger of
exposing such raw men as the garrison
was composed of, to the fury and con-
sequence of an assault. He represented,
at the same time, the impossibility of
relief at the present, and that none
could be expected before next April,
before the expiration of which, Quebec
must infallibly surrender, were it only
for want of necessary supplies.

These summons were sent as usual
by a flag; but they were treated as
Arnold's had been, and all correspon-
dence was refused. Means were found,
however, to convey the above intima-
tion to the Governor; but he was not
a man to be intimidated by any motives
or representations whatsoever.

The whole artillery of the besiegers,
consisted only of five small mortars,
and six cannons of light metal: with
these General Montgomery was now
obliged to make his best endeavours
to annoy the city. The bombardment
continued some time without intermis-
sion, but did not occasion much damage
or disorder, and the cannonade pro-
duced little effect; from the insufficient
size of the pieces.

In the mean time, the news of his
past successes had filled the Colonies
with the most sanguine expectations of
their continuance, and that the taking
of Quebec would crown the achieve-
P 2

ments of their first campaign. The General knew the consequences of popular disappointment, and was therefore determined to leave no expedient untried to satisfy the wishes of a people who honoured him with so high a degree of confidence.

But the difficulties he had to contend with were now daily increasing. He had to encounter the extremities of fatigue and cold. His men were not sufficiently numerous to relieve each other properly in the perpetual labours they underwent, and when worn down with toil, they were still exposed to the inclemency of the weather. He began to apprehend, that disgusted at so much suffering, those whose time of service was expired, would demand and insist upon their being discharged.

On the other hand, he saw no prospect of making that impression on the place which might have hastened the resolution of the besieged. They were well supplied with artillery, and warlike stores of all kinds, and were insuring themselves to firmness and perseverance, through the example of the Governor and his officers, who by their skill and activity, had rendered the new levies highly serviceable, and had at the same time infused a prodigious spirit into all under their command. This was visible upon every emergency. The garrison, though composed of individuals who greatly differed in character and situations of life, united in the bearing with the utmost cheerfulness the severe and continual duty that was unavoidably imposed upon them.

The depth of winter was now at hand. The General was convinced of the absolute necessity of raising the siege, or of finishing it by a speedy success. This latter was however a forlorn hope: he saw no other method of effecting it than by storming the place: but this was an attempt accompanied with infinite danger, and where it was hardly possible to succeed.

The upper part of the city of Quebec

was surrounded with works too strong for an attack with his small force; and the access from the lower town, on a supposition he could carry it, was excessively difficult, from its steepness, being in some places a precipice, and defensible by a handful of men against multitudes.

But his native intrepidity, and that thirst for glory which is the predominant passion of heroic minds, made him overlook all these perils, and resolve at once to compass the point proposed, or perish in the attempt.

Trusting to the good fortune that had hitherto attended him, and confiding in the bravery of his troops, and their alacrity to follow wherever he should lead, he finally determined to make a bold, and, as much as possible, a sudden and unexpected effort to take the town by escalade.

But the vigilance of the Governor was such, that every part of the place was guarded with all possible circumspection, and the strength he had was so judiciously distributed, as to be able to carry the speediest assistance whereto it might be wanted.

Independently of this it has been surmised, that intelligence was conveyed to the garrison of the design in operation in the Provincial camp. This put the besieged so much upon their guard, that by the arrangements they immediately made, it was seen that the plan projected against them was discovered. This, it has been said, compelled the besiegers to adopt another, which being of a more difficult operation defeated the whole scheme.

The last day of December, twenty-five, was pitched upon by General Montgomery for this arduous trial. Having made all the requisite preparations, he advanced to the attack: by break of day, in the midst of a heavy storm of snow, which in some measure covered his men from sight of the garrison.

Four attacks were made on occasion:—two of them were

the Upper Town; the two real forts were commanded by General Montgomery in one side, and Colonel Arnold on the other. These different marches of the enemy, threw the British into great uncertainty, which to turn their principal attention to defence.

In order to inspire his people with emulation, General Montgomery assisted one of the attacks to the New Town, and the other to the New Englanders: these were headed by Arnold, the others he led on in his person. Through some mistake the signal for attacking was given before it had been intended. The besieged, through accident were alarmed time enough to prevent a surprise, upon which the Provincials chiefly depend-

The way through which General Montgomery had to pass, was between the river St. Lawrence, on one side, the rocks on which the upper town stands, on the other.—It was now low and inconvenient. As he with the most desperate exertions of war would be required, he had selected a number of his most resolute to accompany him on this first attack. With these he made the first haste to close in upon the enemy, as near as it was practicable.

He soon forced his way through the first barrier; but the second, which led immediately to the gates of Lower Town, was much more strongly fortified. Here a strong party of the besieged was posted, with several pieces of cannon. They repulsed him with a discharge of musky and grape shot, that made an instant and almost total slaughter of his party.—He fell himself with his principal officers.

The loss of their General so much incensed the body which he had commanded, that the attack was not renewed, and a retreat was thought advisable.

Colonel Arnold, at the head of his

New England men, was in the mean time engaged in a furious assault on the side of the Lower Town opposite to that where Montgomery had just fallen. He attacked a barrier defended with cannon, and carried it after an hours obstinate resistance; but this success was attended with a great loss of his men; and he received a wound himself which compelled him to withdraw from action.

Those officers, however, on whom the command now devolved, continued the assault with unabated vigour, and took possession of another barrier.

But the besieged, who now perceived the small number of the enemy employed in this quarter, and that nothing was to be apprehended from any other, collected the whole strength of the garrison against them. A large body, on the one hand, sallied out from a gate that opened towards their rear, and fell upon them with the utmost fury; their whole corps lay meanwhile entirely exposed to a heavy fire from the town walls, under which they were now so closely pressed, that all retreat was cut off. In this dreadful situation they maintained a fight of full three hours, before they consented to surrender.

Such was the issue of an expedition, which, had it terminated to the advantage of those who conducted it, might possibly have decided at once the fate of America.

The siege of Quebec forms a remarkable epocha in this unfortunate war. The behaviour of the Provincial troops was such, as silenced all those who had suspected their military character. The bravest and most experienced veterans could not have exceeded the firmness and intrepidity they displayed in their last attack.

The termination of the siege by the signal overthrow, put also an end to all apprehensions for the safety of Quebec and of Canada. The strength of the Provincials was now so much lessened

lessened, that Colonel Arnold had not eight hundred effective men left under his command.

With this inconsiderable body he had, however, the boldness to encamp within three miles of the town. As it was not prudent to attack a place of which the garrison doubled his own numbers, he contented himself with intercepting the conveyance of refreshments and provisions thither, and succeeded therein so well, as to prove a heavy annoyance.

In order, at the same time, to maintain his ground in case of offensive measures on the part of the garrison, he fortified his encampment with all care, and took every precaution that circumstances would allow to secure himself in the position he had chosen.

Notwithstanding the loss of Montgomery had, in a manner, defeated the end of the expedition, the Provincials were still determined to remain in possession of what he had acquired for them, till circumstances more auspicious afforded them a second opportunity of renewing the attempt in which he had unfortunately perished.

Colonel Arnold's situation was, however extremely critical. He was at an immense distance from those parts whence effectual assistance could be expected. The most expert officers, and the bravest soldiers of the Provincial army had fallen before Quebec; and his chief resources lay now in his own genius and abilities.

He had on his entrance into Canada, experienced much kind treatment from the French inhabitants, and been frequently promised to be joined by a considerable number of them; but these promises, from a variety of causes, had not been performed. Had they been possessed of the same constancy of determination that animated the English Colonists, and united under the standards of Montgomery and Arnold, while they were yet victorious, it is highly probable that notwith-

standing the courage and capacity of its Governor, the capital must have followed the example of the Province, and at length have submitted to their arms.

But now that a total reverse of fortune had befallen them, the utmost that could be expected from the Canadians, was, that they would continue friendly to the Provincials, and supply their wants while they continued among them.

It was even become a difficult task to keep the Provincial troops themselves from disembodiment, and returning to their respective homes. This reluctance to remain in their present station, did not proceed from a defect of spirit, or good will in the cause, nor from want of attachment to their commander, for whom they professed the highest regard; but from a persuasion that it was needless, and that all reasonable hopes of making an impression upon the enemy in that quarter were entirely frustrated by the preceding disasters.

The utmost he could do, was to prevail upon them to remain upon the ground they occupied, and from thence to keep a strict eye on the enemy, and to endeavour, in the mean time to strengthen and extend their interest among the people in Canada and use every method to persuade them to take at once a decisive and active part in favour of the English Colonies.

While the remains of the late American army were thus enduring, with the utmost patience and fortitude, the hardships of a winter encampment on the frozen plains of Canada, the people at Quebec were enjoying the comfortable situation of being completely relieved from the terrors of falling into the hands of an enemy, whose wants would have in all likelihood, prompted him to seize upon the vast property they possessed.

Their spirits were so elated, and the confidence they reposed in their com-

so undoubted, that it was imagined by some, that had they been led to the defeat of the Province they would probably have entirely left them, and compelled them to leave the country; but as the advantages already gained had effected all that was necessary at the present, it was more prudent to run no farther; and to wait quietly for the elements that would not fail to come from Britain in due time, and to keep them henceforward out of the way of all danger.

In the Northern Colonies of America were thus involved in hostilities, there were torn with dissensions threatened to terminate in the same manner.

The people of Virginia had ever since the commencement of this unfortunate dispute, distinguished themselves by their forwardness in openly and explicitly condemning the pretensions of Great Britain, and asserting various privileges to which they claimed for themselves and the other Colonies.

They still continued in the same spirit and temper. They had unanimously agreed in sending Delegates to the Congress; they had zealously adopted the same opinions, and conformed to all the resolutions; they had formed committees and associations for every purpose recommended to be prosecuted in the same manner; they had, in short, every thing determined to maintain, at all times, the confederacy entered into by the Colonies, for the obtaining redress of grievances, and the resisting the claims of Britain.

The Province was at this time governed by the Earl of Dunmore, a man of a firm and resolute disposition whom at first they treated with the highest marks of respect, and with the proof of great personal regard. He had, however, at this turbulent time, been, like all the Governors on the continent, often embroiled with

the people of his government. He had at this time been engaged in a violent altercation with the Assembly, the dissolution of which afforded great causes of complaint, on account of the expiration of those militia laws, which could not be renewed without their immediate concurrence.

These laws were of peculiar consequence in Virginia, which is inhabited by prodigious multitudes of Negro slaves, dispersed over the whole Province, and amounted to twice the number of the white inhabitants.

The people on this occasion complained of their being exposed to the manifest danger of an insurrection from the Negroes; and in default of an Assembly, elected a Provincial Convention which passed a resolution that each county should raise a company for its protection.

The Governor was highly offended at their having thus assumed the power of the militia, which at all times, and in every Colony, is the peculiar prerogative of the Representative of the Crown. Not knowing how far their intentions might reach, after taking so unprecedented a step, he resolved, in order to prevent, as much as lay in his power, any further proceedings of that kind, to secure the powder deposited in the public storehouse of the Colony, at Williamsburgh, the capital: it was accordingly removed on board a ship, by a party of marines dispatched ashore for that purpose.

Notwithstanding this was done during the night, and conducted with the utmost circumspection and secrecy, it was known the very next day; and from the uncommon care that had been taken to conceal it, excited the most violent suspicion that some dangerous design was in agitation.

The towns people assembled in arms, in order to force the Governor to return the powder. Happily the magistrates

magistrates interfered, and took upon themselves to obtain the satisfaction that was demanded by the inhabitants. They represented to him the propriety of the city being always supplied with so necessary an article, and the particular necessity of its being ready at hand at the present time, from the apprehensions lately entertained of plots among the black people, who, on hearing of what had happened, would become the more intent to carry them into execution.

The Governor avowed the removal of the gunpowder was by his direction. Having received intelligence of commotions in the neighbourhood, he deemed it prudent to convey it to a place of safety, promising, however, to return it, whenever it should be wanted.

With this answer, the magistrates of the city rested seemingly satisfied; but this tranquillity was quickly interrupted by a report, which was spread that very night, that an armed party from the main of war was marching to Williamsburgh. This brought again the inhabitants together under arms, and they directed their principal vigilance towards the magazine, fully resolved to obstruct all further removals of what it contained.

The conduct and violent complaints of the people on this occasion, were highly offensive to the Governor.

The whole of what had been removed did not exceed eight barrels of gunpowder, a quantity not of sufficient consideration to justify such outrageous murmurs. In this state of irritation at such a defiance of authority, some unguarded expressions were dropped in presence of the disaffected who did not fail to embitter them in the representation that was made of them to the public.

They were menaced, it seems, with a setting up of the royal standard, and a proclamation of liberty to the black slaves; arms were to be put into their hands, to be employed a-

gainst their masters; Williamsburgh was threatened with destruction; and other resentful insinuations were thrown out. All these produced high discontentment and anger, and kindled a general flame throughout the colony.

Assemblies were held in consequence of the foregoing transactions, wherein the Governor's conduct in them was censured with great asperity.

But the temper of the people was such, that their leaders did not think it necessary to stop at bare complaints; some of the most daring took up arms, with a resolution to compel those who had the gunpowder to restore it, and to seize at the same time, on the public money into their own possession and keeping.

They were on their march to Williamsburgh with this intent, when they were met by the magistrates at a few miles distant from the city. Here an agreement was entered into, by which the Receiver General of the Colony, became security for the payment of the gunpowder; and the inhabitants promised, on their part, to take into their custody the magazine and public revenue.

Happily for the peace of the city, no further consequence resulted from this insurrection. But it alarmed the Governor, who, after dismissing his lady and family on board of a man of war, sent for a party of marines, with which he garrisoned his palace; fortifying it as well as circumstances would allow, and furnishing it with artillery.

He also issued a proclamation, in which he declared the promoters of the insurrection guilty of treasonable behaviour, in compelling the Receiver General to become bound for the price of the powder. The people were accused of disaffection, and a propensity to encourage innovations on government.

But this proclamation was of avail against those at whom it was

velled. Mr. Henry, the person who headed the malcontents, was one of the most popular men in the Colony. He had been a deputy to Congress, and knew that he should be thoroughly supported in what he undertook, not only by the Colony, but by the power of that body if it should become requisite.

His conduct was in the mean time fully approved in the various meetings that were holding every where in the Province. It was unanimously determined to assist and indemnify him, in case he should receive any detriment on account of his public conduct.

They retorted with great warmth the charges imputed to them of intending to subvert the government; they denied, with no less heat, that of being disaffected; and insisted on their being entirely free from blame in the measures they had lately taken, and no ways in fault for the troubles and disturbances that had happened.

It unfortunately fell out about this time that the copies of some letters, written by the Governor to the British ministry, fell into the hands of some of the adverse party. They made them public, and represented them in an odious light, as mistating facts, and giving injurious descriptions of the Colonists.

The publication of these letters produced exactly the same consequences that had resulted at Boston, from the discovery of the correspondence of Governor Hutchinson. Suspicion and mistrust put an end to all confidence and cordiality; and all that was said or done on either side, underwent a sinister interpretation.

While the Colony was in this state of confusion, the conciliatory motion carried by the minister during the last session of Parliament, arrived in Virginia. The necessity of obtaining, if possible, the Colony's acceptance of the terms therein proposed, induced the Governor to call an Assembly. He exerted all his abilities in order to persuade them to coincide with the

offers of Parliament: he used every argument that could be adduced in their favour: he laid before them the sincerity of the efforts made on the part of Britain, to procure a reconciliation answerable at once to her dignity and their interest: both had been consulted in the proposals now held out to America: they had been framed with a view of leaving the final completion of them equally to the wisdom and the good will of the Colonies: no determinate sum was fixed, as it had been judged most worthy of the constitutional generosity of the British Government, to gratify them with the entire and undivided privilege of specifying themselves the extent of the contribution. In this light, which was the true one it ought to be viewed in, the conciliatory motion was no more, in fact, than an earnest admonition from Great Britain to the Colonies, of the indispensable necessity she was under of demanding their assistance: whatever, therefore, they should think proper to give, would be given freely and uncompelled. They ought, for these reasons, cheerfully to embrace this opportunity of proving, that they possessed in reality that sincere attachment for the parent state, which they had so repeatedly professed: Britain, was manifestly disposed to live with them on a footing of the sincerest amity; the King and Parliament merited, certainly, by taking so effectual a step towards reconciliation, to be met, on their part, with an equal desire to renew the friendliness that had proved so beneficial to America. A concurrence in the measure proposed, would not only put a final period to the unhappy altercation that had so long interrupted their mutual felicity, but open a certain prospect of obviating all dissensions in future: Britain, upon receiving this proof of their dutiful inclinations, would instantly remove whatever bore the least appearance of an improper burden upon America.

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The reply to this message was very pointed and acrimonious. As the Governor had been severe in his imputations, they were equally bitter in their own justification, and expressed themselves in terms that tended strongly to widen the breach, and render both parties irreconcilable.

The Committee appointed to make an enquiry into the late disturbances had now finished it. From the testimony of a great number of creditable individuals, it appeared, that the commotions among the people had arisen from an apprehension that hostile designs had been formed against them; but that tranquility and good order were now re-established. They were universally determined, however, to abide by the resolutions of the general Congress, and of their Provincial meetings. They did not, indeed, aim at independency, being thoroughly persuaded it was the mutual interest of Great Britain and the Colonies to remain united; but still they insisted on the necessity of repealing the late obnoxious acts, before any reconciliation could take place. When the Parliament complied with the wishes of the Colonies in this particular, no doubt was entertained of the immediate cessation of all discontent, and of a cordial reunion and amity with the British nation as before.

The Assembly now took into consideration the conciliatory motion of the British ministry. But they did it in the same manner as the other Colonies: they used the same reasonings against it, and rejected it with no less warmth and unanimity. They concluded their examination of this subject by declaring, by the final determination of this and all such general matters, relied for the future with the Continental Congress. This, as representing all America, was the proper channel through which to convey to the throne a representation of all grievances: more deference and at-

tention would, it was insinuated be paid to that body, than to the remonstrances of a single colony.

"We have," said they, "exhausted every mode of application which our invention could suggest, as proper and promising. We have decently remonstrated with Parliament; they have added new injuries to the old. We have wearied our King with supplications; he has not deigned to answer us. We have appealed to the native honour and justice of the British nation; but their efforts in our favour have been hitherto ineffectual."

Such was the stile and manner of communication between the Governor and the Assembly. Charges on the one hand, and recriminations on the other, invitations to return on shore, with promises of the amplest security; and refusals to place any confidence in the people over whom the powers of government were exercised in this singular manner.

The session now drawing to an end, the Assembly requested that he would make his appearance among them, once at least, for the final passing of the bills that lay ready for his assent. They had, during the whole session, however it had been inconvenient, acquiesced in his desire; and waited upon him at the distance of a dozen miles, as often as a personal intercourse became necessary. He ought now, in his turn, to condescend so far, as to close the Assembly according to the usual and constitutional forms.

But this representation was as fruitless as the preceding.—The Governor insisted on the prerogative with which he was lawfully invested, of appointing the place where they should assemble: he knew of no bills of sufficient consequence to require the formality of his presence: and before he assented to any, he ought to have the previous examination of their propriety.

In reply to this message, the were sent to him. Of these some

his approbation, and to others rejected. The Assembly again sent him to repair to Williamsburg, in order to pass those bills he had of; assuring him in the most proper manner, that they would be for the safety of his person; and finally requesting, that if he would put himself among them, he would commission to pass them.

The Governor still remained inflexible in his refusal to meet them ashore, saying that his apprehensions were well founded, and requesting, in his answer, that they would wait upon him on board, there to present the bills that were to receive his assent.

It was a proposal with which the Assembly would by no means comply. It terminated at once all further intercourse between the Governor and that body. They immediately declared that such a requisition was a breach of their privileges; and from what had passed, they had good grounds to apprehend that the same designs were entertained against their liberty. They advised people to be on their guard, and to prepare for common defence of their country and their freedom, against the attempts probably were at no great distance. They concluded by protestations of a constant attachment to the Crown and of Great Britain, and of their readiness to adhere to them upon a rational foundation.

This was the solemn farewell of the Assembly of Virginia to the British navy. It closed the session of the last Assembly that was held under the authority of England, of which it was the ancient settlement in the American hemisphere, the foundation of which had been laid by the famous Sir Walter Raleigh, near two centuries before this final separation from its mother country.

Having thus put an end to the Governor's authority, they proceeded to the election of deputies, who met

in convention, and assumed the direction of the Province, in the same manner as had been done in the Province of Massachusetts. After the example of the New England people, the Virginians resigned themselves with the most implicit confidence to the management of their new governors.

Their first care was to put the Province in a proper state of defence. They raised a considerable body of men, and appointed funds to maintain them, and to defray other public charges. They published, at the same time, a justification of the measures they had taken, in which they attributed them to the necessity of providing for the immediate preservation of their freedom, their property, and all that was valuable, which were manifestly endangered by the designs that had unquestionably been formed against the just and long enjoyed rights of the Colonies. They repeated the conclusions of the last Assembly, declaring their loyal disposition towards Great Britain; but asserting in the strongest terms their determination to support their lawful claims against all opposers, and at whatever price it might cost them.

It now remained for Lord Dunmore, after the deprivation of his government, to consider in what manner he should conduct himself towards the people who had cast off their obedience. Such adherents to him as had by their activity made themselves unpopular, now repaired to him for safety. — Many of the slaves too deserted over to him. With these, and the more effectual assistance of the British armed shipping on the coast, he now proposed to keep an eye upon the country, and to be in readiness to lay hold of any reasonable opportunity of thwarting the designs of the malcontents. The intersection of Virginia by the many large and navigable rivers, with which it is watered every where, made this no difficult task.

as by means of these, its principal parts lie open at all times to the attempts of a keen and vigilant enemy that is master at sea.

With such views, he fitted out some vessels of sufficient force to alarm the inhabitants near the shore, but not equal to any undertaking of consequence. The truth was, that he was obliged to exert by main force the provisions he wanted, as they refused to supply him with any.

The Virginians complained, on the other hand, that he often landed with an hostile intent, setting fire to houses, destroying plantations, carrying off the slaves, and seizing on persons of the adverse party. This compelled them to stand more carefully on their defence; and produced at last continual scenes of rapine and devastation; wherein lives were lost, and mischief done to individuals, without effecting any material hurt or service to either side, and from which no reputation could be acquired to those who conducted them.

By degrees matters became more serious. Detachments of those troops levied by order of the Provincial Meeting, were now ordered to the shores of the rivers, and to the sea-coasts, which rendered all attempts against the different settlements more difficult and dangerous; and occasioned, of course, more blood to be spilt in them. Enmity was now risen to such a height, that the strictest watchfulness was employed to cut off all means of subsistence from the shipping. They could obtain none any where but at the point of the sword.

Thus war, without any formal denunciation, was not less real; and nothing but the want of a more considerable force prevented it from being carried on with more vigour and effect.

Having however collected from several quarters some companies of soldiers, the Governor determined upon an enterprise of importance. This

was the burning of Hampton, with a good harbour. His knowledge of the inhabitants made what preparation they could obstruct it, by sinking craft in place through which the shipping pass, and opposing such other means as might prevent a landing; but the ships forced their way through them and proceeded to fire up the place with great fury. A British men now came opportunely to the assistance of the town; these plain assailants with their musketry the shore so resolutely, and with much dexterity that they compelled them to retire with the loss of their vessels.

A proclamation was now published by the Governor, setting forth as the civil laws were no longer of force for the prevention of rebellion, a punishment of traitors, it was necessary to substitute martial law in its room, for the suppression of disorder throughout the Colony. All able to bear arms were hereby summoned to repair to the King's standard, under the penalty of being reputed rebels; and the slaves, servants of persons under this description were declared free; on condition of their taking up arms in the service.

This proclamation gave offence to all the people of America every Colony, New England excepted, was in a manner filled with Negro slaves, the letting loose upon their masters, was a measure which excited abhorrence. It represented as a determination to repentment beyond the common of humanity, and the rules established among civilized nations.—It authorized domestic murders and assassinations, and encouraged the perpetration of all manner of barbarity. It involved in one common bond the innocent as well as the guilty. Negroes could not discriminate

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that he should be gradually able to
raise such a force, as should enable him
to restore the authority of government
throughout the whole Province.

But the ruling powers exerted
themselves with so much diligence,
that a large body was speedily collect-
ed and put in motion against him.
On receiving intelligence of this, he
posted himself at a place called the
Great Bridge, on the road to Norfolk,
through which they were necessitated
to pass in marching to this town.
Here he threw up some works, well
lined with cannon, intending to make
a resolute stand with the whole force
he could muster.

But this was very inconsiderable;
he had no more than about two hun-
dred regulars; his remaining strength
consisted of an undisciplined assemblage
of white and black people. With
these, however, he courageously resolv-
ed to encounter the enemy, who were
now advanced very near him, and had
also cast up an intrenchment within the
reach of his guns.

After observing each other's motions
during some days, Lord Dunmore
grew impatient of inaction, and form-
ed a plan to storm their intrenchment.
Captain Fordyce, an officer of great
bravery, commanded on this occasion.
In the front of their works lay a nar-
row causeway, which was the only
avenue to them. The Captain, at
the head of a body of grenadiers, ad-
vanced upon this path to their intrench-
ments, and attacked them with alto-
nishing resolution. The enemies
works were so constructed, that while
he was attempting their front, his own
flanks were exposed to a severe fire.
The valour of this gallant officer, and
of the brave men that followed him,
met with unsurmountable obstacles:
he was slain with a number of them.
Such was the obstinacy with which
they fought, and the danger of the
service they went upon, that not one
individual among them escaped without
a wound.

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They made good their retreat under the guns of their own works, the enemy not venturing to pursue them. The only prisoners made were such as, on account of their wounds, were unable to retire from the field. Those among them who were natives of Britain, met with very civil usage from the Provincials; but the natives of America experienced great severity; and were treated as men who had deserted their own colours, and fought under those of an enemy.

After this repulse, the encampment at the Great Bridge was broke up; and as the enemy was daily increasing in number, and there appeared no reasonable hope of being able to resist him, Lord Dunmore withdrew again to his shipping. It was now equally numerous, and crowded with people of all denominations, who were his adherents, and who had fled to it as the only place of protection from the resentment of the Provincial party.

While Lord Dunmore was thus exerting himself on the coasts of Virginia, a plan was forming to invade it, together with the other southern colonies, on their back and inland parts. The people in those settlements were considered as strongly attached to the English government, and it was expected that large numbers of them would be disposed to take up arms in its support. It was also supposed that some of the Indian tribes in the neighbourhood of those parts, might be brought to join them. All this would form a force sufficient to make an effectual impression on the enemy, and to open a passage in the very heart of the Colonies, through which they might make an incursion into any Province they chose particularly to attack.

Virginia was the colony chiefly aimed at by this scheme. The projector of it was Mr. Conelly a Pennsylvanian, a man completely qualified for its execution. He was one of

those restless and daring spirits that seemed born for the tempestuous period they lived in, and which America abounded at this time.

He communicated his project to Lord Dunmore, with the activity anduteness of whose temper it corresponded. It met with his entire approbation; Conelly set out immediately for it forwards with all possible expedition. Through a multiplicity of delays he reached the back settlements there found means to negotiate great secrecy, a treaty with the Indians situated on the Ohio, and to overcome to his design the people in remote districts. On his return Lord Dunmore with the intelligence of his success, he was dispatched to Boston with proper recommendations. Here he was commissioned by General Gage to act in this business Colonel and Commander, with a view of being thoroughly supplied.

By this plan it was agreed, that British forces at Detroit, and in its vicinity, with those stationed in others of those settlements, should each furnish men as could possibly be obtained. With these, which would amount to a considerable body, they were to proceed as early the next spring as practicable, to Pittsburg, where he was to establish his head quarters. The disaffected party there was to be suppressed, and the friends of the government collected to a sufficient number to form them into regiments. At Pittsburg he was to cross the Allegheny Mountains, and penetrate into Pennsylvania. Here, after leaving Fort Mifflin strongly garrisoned, he was to fall down the river Potomac, seize upon Alexandria, where he concerted that Lord Dunmore meet him with the fleet and command, and all the force he could gather. Alexandria was to be fortified, and made a place of arms, and the centre of their operations.

of those who had fled

It was not the intention of Lord
Dunmore to extend the destruction
any farther. The principal, it be-

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They made good their retreat under the guns of their own works, the enemy not venturing to pursue them. The only prisoners made were such as, on account of their wounds, were unable to retire from the field. Those among them who were natives of Britain, met with very civil usage from the Provincials; but the natives of America experienced great severity; and were treated as men who had deserted their own colours, and fought under those of an enemy.

After this repulse, the encampment at the Great Bridge was broke up; and as the enemy was daily increasing in number, and there appeared no reasonable hope of being able to resist him, Lord Dunmore withdrew again to his shipping. It was now equally numerous, and crowded with people of all denominations, who were his adherents, and who had fled to it as the only place of protection from the resentment of the Provincial party.

While Lord Dunmore was thus exerting himself on the coasts of Virginia, a plan was forming to invade it, together with the other southern colonies, on their back and inland parts. The people in those settlements were considered as strongly attached to the English government, and it was expected that large numbers of them would be disposed to take up arms in its support. It was also supposed that some of the Indian tribes in the neighbourhood of those parts, might be brought to join them. All this would form a force sufficient to make an effectual impression on the enemy, and to open a passage in the very heart of the Colonies, through which they might make an irruption into any Province they chose particularly to attack.

Virginia was the colony chiefly aimed at by this scheme. The projector of it was Mr. Conelly a Pennsylvanian, a man completely qualified for its execution. He was one of

those restless and daring individuals that seemed born for the temporary period they lived in, and with America abounded at this time.

He communicated his project to Dunmore, with the activity anduteness of whose temper it corresponded. It met, accordingly, with his entire approbation; and Conelly set out immediately to it forwards with all possible expedition. Through a multiplicity of circumstances he reached the back settlements there found means to negotiate great secrecy, a treaty with the Indians situated on the Ohio, and to over to his design the people in remote districts. On his return Lord Dunmore with the intelligence of his success, he was dispatched to Boston with proper recommendations. Here he was commissioned by General Gage to act in this business, but Colonel and Commander, with a view of being thoroughly satisfied.

By this plan it was agreed, that British forces at Detroit, and in its vicinity, with those stationed in others of those districts, should each furnish men as could possibly be obtained. With these, which would amount to a considerable body, they were to proceed as early the next as practicable, to Pittsburgh, where he was to establish his head quarters. The disaffected party there was to be suppressed, and the friends of the government collected to a sufficient number to form them into regiments. At Pittsburgh he was to cross the Allegheny Mountains, and penetrate into Pennsylvania. Here, after leaving Fort Mifflin strongly garrisoned, he was to fall down the river Potomac, seize upon Alexandria, where he was concerted that Lord Dunmore meet him with the fleet under his command, and all the force he could gather. Alexandria was to be fortified, and made a place of refuge, and the centre of their operations.

and the friends of government would be able to declare themselves without restraint, and to form a union with facility; and of more importance than all the communication between the northern and southern Colonies effectually cut off.

was the vast and comprehensive projected by Mr. Connelly. made a considerable progress towards Detroit; and on the back frontiers of Maryland had seemingly escaped the dangers, when he was unluckily struck by one of those unexpected attacks that so often baffle the best designs.

A man with whom he was acquainted and had dealt, met him on the spot and directly gave information to the committee; he was immediately seized upon suspicion, and discovered the whole design. He communicated to the Council the Colonel was thrown into

his manner was frustrated a equally bold and judiciously and which was now almost a matter of execution. It is not possible that had he not been thus in the middle of his career, Connelly, from the acuteness of his character, would not have directed the operations with equal success; and would have been one of the most dangerous enemies the Congress would have had to counter.

In the mean time, the retreat of the army from Norfolk, left them entirely at the mercy of the British. The loyalists had been upon their adversaries in the possession of those parts: they were now retorted upon all those who had remained experienced much ill treatment and many mortifications.

In addition of those who had fled

for shelter on board the shipping was not less distressful; as they were cut off from all communication ashore, they were destitute of means to provide themselves with necessaries, and were reduced to the most dreadful extremities. In such a situation, the calls of nature rendered them desperate, and they neglected no opportunity of venturing to land in every place where they expected to find provisions. This occasioned perpetual skirmishes between them and the Provincial troops that lay in wait to intercept them.

During these transactions a man of war of some force arrived at Norfolk harbour. It was now resolved to insist upon their permitting the fleet to be furnished with necessaries, and that they should desist from annoying the shipping with their musketry, which only tended to the destroying of men without necessity, and could hardly be viewed in any other light but that of absolute murder.

The fact was, that the American soldiery chiefly composed of rifle-men, stationed themselves in the houses and upon the wharfs opposite to the shipping, took every opportunity of firing at the people on board, and destroyed some of them daily.

The requisition made by the Governor was accompanied with a menace to fire upon that part of the town from which the annoyance came, in case they refused to comply. But their answer was a preptory denial of both his demands. In consequence of this, notice was given to the inhabitants of what was intended, that they might previously remove themselves out of danger; and after allowing them a due space of time for that purpose, that side of the town was cannonaded which lay nearest the water, and a party of soldiers and marines was landed, the more effectually to set fire to the houses in that quarter.

It was not the intention of Lord Dunmore to extend the destruction any farther. The British, it was

been said, completed it, by setting fire to those parts that lay at a distance from the water side, and which, as the wind was favourable to them, would from their situation have escaped the conflagration. It has even been positively asserted, that almost at the very moment the houses near the shore were set on fire, the flames were also perceived in several parts that were farthest from them, and that they were burnt by the direction of the Virginian Congress itself, in order to put an end at once to all hopes in the loyalists of receiving any aid from that place.

In this unfortunate manner was destroyed one of the finest towns of Virginia, and the first for commerce and opulence. The computation of the damage done on this occasion, amounted to between three and four hundred thousand pounds. Before this disaster, its condition was so flourishing, that the annual rents of the houses exceeded ten thousand pounds.

So great became now the inveteracy to the loyalists, that in order to deprive them of all means of subsistence, the plantations of which the situation exposed them to incursions from the shipping, were totally destroyed, and the inhabitants compelled to remove up the country with their cattle, and all the effects they could carry off.

While Virginia was suffering in this cruel manner from intestine dissensions, its neighbours, the Carolinas, were much in the same distracted state. In North Carolina, Governor Martin, a gentleman of great vigour and activity, was involved in perpetual contests with the various committees and associations it had formed, and especially with the Provincial Congress. He was accused of having, like Lord Dunmore, endeavoured to excite a rebellion among the negroes; and upon that, and other charges, he was declared a public enemy to the Colonies, and to that particularly of which, as Governor, he ought to have had the interest most at heart; and all persons

were in consequence, interdicted from any communication with him.

He replied to this declaration by a bold and spirited proclamation; wherein he cleared himself of malevolence to the Province, and justified his conduct by a variety of reasons; animating at the same time with the most freedom and pointedness, upon all their proceedings, and reprobating them as inimical to peace, and repugnant to the duty and obedience which they owed to Great Britain, and tending manifestly to breed ill blood and kindle sedition and rebellion.

The wrath and resentment of the Provincial Congress was provoked to such a pitch by this proclamation, that they voted it a libel of the most injurious and defamatory nature; loaded it with every opprobrious epithet they could devise, and ordered it to be publicly burned by the common executioner.

Notwithstanding the violence and enmity of the Congress, the Governor entertained a full expectation of being able to defeat their designs. He strongly relied on the loyalty of those who were settled in the interior parts of the Province, and such as had lately emigrated from Scotland, who were chiefly Highlanders, a brave and hardy race of men.—With these he doubted not to form a numerous body of firm and determined adherents, to whom the Congress would not find it in their power to oppose an equal force.

While arrangements were forming to bring them together, he thought it prudent, for his own personal security, to fortify his residence at Newbern, in order to prevent a surprise from people whose inveteracy he was apprehensive might prompt them to offer him some insult. His intention was to replenish it with warlike stores, and to strengthen it so well, as to set at defiance all attempts against him. He had partly executed his design, when the moving of some guns, and the suspicion of a rising, followed immediately.

insurrection, which appeared
gerous, that he found it most
ble instantly to withdraw, and
himself on board an armed

the populace rushed into his house
ch of what they suspected, and
cred accordingly gunpowder and
with other military stores, con-
under-ground, in the garden.
confirmed the surmises that had
spread concerning his hostile in-
ns, and he was now regarded as
with whom it was no longer
ary, or proper, to keep any mea-

the mean time, similar methods
ceeding were adopted through-
his Province as in the other Co-
. An upper council, and com-
s of safety, were nominated; and
other regulation made that was
d requisite for good order and
nment. They provided in the
manner for the public defence, by
g out the militia and raising ad-
d forces. They acted, in short,
the same spirit and determination
ir neighbours. They framed a
: address to all the subjects of the
h empire, in the same stile as those
ave already been mentioned, de-
g their readiness to be reconciled
constitutional terms, and their
tion to admit of no other.

South Carolina the like disturb-
prevalled. The people charged
Governor, Lord William Camp-
who had opposed their proceed-
with great spirit and perseverance,
having treated with the Indians
eir assistance against them, and in-
l the inhabitants of the back-
ments to attack their countrymen.
commotions raised upon this oc-
s were so violent, that he was
elled to retreat on board a man
ir.

After his departure, they took the
nment into their own hands;
in order to obviate any danger
might arise from the negotiations

that had been carried on with the back
settlers, they deputed Mr. Drayton
to confer with them, a gentleman fa-
mous for his opposition to the British
government, and at that time the most
popular man in the Province. He
proceeded to that part of the country
at the head of a considerable body of
men. An agreement was accordingly
entered into between both parties: in
which all differences were settled to
their mutual satisfaction; the back-
settlers binding themselves to a peace-
able demeanour, and in no shape to op-
pose the measures that should be adopt-
ed by the Provincial meeting, nor to af-
ford any assistance to the British mili-
tary. In other respects they were left
at freedom to act as they deemed it
most expedient for their own welfare.
They were to be permitted to remain
perfectly neutral in the present quarrel
between Great Britain and the Co-
lonies, and were by no means to be sub-
ject to any detriment for refusing to
espouse their cause.

Having delivered themselves from
all apprehensions on that quarter, their
next business was to settle a form of
government. They appointed a coun-
cil of safety to consist of thirteen mem-
bers, who were to be assisted in cases of
difficulty and importance, by a com-
mittee of one hundred. Hearing at
the same time, that preparations were
making in England, which were par-
ticularly levelled at this Colony, they
neglected no means to put it in a posture
of defence by raising forces, diligently
training them, and especially by forti-
fying Charles Town in the strongest
manner they were able.

During these transactions in the
south of the continent, the military
operations in the north still continued,
though not with the same vigour as at
the commencement of the campaign.
The British troops in Boston were too
much diminished, and weakened, thro'
sickness and fatigue, to undertake any
hazardous attempt; and the Provincials
thought, on the other hand, that they
did

did enough in keeping them close confined in that town.

In the beginning of October, General Gage resigned the command of the British forces to General Howe, and took his departure for England. The new commander in chief had innumerable difficulties to contend with. The number of malcontents among the inhabitants was very great; and they made it their continual business to convey the speediest intelligence of all that was transacted in the town, to their friends without. This, from the situation and extensiveness of the place, and other circumstances, it was impossible to prevent. A scarcity of fresh provisions still continued, which was distressingly felt by the garrison, the sick especially, who were very numerous. The rooted antipathy of the generality of the natives, made it exceedingly difficult to discriminate between the well and the ill-affected, and prevented any dependence being placed on either. Thus the prudence and sagacity of the commander in chief was seconded by none of those helps, that would in this case have proved most useful and efficacious. He could trust thoroughly none but his own people, in these exigencies that required most information and advice.

In order to obviate, as effectually as it lay in his power, the dangers arising from this perpetual communication, and to prevent as much as possible the facility with which it had been carried on hitherto, a proclamation was issued, by which the inhabitants were forbidden to quit the town without permission, on pain of suffering military execution if discovered. Offenders, as to be arraigned as guilty of treason if they should effect their escape, and to forfeit their effects. Such as obtained a license to depart, were prohibited under heavy penalties, from taking with them above a certain quantity of money. A passport was also directed to be

issued in the towns, were bound to all in its defence: such of them as were thought proper to be selected for that purpose, were to be divided into companies, and properly armed and disciplined; the others were to contribute a sum of money in lieu of their personal service.

It had been hoped by some friends to government, that at the expiration of the time for which the Provincial soldiers were enlisted, the majority would return to their homes, and so long and unusual an absence. The term was now approaching, and the Congress itself was not without its fears upon this account. For the preventing of an event, that would have been so prejudicial to their cause, they deputed a committee of their most popular and respected members to cooperate with General Washington in keeping the continental army from disbanding. In this they succeeded in their fullest expectations. The whole army re-enlisted for the term of a twelvemonth.

The object which the Congress found it most difficult to compass in their military exertions, was the procuring a sufficiency of gunpowder. The want of it prevented the execution and the attempt of many a design. They had been uncommonly industrious in the preparation of the several ingredients of which this manufacture is composed; but time only could bring this resource to that state of abundance which was at present so much needed. Mean while their chief supplies were from abroad; but they came in very slowly, and amidst a multitude of obstacles. The communication with those European countries from whence it was to be had, was intercepted, and the navigation of their own shipping was so diligently traced, and so closely watched, that the importation of this indispensable necessity, was attended with very kind of difficulty and discouragement.

proof to what extremities reduced from the scanty powder, some of their own had been said, acknowledge they lay before Boston, at one time so short, that been attacked, they must have fled, and disembarked themselves. At Bunker's Hill, many had expended a stock before the business

so essential a deficiency, were spared, and no experiment tried. The swiftest sail were dispatched to the coast in Africa, where they purchased the powder that was to be the European shipping trading along the shores of the country: they bought the quantity of making up their wants of articles for the country; and they went expected. Another supply brought from the island of Bermuda the crew of a vessel, at purpose, landed in the night plundered the magazine, at some distance from the place the powder it contained. The result of action between the rebels and the Provincials at Boston, the war was now carried on the coast of New England, resembled, in some measure, the people of Virginia experiencing upon their own soil rose also from similar necessity of procuring fresh

As the inhabitants were restory and violent in their conduct exercised all the resistance able, the consequence was, were treated occasionally with severity.

Other places that suffered the effects of these hostilities, was Falmouth, situated in the Province of Maine, the name given to the north-

ern parts of Massachusset, from which it is divided by the Colony of New Hampshire. It was a commercial thriving place, consisting of about five hundred houses. Its harbour was particularly commodious for its proximity to those parts of the country where ship-timber was plenty; and it was here the shipping from England took in yearly a large quantity of masts, especially for the navy. A vessel was lying here at this time for that very purpose: a difference unhappily arose about the loading of her, which occasioned a violent disturbance. It proceeded to such length, that in resentment for the people's behaviour, a resolution was taken to destroy the town, which was effected accordingly, after notice had been given to the inhabitants to remove with what effects they could carry off.

The destruction of Falmouth was grievously resented by the Provincials. The Congress of Massachusset, which was then sitting at Watertown, determined immediately to take every possible measure for the protection of their coast, and with that intent passed an act for granting letters of marque and reprisal, and erected Courts of Admiralty for the trial and adjudication of all British prizes brought into their harbours.

To qualify, in some respect, so daring a measure, they declared, at the same time, that their sole intention was to guard their sea coasts from violence and depredation, and to secure the navigation of their own vessels: to this end those ships only were liable to be captured, that brought supplies to the forces that were acting against them.

While hostilities were thus carried on by land, and preparations were making to extend them to the sea, numbers of individuals in America were zealously striving, by means of their connections in England, to avert the consequences that must inevitably ensue from a continuation of the unnatural

natural war entered into by Great Britain and her Colonies. They represented the evident danger of adding fresh causes of irritation to a people who were already sufficiently exasperated. Their affections, tho' of long standing in favour of a country from which they originated, were now almost broken, and hung on so slender a thread, that little was wanting to disconnect them from England for ever. No time was to be lost in healing the wound, while it might yet be closed; but no reliance was to be placed upon distant hopes; the quarrel was of a nature to be made up whenever Britain should think proper. The season for action was beginning to draw towards an end: the Americans would employ that leisure in pondering upon the future, and reflecting on the past: the events of the present campaign had been rather favourable to them; and the prospect of the increasing enmity of Britain, from its vast preparations against them, might in all likelihood drive them into measures, which, if once adopted, would set reconciliation at a woeful distance.

They still, however, disclaimed all ideas of that tendency: they unanimously protested that they took up arms with no other intent, than to maintain their rights, and to obtain a redress of grievances: they looked no further at present: a separation from the parent state was an object foreign to their wishes; but if the dispute still lasted, who could tell how it would terminate? If bloodshed continued much longer, habitual enmity would obliterate all former friendship, and become at last familiar to their feelings.

Such was the matter of the epistolary representations that were continually arriving from America; but whatever impression they might make upon those to whom they were addressed, they produced no effect with those persons whose influence would have

been favourable in promoting the ends for which they were written.

In the midst of those violent scenes that were acting in America, remonstrances of this kind were not unfrequent even to the gentlemen of the army itself. The person who chiefly excited the attention of the public on this account, was General Lee, whose letters to Lord Percy and General Burgoyne, were originals in their kind, and fully exhibited the peculiar disposition of that celebrated officer.

While these conciliatory attempts were made on one hand, a circumstance that much contributed on the other to embitter and alienate the minds of both parties in America, was the acrimonious stile of their public correspondence. As the letters that passed between them were often occasioned by erroneous reports, and mis-stated facts, they were of course dictated sometimes by the keenest anger and resentment, and produced the like emotions in those to whom they were directed.

The rancour that always accompanies a civil war, rendered individuals on both sides extremely impatient to any deviation from the friendly treatment, to which, by habits of long intimacy, they were reciprocally accustomed. Every proof of enmity, however slight, still was heavily felt, as proceeding from those who were once friends and associates. From motives of this kind, the parties who complained of being aggrieved, were apt, in the bitterness of their impatience, and inveteracy, frequently to aggravate the causes of their complaints: this of course inflamed the minds of those who were interested in protecting them from ill usage, and engaged them to espouse their defence with all the warmth of indignation.

A remarkable instance of this nature happened at Boston, while invested by the Provincial army, and produced those memorable letters between the

effective commanders, of which much notice was taken at the time, which created such diversity of opinions concerning their merit and ability.

First with which General Washington closed his correspondence with General Gage, was conceived in a style of peculiar spiritedness and energy, and drew a strong picture of his character and principles, as well as of the state that animated his countrymen at that time.

"Whether," said he, "British or American mercy, fortitude, and patriotism, are most pre-eminent—whether the victorious citizens, whom the spirit of tyranny has forced into arms to defend their property and freedom, or the mercenary instruments of lawlessness, avarice, and revenge, deserve the appellations of rebels, and the punishment of that cord, or whether our affected clemency has foreborne to inflict—whether the authority which I act is usurped, or is based upon the genuine principles of justice, such considerations are altogether foreign to the subject of my correspondence. I purposely avoid political disquisition; nor shall I avail myself of those advantages which are the result of my country, of liberty and human nature, give me over much less shall I stoop to retort and revictive.

For justifying the Provincials in the cruel treatment of the prisoners, imputed to them," you advise me to give free operation to the tongue, to punish misrepresentation and falsehood. If experience stamps upon counsel, your's must have been that which few can claim: you can tell how far the convulsions of the Revolution have brought such ruin on the country, and shaken the mighty foundation of Britain to its foundation, and traced to these malignant

you affect, Sir, to despise all that is derived from the same source

with your own. I cannot conceive one more honourable than that which flows from the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people, the purest source and original fountain of all power. Far from making it a plea for cruelty, a mind of true magnanimity, and enlarged ideas, would comprehend and respect it."

Such were the principal parts of this celebrated letter, which was by the Americans represented as the completest model of the style becoming his station, and the occasion to which it was adapted, and was at the same time commended in every part of Europe where it was read, and even in England itself, as the only answer he could make in his present circumstances.

In this letter General Washington boasted, not unjustly, that far from being obliged to compel, or to request the assistance of any of his countrymen, he was rather embarrassed with the numbers who crowded to his camp, from the sole impulse of love to their country.

Certain it is, that without advert- ing to the rectitude or erroneousness of their notions, the Americans were at this period animated with the subtlest persuasion that they were acting the part of true patriots, and combating for those objects which are held sacred and inviolable in all countries.

It is no less true, that they were countenanced and upheld in this persuasion by all the European world. Compositions of every kind were published in their favour; their cause was maintained by a number of works in prose, and poems were written in praise of their valour and successes. The French, as already observed, were not only the foremost of any people in their secret encouragement, and open applause and vindication of the Americans, but lost no opportunity of exercising their natural vivacity, upon this subject in a variety of ways. The

They celebrated every fortunate event that befel the Provincials, not only in odes and epic strains, but in a multiplicity of songs, epigrams, and stanzas, and other productions of a similar nature.

With so many inducements before them, it is by no means surprizing the Americans should feel and express such uncommon warmth and vehemence upon every occasion, and become perfect enthusiasts in a cause wherein they considered their duty and their interest as equally concerned and to neglect the defence of which, they viewed in the double light of treason and impiety. When actuated by such motives, men are never lukewarm and remiss; and these were unquestionably the ruling principles in America at this time.

The force and animation that accompanied their discussion of public matters, showed how deeply they were affected by them, and with what weight and seriousness they dwelt upon their thoughts, and took up the whole of their study and attention.

A strong specimen of the maxims and sentiments by which they were governed, was exhibited in a famous speech made by one of the Delegates to the Continental Congress of the present year, on the necessity of their taking up arms.

"The great God," said he, "who is the searcher of all things, will witness for me, that I have spoken from the bottom and purity of my heart.—It is an arduous consideration we are now upon, and surely we have considered it earnestly. I may think of every gentleman here, as I know of myself. For seven years past, this question has filled the day with anxious thoughts, and the night with care.—The God, to whom we appeal, must judge us. If the grievances of which we complain did not come upon us unprovoked, and unexpected, when our hearts were filled with respectful affection for our parent state, and with

loyalty to our King, let slavery, the worst of human ills, be our portion! Nothing less than seven years disulted complaints, and reiterated wrongs, could have shaken such rooted sentiments. Unhappily for us, submission and slavery are the same; and we have only the melancholy alternative left of resistance, or of ruin."

The last petition of this Congress to the King, contained all that our unhappy situation could suggest. It represented our grievances, implored redress, and professed our readiness to contribute for the general weal, to the utmost of our abilities, when constitutionally required."

He then adverted to the fate of that petition, and the determination of Parliament to concur with the ministry in pronouncing the Congress an illegal assembly, and their grievances mere pretences.

"I forbear," continued he "to enter into a detail of those acts, which from their atrociousness must be felt and remembered for ever. They are calculated to carry fire and sword, famine and desolation through these flourishing Colonies. The extremes of rage and revenge against the work of enemies, could not dictate measures more desperate and destructive.

There are some people who tremble at the approach of war: they fear that it must put an inevitable stop to the further progress of these Colonies, and ruin irretrievably those benefits which the industry of almost two centuries has called forth from this once savage land. I may command the anxiety of those men, without praising their judgment.

War, like other evils, is often wholesome. The waters that stagnate, corrupt; the storm that works the ocean into rage, renders it salutary; Heaven has given us nothing unmixed: the rose is not without thorns. War calls forth the gr
virtu

d efforts, which would sleep in the bosom of peace. It exerts talents, which if unemployed are no better than if they did not; it opens resources, which are concealed under the inactivity of tranquil times; it rouses and animates; it produces animation, enterprise, and success. Consult history.—Did not the republics prosper amidst continual warfare? Their prosperity, valour, and their power, are the animating spirit of war. Rome, the mistress of the world, attained her greatness by the sword. Trace back the history of the present state: whether you view the Angles against Danes, against Normans, the Barons against Tyrants, or the civil wars of red and white Roses, or between the nation and the king, you see her in a state of continual warfare. But amidst these contentions, she flourished and grew strong; trained in them, she reared her hardy legions forth, and she carried the standards of England on the ruins of Paris.

The beautiful fabric of her constitution and liberty was reared and cemented with blood. From this furnace of strength those scions issued, which taking deep root in this fruitful soil, reared their heads, and spread their branches like the cedars of Lebanon.

Shall we then to pursue through a long and arduous war, a real good? The war upon which we are to enter is necessary, and more just. Men, whose only business is their arms have a right to be paid. We fight to prevent the progress of such a beauty as the infinite toil and hazard of fathers and ourselves, from the prey of that more desolating spoiler than war, pestilence, absolute rule, and oppression!

“ Our sufferings have been great; our endurance long:—every effort of patience, complaint, and supplication, has been exhausted. Let us therefore consult only how we shall defend our liberties with dignity and success. Our parent state will then think us worthy of her, when she sees, that together with her liberty, we inherit her rigid resolution of maintaining it against all invaders. She calls us her children; let us by the spiritedness of our behaviour, give her reason to pride herself in their relationship.”

Such was the style and method of arguing in use among the Americans at this time. It communicated itself from the highest to the lowest classes among them. It was the language of Congress, and of every Provincial meeting throughout the continent: it was that of all private companies. Men seemed regardless of all other objects but those which related to their present situation. The histories of all fortunate oppositions to tyrannical power were now read, and studied with uncommon assiduity.—The revolutions that had established popular liberty on the ruins of oppression, were pointed out to public observation; and the resistance, that brought them about, was held out for their imitation. All the parallel circumstances, that represented a similitude between themselves and those nations that had struggled for their freedom, were laid before them, particularly those which the history of England afforded.

It was chiefly upon the precedents they found in this they built the propriety and lawfulness of their resistance. It was, said they, full of encouragements and authorities in their favour. The reigns of the Plantagenets, and of the Tudors afforded a sufficient number. But without looking back so far, the example of those resolute Englishmen who withstood the designs of Charles the First, was, in their opinion, the most opposite case to their own.

It was at this time, said they, the doctrine of opposition to unlawful power was best understood, and most properly exerted. Since that æra, it had been fully and explicitly established, not only in mere theory, but in constant practice. The English history from that period is a perpetual confirmation of the persuasion of the people of England, that government was instituted solely for the benefit of the governed, and that all ideas of a different tendency are inconsistent with the common sense and feelings of mankind.

To this persuasion the Revolution was owing, and the settlement of the Crown in the Hanover line. Both these events were authorized by the determination of the people, to suffer no inconveniences from a compliance with the absurd tenet, that an hereditary right subsisted in the individuals of particular families to govern that community, of which, from a concurrence of causes, they happened to become the principal members.

But England was not the only country that afforded instances of the resolution taken by the community to endure no oppression. Two illustrious states in Europe owed their existence and prosperity to the conduct now adopted by America. The inhabitants of Switzerland, and those of the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands, had preceded them in the same noble career. They too had been oppressed, and had, by courage and perseverance, not only resisted oppression, but cast off the yoke of the oppressor.

The case of the last of these two nations bore a remarkable similitude to their own. They had long, endeavoured by peaceable means to obtain a redress of their many grievances. They had petitioned, they had remonstrated, they had pleaded their cause with coolness and moderation; they had used every argument, and every entreaty to

prevail on their oppressors to desist from ill usage: they even submitted to severities, rather than be thought furtive and patiently bowed their necks beneath a weight of calamities, that had almost crushed them, before they could bring themselves to make a stand against their tyrants.

It was not until they were duly convinced, that patience only served to harden the hearts of their unfeeling rulers, and to encourage them to proceed to their despotic measures, that they took at last the resolution to remain no longer in a state of passiveness and forbearance, which had occasioned an accumulation of distress upon them, and exposed them no less to contempt than to harsh treatment.

Taught by repeated experience, that acquiescence under injuries is always followed by their repetition, they began by laying aside their obedience to illegal decrees, and by drawing the sword in defence of their just rights; still, however, professing allegiance to their sovereign, and willingness to lay down their arms, on condition of being re-instated in the privileges of which they had been deprived.

But these offers were rejected with a haughtiness that compelled them, much against their will to continue the resistance they had begun. No mitigation of the tyranny they had endured was expected, and the most dreadful menaces were thrown out against them: cruelty and inhumanity in the extreme, accompanied the hostility that were exercised against them, and no hopes remained of any sincere reconciliation. In such circumstances, it would have been the height of imprudence to trust men who had been guilty of such enormities, and had thereby forfeited all regard and confidence, and could be viewed in no other light than that of a bloody and barbarous enemy.

Impelled by these motives, determined at length to have res

last remedy of an aggrieved pressed people, to cast off the yoke that galled them, to take the management of their affairs into their own hands, and to declare themselves independent and free.

They fulfilled their determination bravely, and had no cause to regret it. They maintained their independence with a spirit and fortitude that surmounted all obstacles: they struggled with a power incomparably superior to their own, with a perseverance that enabled them to prove against all hardships and after a contest that astonished the world by its duration, they came out of it at last completely victorious, and established a commonwealth, which for the extent of territorial possessions, is the most populous that ever was recorded in history. They were the representations and arguments laid before the people of America, to encourage them to act with firmness and resolution in the measures they had adopted. Though they were not invited in a direct manner to go the same lengths the Dutch had gone, yet they were so fully relieved of them, that it was easy to treat what the citation of them afforded; and by seasoning their minds with reflections of this nature, they might be duly prepared for the execution of that great design, which was agitating in the counsels of their country.

In order further to animate them, the actual situation of England, and the character of the English at the present day was drawn with that heightening which was most favourable to the views of America. England was described as deriving all its greatness and importance from its dominions in the western continent. Its principal trade and wealth arose from that quarter. It was during the last triumphant war, that Britain to overcome her ancient and most formidable enemies, had supplied her military and marine

with some of her bravest soldiers and stoutest sailors. America had, at that time, covered the West Indian ocean with her trading vessels and her privateers, and was become herself an object of terror to all the enemies of Great Britain.

The base imputations of timidity and backwardness in military affairs had been thrown out merely to encourage the English commonalty to enlist in those regiments that were intended to be employed against them. Those, who knew the Americans, were amply convinced, that, in those qualifications that constitute a good soldier, they were by no means deficient, and were equal, if not superior, to the English themselves.—Of what was the bulk of the English army made up, but of the very refuse of the nation? The laborious working individuals knew their interest too well, to give up their liberty and comfortable livelihood for so slavish a profession.

When trained and disciplined in the tactics now most prevalent, still their superiority was a matter of great doubt. In the field of competition with America, Britain had objects of the most serious consideration to view. It was not barely the regularity with which a man went through the parade of exercise, that was now to be attended to. That science, such as it was, might be soon attained. But had those individuals into whose hands England now trusted her arms, been brought up in those habits of hardiness that fit a man for war? Could they handle the pickaxe, the hatchet, and the spade, with the same readiness as the Americans? These were implements with which every American soldier was acquainted; but to which few of the British soldiers were used; or if they once had been, had now forgotten it in the slothful life they led in England. In this respect the Americans might be compared with the Hebrews of old, who, while employed in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem

after their return from the captivity of Babylon, were compelled to hold the trowel in the one hand, and the sword in the other. In the same manner the Americans were no less closely pressed; they were called from the plough and the harrow, and obliged to run to their muskets for the defence of their houses and possessions, and the preservation of their persons from the hands of the enemy. There was, however, one circumstance which every American ought constantly and thankfully to bear in his mind. Without wearing a soldier's garb, they perfectly understood the use of a firelock. They had been taught it from their childhood; it was the pastime and amusement of all, as well as the occupation of many; and from the rural life to which they were in general habituated, they were the most expert handlers of that principal instrument in war, of any people perhaps upon earth.

But could as much be said of the English?—Allowing their native courage to equal that of any nation, was it not a risky restraint by the disuse, or to speak with more truth, by the prohibition of fire arms amongst the lower classes, who ought, as the most numerous part of the community to be best practised in them? Here, again, the superior freedom of an American appeared in a striking light. While he ranged at large over his lands without apprehending that a rule game-keeper should wield the gun out of his hands, an English countryman durst not be seen with such an instrument, even upon his own ground. Who would not imagine, that, with all the boasted liberty of England, the gentry were particularly anxious to deprive the spirit of the vulgar? No law that ever was enacted by Parliament, and submitted to by a free people, was ever more effectually calculated to destroy the warlike disposition of a nation, than that which, in England, is called the game act. It

showed two things, that the classes are shamefully inclined to mize, and that the lower are more easily made to obey, the world has been taught to believe.

It showed, too, the difference between the English commonalty's day and that of times past. Expertness in the military we then used was such, that no people Europe could equal them. archers, especially, were the sin of their armies, and the terror of enemies. Their fame was so, that in the treaties of alliance with their Princes, they always stipulated for as large a number of English archers as they could procure.

The yeomanry of England had indeed, but was, no more, its. They were now confounded in a crowd of insignificant clamour liberty and reformation of abuses, fired the land from one end to the other. It was asserting no truth that were the liberties of England invaded as those of America been, it was to be doubted, whether the English yeomanry would fight them with the same vigour as the many of America. It was undeniably much less qualified for such by its general unlikeliness in and still more by that want of spirit which was now become common a complaint amongst us in England.

Nor were the English commonly superior in bodily strength and agility, or in aptness to learn the art of war, to the natives of America. The activity and dexterity of all matters relating to warfare not be exceeded, and excited admiration and admiration impartial men. No people that ever been called forth to the field suddenly, had, in so short a time, made a greater, if so, proficiency.

common excellence of the
ops in point of regularity
line, had been much insit-
but proofs in abundance,
ancient and modern times,
adduced, that regular and
troops, as they were vaunt-
d, were not so invincible as
and imbecility of apprehen-
so ready to represent them.
in legions, that fought and

Pyrrhus, was a bold and
illitia: yet he and Alexand-
emed by Hannibal, a com-
ge, the greatest of all com-
and his army was composed
at that time the most com-
men in tactics, and all mili-
edge.

ere they that saved Carthage
aced with destruction by
f veterans consisting of seven-
id men, masters of all the
ound that city, and who had
to the most deplorable ex-

This veteran army was de-
cent to pieces by its own
citizens, worn down with
sile, and brought almost to
f despair; but inspired with
mination to stand their ground
which true patriotism is more
der efficacious than any other

the Athenians, so famous
valour and their martial
but citizens were thought
be admitted into their mili-
; and yet, what men could
re bravely and expertly?
an even-match for all the
ian republics, and disputed
t warlike superiority with
semenians themselves, who
et, a nation of mere soldiers
onarians; whilst they, on the
were a mixture of all profes-
chants, tradesmen, mecha-
artificers of all denomina-

ern times precedents were

no less numerous. One of the great-
est victories recorded in history, was
obtained by the invincible bravery of
undisciplined countrymen and citizens,
fighting for their liberty against a
powerful invader at the head of the
most regular army at that time in
Europe. These victorious citizens were
the Swiss; their invader was Charles
the Bold, sovereign of the low Coun-
tries, the most opulent prince, and
the most formidable warrior in his
day.

The Dutch afforded them examples
of the same nature. The armies em-
ployed against them were commanded
by the greatest Generals of the age, and
were composed of men who had for
years been used to arms and conquest:
but their career was arrested, to the
surprise of all the world, by a people
who had hitherto led a peaceable com-
mercial life, and who never would have
thought of war, had they not been
compelled into it for their own prefer-
vation.

In the last century, Portugal had
shown that mere discipline was not
sufficient to overcome courage and
perseverance. The troops sent to re-
duce that kingdom, after it had shaken
off the Spanish yoke, were inferior to
none in Europe; yet they could not sub-
due it, though chiefly defended by new-
raised militia.

In the present century, three strik-
ing instances could be cited of the
predigious superiority which patriotic
valour is able to confer over all military
advantages. The first was the siege of
Barcelona, sustained with the most hero-
ic spirit and constancy by its inhabitants
only, against a large and regular army,
under a celebrated General.

The second was, the revolution of
Genoa, during the war before the last,
when the people of that city, unassisted
by any troops, and led on barely by
their natural courage and sagacity, ex-
pelled the victorious army of the Au-
strians, fresh from the defeat at a pow-
erful

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erful enemy, and elated with conquest, and the expectation of enjoying the plunder of this wealthy city.

The third was the brave defence of Corsica by its inhabitants, against the repeated attempts of more than one power to bring it under subjection. These intrepid islanders had only their own unconquerable resolution to oppose to the numerous bodies of regular soldiers by whom they were continually assailed: they as constantly repulsed them; and the misfortunes of that valiant people were due much more to unlooked for accidents, and to treachery, than to the bravery and skill of their enemies.

The chiefs and officers of the enemy were courageous and expert; but those of the Americans were not deficient either in spirit or knowledge: they had hitherto maintained their ground with honour; and the chances of war was

so manifold, that patience and fortitude often proved insurmountable, even to the greatest generals. These qualifications were in some measure natural among the people of Corsica, and would alone enable them to withstand the vigour and activity peculiar to the British nation. If they might not be able to conquer in the field, they should weary them by perseverance, and by improving opportunities which it was reasonable to suppose that fortune would sometimes throw in their way.

Such were the reasonings and arguments employed to nourish and strengthen the spirit of opposition and resistance in America. Without inquiring how far they were opposed to well-founded, they produced the most sanguine expectations of men for the event were to follow.

C H A P. X.

*f Boston.—Siege of Quebec raised.— Provincials de-
Canada.—Transactions in North and South Carolina,
ginia.—Declaration of Independency.—1776.*

sh troops at Boston, had
ered a long and tedious
on the nineteenth day
for ever memorable by
xington, they had been
on every side, and cut
refreshment and relief,
s, consisting of such num-
l wounded, naturally re-

reduced to the utmost
the non-arrival of those
ch government had fit-
aded with all manner of
prodigious an expence.
n they received of the
ned for them, had raised
d filled their minds with
he proof thus given of
ich their country felt for
ir expectations were long
and they had many mis-
largo before they receiv-
those much-wanted sup-

ose vessels, after wea-
e continual storms they
were taken by the enemy
ht of port. Contrary
rableness of tides, and
tauces of weather and
nted the men of war from
eir assistance. The grea-
the coalships were lost in
The deprivation of these
elt in a climate, where

the rigour of the winter renders fuel so
indispensibly necessary.

The situation of those inhabitants
who adhered to the cause of America,
was peculiarly calamitous. Imprisoned
and debarred of all communication with
their friends, they were exposed to the
ill treatment of the garrison; and though
protected from harsh usage to their
persons, by the native generosity of the
British nation, still they were liable to
those contemptuous marks of aversion,
from which men are so willing to ab-
stain in their domestic feuds. As they
were not entitled to the same regards as
the military, their allowance was so
scanty that they were almost in want of
necessaries.

The length of the siege, and conti-
nual expence of military stores, in the
numberless branches of service that con-
sumed such quantities, occasioned an
apprehension that they would not last
till the arrival of a fresh supply. To the
dread of wanting ammunition was add-
ed that of being soon short of salt pro-
visions which were, during a long time,
the only food the garrison could depend
upon for subsistence.

In the midst of these distresses, the
courage and resolution of the British
military was conspicuous, and fully
refuted the invidious charge so fre-
quently in the mouths of foreigners,
of the French especially, that the
English

English are unfit for the hardships of war, and though brave and intrepid in the field, are unable to endure fatigue, unless provided with all the conveniences of life.

They underwent, in the successive rotation of duty, all the severities of a winter campaign in this rigorous climate. Those who were stationed on Bunker's-Hill, had no other shelter than their tents against its unceasing inclemency during this terrible season. Here they lay exposed to winds, snows, storms, and cold, almost intolerable to British constitutions.

The wants of various kinds with which, in the mean time, they were assailed, obliged them to have recourse to every expedient, that industry, sharpened by suffering, can invent. That of fuel, which they could bear least of any, was in some degree remedied by the timber of houses which they destroyed for that purpose.

As the deficiency of provisions began to be alarming, vessels were dispatched to the West Indies to procure what could be spared or obtained. But the condition of the island was such, that they feared to be mistaken themselves, and could afford little assistance. Their stock was so low, and their expectations of being relieved when it was expended, were so precarious, that they were constrained to husband it with the strictest parsimony, and could not admit others to a participation.

In default of this resource, armed ships and transports were ordered to Georgia, with an intent to procure rice, and what other refreshments could be got. But the inhabitants took up arms, opposed their landing, and permitted no intercourse with the shore. This occasioned violence on both sides. Canons were planted on the beach, and an engagement ensued, which terminated to the disadvantage of the armed vessels. They lost seven ships loaded with rice, which were set on fire by the enemy.

While the British troops were undergoing these distresses, the Provincials were well covered in their encampment before Boston, and supplied with all necessaries and comforts. Their design was to wait till the freezing season began, for a more vigorous prosecution of hostilities. Their intentions were to avail themselves of it, in order to strike such a decisive blow, as would, if executed according to the plan proposed, put at once a final conclusion to all the hopes of Britain in this quarter.

The latter end of December is the time when the frost usually sets in with great severity in New England. The harbour of Boston, and all the rivers, and waters in its environs, are covered with a depth of ice sufficient to bear any weight. This was the passage over which their determination was to force their entrance into Boston, and to make an attack upon the shipping. They doubted not, with the great force that would be collected from all parts of an enterprise of such importance, to make themselves masters of the town and garrison, and to take or destroy every ship in the harbour.

Had the severity of the frost corresponded with their expectations, it is not improbable that they would have been able to execute their designs. Upwards of sixty thousand men would have been the force employed from the four Provinces of New England only, besides the multitude, that would have crowded from the other Colonies, to have a share in this destruction of the British fleet and army.

But fortunately for both, the winter proved unusually mild, and they waited in vain for its assistance in the operations they had projected. They were, much against their will, obliged to remain inactive, and suffer the garrison to enjoy some tranquility as well as themselves.

In the mean time, the speech by the King at the opening of th

was brought over to America, to receive with intelligence of the reception which the petition from the Central Congress had met with from the British. The arrival of this news

at Camp before Boston exasperated the Provincials to a greater degree than ever been experienced. They testified the excess of their rage by burn-
 ing publicly the Royal speech, in the
 of execration at those who had
 done it. Having by this act, divested

themselves of all remains of respect
 sentiment for any object that re-
 to Britain, they next proceeded
 alteration of their colours. From
 a red ground, they changed them
 into thirteen stripes, as a denotation of
 number of the United Colonies.

The winter, though severe enough
 induced both parties to remain quiet
 in their quarters, did not prevent the
 craft belonging to Massachusetts
 exerting themselves very success-
 against the vessels arriving from
 and with supplies and stores. A
 considerable number had found means
 to enter the port of Boston, where
 proved of great relief to the
 British; but the activity of the
 American cruisers was such, that many
 fell into their hands, to the vast detri-
 ment of the troops, from the particu-
 lar importance of their cargoes.

Among the captures they were con-
 siderable, was unfortunately an
 American vessel, which had separated
 from her convoy. Being of no force
 she was compelled to surrender to a
 privateer. This was one of the
 most useful prizes that could have fallen
 into their hands. She contained a
 cargo said to be worth fifty thousand
 dollars. It consisted of a great num-
 ber of brass cannon, with a large quan-
 tity of small-arms, and a vast variety
 of military stores. It enabled the
 Continental army to resume their military
 operations with additional advantage,
 and make a much more formidable
 force than before.

As soon as the severity of the wea-
 ther began to abate, the Provincials
 indicated by their notions, that they
 intended to press the town with more
 vigour than ever. The fact was, that
 General Washington had received or-
 ders to exert his utmost activity, in or-
 der to reduce the British forces either
 to surrender or to evacuate the place,
 before the succours could arrive which
 were now shortly expected from Eng-
 land.

During the night of the second of
 March, a battery was opened on the
 Western side of the town, from whence
 it was severely fired upon with cannons
 and bombs; and on the fifth, it was at-
 tacked from another battery on the
 Eastern shore. The suddenness and
 expedition with which the Provincials
 acquitted themselves on this occasion,
 astonished the most experienced of the
 British officers. Fourteen days did
 the garrison experience the most dread-
 ful cannonade and bombardment, with-
 out the least intermission.

The situation of the troops became
 very alarming, from the vivacity and
 ardour which seemed to animate the
 operations of the enemy, and the cer-
 tainty of their being able to surround
 and command every part of Boston, as
 well as of the harbour, from the high
 grounds, on which they were now oc-
 cupied in erecting batteries. No me-
 dium appeared to remain between dis-
 lodging the Provincials from their new
 works, or quitting the town.

The spirit of the General was too
 great to embrace the latter measure,
 until he had tried every method that
 was practicable to effect the former.
 To this intent, a select body was pre-
 pared for embarkation, in order to
 land at the foot of the hill called Mor-
 chester Neck, projecting into the bay
 on the Eastern end of the town. The
 Provincials had fortified it in such a
 manner, as would, in all probability,
 have rendered the attacking of it no
 less bloody and destructive than that

of Bunkers-Hill, even if it had succeeded: but the works were so strong, so well provided with artillery, and defended by such numbers, that there was little prospect of forcing them. As they stood on a high ground, the Provincials had provided upwards of a hundred hogheads filled with stones, to roll down the hill upon the British lines, as they advanced; and the ascent was so steep, that the ranks must infallibly have been broken before they could have reached the summit, and attacked the trenches.

Before the full discovery of this strength, every preparation had been made for a most vigorous attack. But while the troops were making ready to embark a dreadful storm came on unexpectedly in the night, and prevented the design from taking place then. It was resumed the next morning; but on a closer inspection, it was judged unadvisable to proceed, as it could only have tended to sacrifice the lives of a great number of brave men to no purpose.

It was however with much reluctance that the British General, his officers, and soldiers, could prevail upon themselves to desist from this desperate and impracticable attempt. They were conscious of the high opinion entertained of them by their countrymen at home, and of the sanguine expectations that had been formed from their bravery.—They knew that they were looked upon as superior in every military consideration to the enemy they had been sent to encounter, and that no suspicion was harboured that he would have been able to withstand them. These reflections filled them with indignation at the peculiarity of their fate. They were included on all sides in such a manner, as made it impossible for them to disengage themselves, and take possession of such ground as would have enabled them to come at the enemy. Every effort they made to that intent, laid them open to inevitable destruction. In such mortifying

circumstances, a retreat the only alternative left them here they were met by that honour which is so powerful in spirit and so often induces them to vote themselves to certain ruin, than expose it to the least blemish.

After much deliberation, it at length concluded, that to remain longer in Boston, would be impudence and temerity in the highest degree; it must prove infallibly the loss of the whole army. A determination was foretaken to embark it, with all its appurtenances, and to abandon that which was no longer tenible. A retreat of this nature was not, however, without its difficulties. The army was posted on all the common grounds, and at hand to make a sudden and dangerous impression which they thought proper. Fort Mifflin the Provincials remained within the works and seemed not inclined to form any obstruction to the design. Probably they were glad to facilitate a measure, by which they might be covered without bloodshed, and the loss of a town of the first importance in North America. Had they proceeded to any hostilities to prevent it, they knew it was in the power of the British army to have instantly reduced the town to ashes; a misfortune which would have taken many years to repair.

Near a fortnight was consumed in carrying this irksome measure into execution. Had the embarkation of military and warlike stores been the only object, it would have been soon accomplished; but provision was to be made for the departure of two thousand of the inhabitants, and their adherence to the cause of government obliged them to accompany the army for their safety.

Much embarrassment and anxiety attended the removal of such multitudes together with their effects, and the baggage of the army which was considerable. The sick and wounded

very numerous, and with the women and children, occasioned by their distress condition, an additional distress. Attention and care of the General in this trying situation, reflected equally upon his conduct and humanity. He had borne the disappointments and vexations of a situation unworthy of his courage, with unshaken firmness; and he faced the mortifying perplexity which he was surrounded, with a calm composure.

The army was at this time full of doubts.—Reinforcements had been expected, and had not come; officers and soldiers thought themselves neglected; near ten months were past since the arrival of the last reinforcement, the impossibility of their taking the field without them was well known in the island. Since the commencement of the war, no regular and certain reinforcements had been received of what was their destination. This created fears and complaints that could not easily be quelled, as they did not appear to be attended. It seemed as if they were fettered as bound in some measure to prevent themselves from the difficulties pressed upon them, by their exertions. All success, wants, inconveniences, increased this ill humour which was further aggravated by jealousies and dissensions that to prevail between the army and

defined port, still they had but little comfort and relief to find in such a bleak and barren country as Nova Scotia.

After the embarkation had been effected, it was a whole week before the fleet could put to sea. Contrary to their apprehensions, the wind and weather however proved fair at last, and their passage to Halifax was remarkably favourable. On their departure from Boston, several ships of force were stationed there, for the protection of the vessels arriving from England; but the bay was so extensive, and so full of small harbours for privateers to lie on the watch, that they could not, with all their vigilance, prevent a number of ships from falling into the hands of the Provincials. What made their loss the heavier, they were laden with arms and such warlike stores as were most needed by the enemy. Some transports were also taken with troops on board, which ran into the harbour not knowing the place was evacuated.

In this manner did Boston return to the possession of the people of Massachusetts. The boats employed in the embarkation had not entirely completed it, when the Provincials entered the town in military triumph. They were received by the inhabitants with transports of joy. General Washington was hailed as their deliverer, and congratulated on the success of his arms by the public addresses of the Provincial Assembly, and the warmest acknowledgments of all those, who now recovered, the houses and possessions they had been obliged to abandon.

his unhappy disposition of mind, the management of affairs, a dangerous voyage was to be undertaken, and in Nova Scotia was the port to which the fleet was bound. The harbour was not great, but the stormy weather on the coast, and the tempestuous season, were highly alarming. It was now the middle of March; violent winds were set in, and from the north-east were equally loud and boisterous. Were they to venture out to sea, and obliged to return to the West Indies, their provisions were too scanty for such a voyage, and they arrive in safety at the

The confusion, unavoidable in the hurry of a retreat, occasioned many valuable articles to be left behind. Among these were a considerable quantity of artillery and ammunition especially at Bunker's Hill and Boston Neck. The distance of these places prevented their being brought off, and the shortness of time, their being rendered unserviceable. But the principal booty consisted in the immense variety of goods.

goods, especially woollens and linens, a supply of which the Provincial troops stood in the most pressing need. The other articles of various kinds were also exceedingly numerous.

Having thus recovered their capital, one of the first acts of government, exercised by the Provincial Assembly, was to order the effects and the estates of those, who were fled with the British troops to Halifax, to be publicly disposed of, and their produce applied to the use of the state. Such adherents to Britain, as had risked to remain behind, were treated with great severity. They were prosecuted as enemies and betrayers of their country, and their estates were confiscated accordingly.

That object, however, which principally occupied the attention of the people of Massachusetts, was to put Boston into such a posture of defence, as might prevent its falling again into the power of Britain. To this intent they applied with all diligence to the fortifying of it on every side. They employed on this occasion some foreign engineers that had been lately sent to America for such purposes. So eager were they in the prosecution of this business, that every able bodied man in the town, with very little distinction of rank, cheerfully co-operated in this work, and set apart two days in the week to complete it with the more speed.

The fact was, they were not a little apprehensive of the return of the British fleet and army, as soon as they were properly reinforced. What chiefly induced them to imagine that the designs upon Boston were not abandoned, was, that just before their departure, the British forces demolished the fortifications of castle William, which, by its situation, would have rendered it impracticable to attack the town by sea.

Nor was General Washington without anxiety about the destination of the fleet and forces that had left Boston. New York, by its position, lay

quite exposed to the most sudden attack. He, therefore, on the very day that Boston was evacuated, detached several of his best regiments for the defence of that city. Herein he doubtless acted with prudence; but the condition of the British army was not fit for an expedition of such importance. It did not amount to ten thousand effective men, and was by no means provided with due necessaries.

While the American arms were thus successful at Boston, they were busily occupied in the blockade of Quebec, where Colonel Arnold was exerting the utmost efforts under a multitude of discouragements. He found by experience that he could place little dependence upon the adherence of the Canadians, who were easily dissuaded by disappointments, and ready to quit him on the appearance of danger. The reinforcements promised by Congress did not arrive expeditiously enough to second his operations. They had so many objects to occupy their attention that it was with the utmost difficulty they could provide for them all with tolerable sufficiency and dispatch.

The march of these reinforcements, which was in the midst of winter, was attended with prodigious hardships. They endured them with that fortitude and constancy, which at this time characterised the Americans: the fatigues, undergone in the expedition headed by Montgomery and Arnold, had filled them with an emulation which inspired them with equal confidence and perseverance.

General Carleton, though delivered from any immediate apprehension from the enemy, still remained in a very disagreeable situation. His communication with the adjacent country being cut off, he was reduced to much distress for want of provisions. Whatever he procured was not without great danger and difficulty. The Provincials lay all parties that were sent upon this intent, and encountered the

It imaginable ardour. They im-
every advantage, and kept the
in continual alarms. His vi-
e was incessantly employed in
ing against the various endeavours
Provincials to surprize him.
were indefatigable in contriving
schemes to this purpose, as they
that he was too well prepared to
repulse by open force.

They began, however, to be sensible,
unless they brought their designs
speedy execution, it would soon
be too late to continue them with
respect of success. The season
now approaching when succours
arrived from England, and obliged
to act on the defensive. The siege
there was recommenced in the due
batteries also were erected on
banks of the river St. Lawrence
to the shipping in the harbour,
attempts made to burn it by means
of fire ships. Though unsuccessful,
displayed much courage and con-
fidence in several of these enterprises.
One of them was executing,
had prepared scaling ladders and
implements to storm the town,
held themselves in readiness to es-
cort it, while the attention of the
garrison was turned to the conflagra-
tion of the shipping. Though they
failed in the main attempt, they suc-
ceeded in part: they burned a large
number of houses in the suburbs; and
the garrison was compelled to pull
down the remainder, to prevent the
conflagration spreading.

While the Provincials were employ-
ing in this manner, numbers of the Can-
adian Noblesse assembled, and collected
a large body of their countrymen,
to raise the siege of their ca-
pital.

They put themselves under the
command of Mr. Beaujeu, a gentleman
of valour, and who was very desirous
to realize his attachment to govern-
ment: but he was ill seconded: the
Provincials met him on his march, and
completely defeated him.

Encouraged by this success, the

Provincials continued the siege with
redoubled ardour. But they met with
no better success than before. They had
now tried every expedient to reduce it:
they had used bombs and red hot balls,
after failing in their endeavours to
carry it by assault; and they were now
convinced it was out of their power to
attack it by regular approaches, as
they had no artillery of weight enough
for such an undertaking. This, added
to the slowness with which reinforce-
ments arrived through the badness of
roads, impediments of weather, and
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ations, and lessened the courage and vi-
gour with which they had been at first
prosecuted.

In the midst of these difficulties, the
small pox, a distemper deemed pecu-
liarly fatal on the continent of North
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iety for self preservation overcame all
other considerations. Multitudes fled
from what they looked upon as certain
death; and it became impossible to
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discipline and regularity.

While they were in this distressful
situation they were informed that suc-
cours were on their way from Eng-
land, and would speedily arrive at
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lamity they were afflicted with, made
it necessary for them to retire from the
town before their arrival; not doubting,
at the moment they were landed,
that Governor Carleton would immedi-
ately make a vigorous attack on the
besiegers, who, in their present condi-
tion, he well knew, were unable to
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English are unfit for the hardships of war, and though brave and intrepid in the field, are unable to endure fatigue, unless provided with all the conveniences of life.

They underwent, in the successive rotation of duty, all the severities of a winter campaign in this rigorous climate. Those who were stationed on Bunker's-Hill, had no other shelter than their tents against its unceasing inclemency during this terrible season. Here they lay exposed to winds, snows, storms, and cold, almost intolerable to British constitutions.

The wants of various kinds with which, in the mean time, they were assailed, obliged them to have recourse to every expedient, that industry, sharpened by suffering, can invent. That of fuel, which they could bear least of any, was in some degree remedied by the timber of houses which they destroyed for that purpose.

As the deficiency of provisions began to be alarming, vessels were dispatched to the West Indies to procure what could be spared or obtained. But the condition of the island was such, that they feared to be straitened themselves, and could afford little assistance. Their stock was so low, and their expectations of being relieved when it was expended, were so precarious, that they were constrained to husband it with the strictest parsimony, and could not admit others to a participation.

In default of this resource, armed ships and transports were ordered to Georgia, with an intent to procure rice, and what other refreshments could be got. But the inhabitants took up arms, opposed their landing, and permitted no intercourse with the shore. This occasioned violence on both sides. Canons were planted on the beach, and an engagement ensued, which terminated to the disadvantage of the armed vessels. They lost seven ships loaded with rice, which were set on fire by the enemy.

While the British troops were undergoing these distresses, the Indians were well covered in their settlement before Boston, and supplied with all necessaries and comforts. Their design was to wait till the season began, for a more vigorous prosecution of hostilities. Their intention was to avail themselves of an opportunity to strike such a decisive blow, if executed according to the plan proposed, put at once a conclusion to all the hopes of British success in this quarter.

The latter end of December was a time when the frost usually sets in with great severity in New England. The harbour of Boston, and all the rivers and waters in its environs, are covered with a depth of ice sufficient to bear any weight. This was the opportunity which their determination to force their entrance into Boston to make an attack upon the city. They doubted not, with the force that would be collected from all parts of an enterprize of such importance, to make themselves masters of the town and garrison, and to destroy every ship in the harbour.

Had the severity of the frost responded with their expectations, it is not improbable that they have been able to execute their plan. Upwards of sixty thousand men have been the force employed to subvert the four Provinces of New England, besides the multitude that have crowded from the other Colonies to have a share in this destruction of the British fleet and army.

But fortunately for both, the winter proved unusually mild, and waited in vain for its assistance in operations they had projected. They were, much against their will, obliged to remain inactive, and suffered in idleness to enjoy some tranquillity as themselves.

In the mean time, the speech was made by the King at the opening of

headed by General Thompson, landed at the Sorel, and fell down the tide, keeping on the south of the River, till they arrived at a place called Nicolet, opposite three Rivers. From thence, in the night, they passed to the other side, in order to surprize the body under General Frazer. Their intent was to attack him about break of day. They were in three divisions, one to each end of the town, and the third to support them, or to effect a retreat in case of need. But they were determined not to suffer extreme necessity to compel them, and they found that no means remained to save them after destruction.

Fortunately for their design, the fog they took, in crossing the river, was so long, that though they were the shipping unobserved were discovered at their landing.

The alarm being thus given, General Frazer prepared to defend them. The difficult ground was obliged to march over, threw them into disorder, and when they made their attack, they were repulsed, contrary to their expectation, by men who were waiting for them, and who had not only the advantage of position, but of a great number of field-pieces, which did execution among them.

While they were making the most desperate efforts to surmount these obstacles, they were apprized that General Nisbet, who commanded the British on board the transports, had arrived, and was marching with a detachment to fall upon their rear. As this was now their only resource, General Nisbet lay in the way to the boats, they were obliged to make a circuit through a deep swamp, guarded by both parties, who followed close on each side for some miles. They traversed it at last, after excessive toil, and sheltered

themselves in a wood that stood at the further end of it. Here the British troops ceased the pursuit. The Provincial commander was taken, with about two hundred of his men.

The strength of the British army in this Province was now such, that the Provincials lost all hopes of being able to face it. They demolished the works they had erected at the confluence of the Sorel into the river St. Lawrence, and carried off their artillery and stores. General Burgoyne landed here with a considerable detachment, in order to advance to Fort St. John, while the remainder of the fleet and army sailed up the river towards Montreal. They found this place abandoned by the Provincials.—After taking possession of it, the main-body set forwards to join General Burgoyne, against whom it was not doubted the Provincials would collect all their force, and make a resolute stand.

In expectation of such an event, he proceeded with great order and circumspection along the Sorel; but on his arrival at St. John's, he found, that after destroying all that could not be carried off, the Provincials had set fire to the place. They had done the same at Chamblée, and burned all the vessels and craft which were too heavy to drag up the rapid stream of some parts of this river. They made no stop, as it was thought they would have done, at Nut Island, at the entrance of Lake Champlain, but crossed it over immediately to Crown Point. This retreat was conducted with great care and prudence by General Sullivan.—Though constantly pursued, and often on the point of being surrounded by the numerous bodies that kept close upon him, yet he found means, by great vigilance and speed, to extricate himself from the many dangers to which he was continually exposed from an active, an intrepid,

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and superior enemy. His merit on this occasion was publicly acknowledged by the thanks of Congress.

Thus was a final end put to all hostilities in Canada. The Provincials lost, in their expedition into this Province, many of their best officers, and a great number of their bravest soldiers. To say nothing of General Montgomery, the loss of whom was equal to that of an army, others of great, though inferior worth, were either slain or captured. In their retreat it was computed, that from the day when they broke up their camp before Quebec, to that of their arrival at Crown Point, their loss in killed, prisoners, and dead through wounds and illness, amounted to little less than a thousand men; of whom, besides those who fell, or were taken in the engagement near Three Rivers, and in various skirmishes, no less than four hundred fell at one time into the hands of the British troops at the Cedars, a place about fifty miles higher up than Montreal.

But if the Provincials were compelled to quit Canada on the one hand, the British army could not improve its successes on the other. The lake Champlain lay between it and the former, who were entirely masters of its navigation, and had a number of armed vessels in readiness to impede its passage. It became therefore necessary to construct a sufficient number to secure it; but this required much time and labour. Six vessels, completely armed and equipped for this purpose, were arrived from England; but the falls at Chamblee rendered it impracticable to bring them up into the Lake. It now appeared absolutely indispensable to take them to pieces, and re-construct them, as well as many others, in order to gain possession of the Lake, and to transport the British forces to the other shore.

While these transactions were taking place in the Northern parts of the American continent, the Southern Provinces were no less agitated. In

North Carolina, Governor Martin, though obliged to fly for shelter on board a ship, was not the less determined to exert his activity in the cause for which he suffered. He had formed a project for the reduction of this Province to obedience, of which he was not the only person who had conceived very sanguine hopes.

There was at this time in North Carolina, a resolute and warlike class of men, known by the name of Regulators. They had long lived independent, in a manner, of all regular controul.—They had been considered as rebels by the King's Governors, and they were held in much the same light by the new government, to which they were remarkably averse. With these and the emigrants from the Highlands of Scotland, who composed a considerable body, Governor Martin had formed a connection, by means of which he promised himself to reduce this Province to subjection. The courage and fidelity of the Highlanders to the British cause he was well assured of; and he was as less confident of the attachment of the Regulators, and of their great superiority in arms to the other inhabitants of the Province. They were an active and hardy race of men, used to continual motion, and from their manner of living, singularly expert in the handling of their fire-arms.—They were not a little dreaded by the residing of their countrymen, who from habits of indulgence and ease, did not incline to thwart them, as knowing from the daringness of their disposition, that they were not to be molested with impunity, and from their numbers that they would prove a dangerous and powerful enemy.

Commissioners were sent to the heads of these people for the raising of several regiments. Colonel McDougal, a brave and enterprising officer, was appointed their General. By the Governor's direction, he erected the King's standard, and published a clamour, by which all men

ioned on their allegiance to repair

clusive of this force, which was considerable, and on the exertions of one placed much reliance, the minor's confidence was further increased by the intelligence that a powerful armament, and a large body of ar troops, were destined to act in Carolina, and were making the of their way to his assistance.

At the Provincial Assembly were sensible of the danger of suffering of such activity and resolution Governor Martin, to repossess himself the power of which they had robbed him. They collected, with assiduous diligence, the whole strength which they were masters, and in the time dispatched such force as was deemed, to oppose the Royalists, as commanded by General Moore, with some cannon, took possession of a strong post near them, which he held. Here he was summoned by General Macdonald to join the Royalists, under pain of being treated as an enemy. His answer was, that if they would subscribe an oath of fidelity to the Congress, and lay down their arms, they should meet with the usage of friends, and the rash proceedings of which they had been guilty should be forgotten. But if they persisted in an insurrection, which, from their want of sufficient strength to support it, they were conscious would end unsuccessfully, they must expect the severest treatment.

The Provincials were in a few days, powerfully reinforced, that they amounted to near eight thousand men. Their superiority compelled the Royalists to provide for their safety by a precipitate retreat. The want of artillery prevented them from attacking the Provincials in their trenches, while they had the advantage of numbers; and it was too late, when too late, the terms of their undertaking. They had indeed of near two thousand but were unprovided with many

necessaries. In this situation they trusted their intrepidity would make amends for deficiencies. They were by this time almost inclosed by the enemy; but by dint of resolution and dexterity, they disengaged themselves, and by forced marches through woods and difficult passes, they forced their way, the space of four score of miles, and in spite of the enemy's efforts to intercept them, gained Moor's Creek, within sixteen miles of Wilmington, where they expected to be joined by Governor Martin and General Clinton, who was lately arrived with a considerable detachment.

But this junction was effectually prevented by the Provincials, who pursued his party so closely, that in order to avoid them, Colonel Macdonald judged it necessary to attempt the passage of the Creek, notwithstanding a body of the enemy lay on the other side, under Colonel Caswell, with works well lined with men, and provided with artillery. But the place where the attempt was made, not being fordable, the Royalists were obliged to cross over a wooden bridge, of which the Provincials, not having time to pull it down entirely, had taken up the planks. They had, however, by greasing the beams and remaining timbers, rendered them so slippery, and unsafe to tread upon, that on the Colonel's party advancing they could not make good their footing any where. In this condition, they were assailed on all sides by superior numbers, and totally defeated, after losing their bravest officers and men. Among those was Captain Macleod, with several other Highlanders, who fell gallantly with their broad swords in their hands. Their General, and most of their leaders were taken prisoners, and the rest betook themselves to flight.

Had this insurrection succeeded in the manner proposed, it would have proved of essential service to the Government, by the junction of those

goods, especially woollens and lincens, a supply of which the Provincial troops stood in the most pressing need. The other articles of various kinds were also exceedingly numerous.

Having thus recovered their capital, one of the first acts of government, exercised by the Provincial Assembly, was to order the effects and the estates of those, who were fled with the British troops to Halifax, to be publicly disposed of, and their produce applied to the use of the state. Such adherents to Britain, as had risked to remain behind, were treated with great severity. They were prosecuted as enemies and betrayers of their country, and their estates were confiscated accordingly.

That object, however, which principally occupied the attention of the people of Massachusetts, was to put Boston into such a posture of defence, as might prevent its falling again into the power of Britain. To this intent they applied with all diligence to the fortifying of it on every side. They employed on this occasion some foreign engineers that had been lately sent to America for such purposes. So eager were they in the prosecution of this business, that every able bodied man in the town, with very little distinction of rank, cheerfully co-operated in this work, and set apart two days in the week to complete it with the more speed.

The fact was, they were not a little apprehensive of the return of the British fleet and army, as soon as they were properly reinforced. What chiefly induced them to imagine that the designs upon Boston were not abandoned, was, that just before their departure, the British forces demolished the fortifications of castle William, which, by its situation, would have rendered it impracticable to attack the town by sea.

Nor was General Washington without anxiety about the destination of the fleet and forces that had left Boston. New York, by its position, lay

quite exposed to the most sudden attack. He, therefore, on the very day that Boston was evacuated, detached several of his best regiments for the defence of that city. Herein he doubtless acted with prudence; but the condition of the British army was not fit for an expedition of such importance. It did not amount to ten thousand effective men, and was by no means provided with due necessaries.

While the American arms were thus successful at Boston, they were busily occupied in the blockade of Quebec, where Colonel Arnold was exerting the utmost efforts under a multitude of discouragements. He found by experience that he could place little dependence upon the adherence of the Canadians, who were easily dispirited by disappointments, and ready to quit him on the appearance of danger. The reinforcements promised by Congress did not arrive expeditiously enough to second his operations. They had so many objects to occupy their attention, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could provide for them all with tolerable sufficiency and dispatch.

The march of these reinforcements, which was in the midst of winter, was attended with prodigious hardships. They endured them with that fortitude and constancy, which at this time characterised the Americans: the fatigues, undergone in the expeditions headed by Montgomery and Arnold, had filled them with an emulation which inspired them with equal confidence and perseverance.

General Carleton, though delivered from any immediate apprehensions from the enemy, still remained in a very disagreeable situation. His communication with the adjacent country being cut off, he was reduced to much distress for want of provisions. Whatever he procured was not without great danger and difficulty. The Provincial way-laid all parties that were sent out upon this intent, and encountered them

imaginable ardour. They improved every advantage, and kept the town in continual alarms. His victory was incessantly employed in fighting against the various endeavours of the Provincials to surprize him. He was indefatigable in contriving means to this purpose, as they knew that he was too well prepared to succumb by open force.

He began, however, to be sensible, unless they brought their designs to speedy execution, it would soon be too late to continue them with respect of success. The season was now approaching when succours were to arrive from England, and obliged him to stand on the defensive. The siege was recommenced in the due season.

Batteries also were erected on the shores of the river St. Lawrence to prevent the shipping in the harbour, attempts made to burn it by means of the ships. Though unsuccessful, it displayed much courage and conducted several of these enterprizes.

One of them was executing, and prepared scaling ladders and implements to storm the town, and held themselves in readiness to do so, while the attention of the town was turned to the conflagration of the shipping. Though they failed in the main attempt, they succeeded in part: they burned a large number of houses in the suburbs; and Garrison was compelled to pull down the remainder, to prevent the fire from spreading.

While the Provincials were employed in this manner, numbers of the Canadian Noblesse assembled, and collected a large body of their countrymen, in order to raise the siege of their capital.

They put themselves under the command of Mr. Beaujeu, a gentleman very, and who was very desirous to realize his attachment to government; but he was ill seconded: the Provincials met him on his march, and he was defeated.

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Provincials continued the siege with redoubled ardour. But they met with no better success than before. They had now tried every expedient to reduce it: they had used bombs and red hot balls, after failing in their endeavours to carry it by assault; and they were now convinced it was out of their power to attack it by regular approaches, as they had no artillery of weight enough for such an undertaking. This, added to the slowness with which reinforcements arrived through the badness of the roads, impediments of weather, and want of requisites, retarded their operations, and lessened the courage and vigour with which they had been at first prosecuted.

In the midst of these difficulties, the small pox, a distemper deemed peculiarly fatal on the continent of North America, broke out among them with great violence, and carried them off in numbers. The dread, which this terrible disorder struck into the troops, operated like a panic. The anxiety for self preservation overcame all other considerations. Multitudes fled from what they looked upon as certain death; and it became impossible to carry on military duty with proper discipline and regularity.

While they were in this distressful situation they were informed that succours were on their way from England, and would speedily arrive at Quebec. This together with the calamity they were afflicted with, made it necessary for them to retire from the town before their arrival; not doubting, the moment they were landed, that Governor Carleton would immediately make a vigorous attack on the besiegers, who, in their present condition, he well knew, were unable to face such a force as he would then have under his command. But this design was prevented by the expeditiousness with which the Squadron, sent to the relief of Quebec, made its way through the ice up the river St. Lawrence before such an attempt was thought practicable.

sicable. The appearance of these ships threw the Provincials into great confusion: the communication was immediately cut off with that part of their forces which lay on the other side of the River; and it was now too late to provide for the retreat they had meditated.

In the beginning of the month of May, 1776, as soon as the reinforcement was landed together with the marines, and had joined the garrison, General Carleton put himself at their head, and sallied out upon the provincials. He found them in the greatest disorder. As their camp was not intrenched, and they were already retreating, no resistance was made, and they fled on all sides with the utmost precipitation, leaving all their artillery and warlike stores. Their flight was so rapid that they could not be overtaken, and the only prisoners were the sick and wounded. While the military were thus employed on shore, the lighter armed vessels proceeded up the River with the utmost diligence, and seized a number of vessels belonging to the enemy.

In this manner was raised the siege of Quebec, after a duration of five months, during which, the activity and courage of the garrison, the abilities and interpidity of their commander, and the spirit and perseverance of the Provincials were all equally remarkable. This event gave the finishing blow to all the attempts and expectations that Congress had formed on this quarter; and their troops from this time met with nothing here but defeats and disasters.

The success which awaited the British arms in this province, was attended by a behaviour full of humanity. Many of the Provincials, through wounds and sickness, had not been able to accompany their main body in its retreat. They lay concealed in the woods and scattered habitations about the neighbourhood, in a very distressed and deplorable condition. General

Carleton generously issued a proclamation, ordering proper persons to let them out, and give them all necessary relief at the public expence. To induce them not to refuse these compassionate offers, he further promised, that as soon as they were recovered, they should be at perfect liberty to return to their own homes.

Shortly after the repulse of the Provincials, the forces expected from England arrived. The General saw himself at the head of more than twelve thousand regulars, among whom were the troops of Brunswick. He directly halted to Three Rivers, a place situated midway between Quebec and Montreal, and so called from its proximity to three branches of a large river that falls into the St. Lawrence. Here it had been imagined, the Provincials would have made a stand; but they had continued to retreat until they had reached the river Sorel, near one hundred and fifty miles from Quebec. They were met here by the reinforcements appointed for their assistance; but the whole of their force was considerably weakened by sickness and other calamities.

Notwithstanding these discouragements, a bold attempt was projected by their commanders for the surprise of the British troops at Three Rivers. A considerable body of these was posted at this place under the command of General Frazer. Another was near them on board the transports, under General Nisbet. The main body under Generals Carleton, Burgoyne, Philips, and Reidesel, the German General, were stationed partly on shore, and partly on the River, in the way from Quebec. The Provincials were encamped at the Sorel, about sixty miles distant from Three Rivers; and between them and this place, the river St. Lawrence was occupied by a number of armed vessels, and transports with troops.

But these obstacles did not dissuade them. Two thousand of their best

men, headed by General Thompson embarked at the Sorel, and fell down with the tide, keeping on the south side of the River, till they arrived at a place called Nicolet, opposite to Three Rivers. From thence, in the night, they passed to the other side in order to surprize the body under General Frazer. Their intent was to attack him about break of day. They were in three divisions, one to act at each end of the town, and the remaining to support them, or to cover a retreat in case of need. But this they were determined not to think of till extreme necessity compelled them, and they found that no other means remained to save them from utter destruction.

Unfortunately for their design, the time they took, in crossing the river, was so long, that though they passed the shipping unobserved they were discovered at their landing. The alarm being thus given, General Frazer prepared to meet them. The difficult ground they were obliged to march over, threw them into disorder, and when they made their attack, they were received, contrary to their expectation, by men who were waiting for them, and who had not only the advantage of position, but of a number of field-pieces, which did great execution among them.

While they were making the most vigorous efforts to surmount these obstacles, they were apprized that General Nisbet, who commanded the troops on board the transports, had landed them, and was marching with all speed to fall upon their rear. A retreat was now their only resource. As General Nisbet lay in the way to their boats, they were obliged to make a large circuit through a deep swamp, perished by both parties, who followed them close on each side for some miles. They traversed it at last with excessive toil, and sheltered

themselves in a wood that stood at the further end of it. Here the British troops ceased the pursuit. The Provincial commander was taken, with about two hundred of his men.

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Thus was a final end put to all hostilities in Canada. The Provincials lost, in their expedition into this Province, many of their best officers, and a great number of their bravest soldiers. To say nothing of General Montgomery, the loss of whom was equal to that of an army, others of great, though inferior worth, were either slain or captured. In their retreat it was computed, that from the day when they broke up their camp before Quebec, to that of their arrival at Crown Point, their loss in killed, prisoners, and dead through wounds and illness, amounted to little less than a thousand men; of whom, besides those who fell, or were taken in the engagement near Three Rivers, and in various skirmishes, no less than four hundred fell at one time into the hands of the British troops at the Cedars, a place about fifty miles higher up than Montreal.

But if the Provincials were compelled to quit Canada on the one hand, the British army could not improve its successes on the other. The lake Champlain lay between it and the former, who were entirely masters of its navigation, and had a number of armed vessels in readiness to impede its passage. It became therefore necessary to construct a sufficient number to secure it; but this required much time and labour. Six vessels, completely armed and equipped for this purpose, were arrived from England; but the falls at Chamblee rendered it impracticable to bring them up into the Lake. It now appeared absolutely indispensable to take them to pieces, and re-construct them, as well as many others, in order to gain possession of the Lake, and to transport the British forces to the other shore.

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ioned on their allegiance to repair

clusive of this force, which was considerable, and on the exertions of the one placed much reliance, the other's confidence was further increased by the intelligence that a powerful armament, and a large body of war troops, were destined to act in Carolina, and were making the way of their way to his assistance.

At the Provincial Assembly were sensible of the danger of suffering from such activity and resolution of Governor Martin, to repossess himself the power of which they had deprived him. They collected, with assiduous diligence, the whole strength which they were masters, and in the time dispatched such force as was directed, to oppose the Royalists, as commanded by General Moore, with some cannon, took possession of a strong post near them, which he held. Here he was summoned by General Macdonald to join the Royalists, under pain of being treated as an enemy. His answer was, that if would subscribe an oath of fidelity to the Congress, and lay down their arms, they should meet with the usage of friends, and the rash proceedings of which they had been guilty should be forgotten. But if they persisted in an insurrection, which, from their want of strength to support it, they were conscious would end unsuccessfully, they must expect the severest punishment.

The Provincials were in a few days, powerfully reinforced, that they amounted to near eight thousand men. Their superiority compelled the Royalists to provide for their safety by a precipitate retreat. The want of artillery prevented them from attacking the Provincials in their trenches, while they had the advantage of numbers; and how slow, when too late, the tardiness of their undertaking. They had indeed of near two thousand but were unprovided with many

necessaries. In this situation they trusted their intrepidity would make amends for deficiencies. They were by this time almost inclosed by the enemy; but by dint of resolution and dexterity, they disengaged themselves, and by forced marches through woods and difficult passes, they forced their way. The space of fourscore of miles, and in spite of the enemy's efforts to intercept them, gained Moor's Creek, within sixteen miles of Wilmington, where they expected to be joined by Governor Martin and General Clinton, who was lately arrived with a considerable detachment.

But this junction was effectually prevented by the Provincials, who pursued his party so closely, that in order to avoid them, Colonel Macdonald judged it necessary to attempt the passage of the Creek, notwithstanding a body of the enemy lay on the other side, under Colonel Caswell, with works well lined with men, and provided with artillery. But the place where the attempt was made, not being fordable, the Royalists were obliged to cross over a wooden bridge, of which the Provincials, not having time to pull it down entirely, had taken up the planks. They had, however, by greasing the beams and remaining timbers, rendered them so slippery, and unsafe to tread upon, that on the Colonel's party advancing they could not make good their footing any where. In this condition, they were assailed on all sides by superior numbers, and totally defeated, after losing their bravest officers and men. Among those was Captain Macleod, with several other Highlanders, who fell gallantly with their broad swords in their hands. Their General, and most of their leaders were taken prisoners, and the rest betook themselves to flight.

Had this insurrection succeeded in the manner proposed, it would have proved of essential service to the cause of government, by the junction of those

numbers in the back settlements, who were waiting the arrival among them of the regular troops they had been promised. Nor would they have remained inactive on this occasion, had they not been deficient in arms, and especially in ammunition. But this failure put an end to the whole scheme and dispirited the Royalists from attempting any other. The Provincials were now so thoroughly upon their guard, and so well prepared, that no further expectation was entertained of making any impression upon them. Their force appeared to be much more considerable than it had ever been imagined. They had, in the space of a fortnight, assembled near twelve thousand men, well armed and accoutered. Before the present troubles, they had stood in perpetual awe of the regulators, but necessity had taught them the use of arms; and the success they now met with, gave them a courage and confidence they had not felt before.

In Virginia the Royalists, under Lord Dunmore met with no less disappointments. The fleet on board of which they had taken refuge, continued to infest the rivers and the coasts of that Province; but as the shores were well guarded, no descent could be ventured, and no refreshments could be procured. This made their condition highly distressful. The excessive heat of the climate, added to the badness of the water, and want of wholesome provisions, and the perpetual confinement of such multitudes in small unroomy vessels, produced a pestilential fever among them, which proved extremely fatal, especially to the Blacks. In this deplorable situation, they were driven from every road and creek by their incensed countrymen. It was found at last indispensibly necessary, in order to avoid perishing through want of food, to quit this fatal and inhospitable coast. After setting fire to the least valuable of their vessels, these unfortunate fugitives sail-

ed with about fifty remaining to them, some to Florida, others to Bermuda and the West India islands.

While the affairs of Congress prospered in this manner in North Carolina and Virginia, they were earnestly employed in forming a marine. In the beginning of March, they dispatched Commodore Hopkins, with a squadron of five frigates to the Bahama islands. He landed on the principal one, called Providence, and brought off the ordnance and military stores; but the powder, which was his chief object, had been conveyed away. In his return, he took several prizes, and fell in with the Glasgow frigate, commanded by Captain Syrringham Howe, in company with a tender: this latter was taken, but the Glasgow made a resolute defence, and displayed her superiority of the enemy.

It was hoped, however, at home, that the expedition that was now preparing against South Carolina, would compensate for the ill success that had attended the British affairs in the neighbouring Province. A squadron was fitted out at Portsmouth, which sailed from thence in December; but met with such unfavourable weather, that it did not reach Cape Fear, in North Carolina, till the ensuing May. Here it was unhappily detained by a concurrence of accidents till the end of the month; during which time the people of Charles Town had full leisure to make what further preparations they judged requisite, against the attack which they now plainly perceived was meditated against them.

The squadron which was commanded by Sir Peter Parker, consisted of two ships of fifty guns, four of thirty, and two of twenty, an armed schooner, and a bomb-ketch. The land forces were under Lord Cornwallis, and Generals Clinton and Vaughan. As time they proceeded on this expedition they had no intelligence of General Howe's motions. He had dis-

with instructions for their pursuit of other measures than those they contemplated; but through a succession of difficulties and delays, did not arrive at Cape Fear till the morning had left it.

At the beginning of June, this squadron anchored off Charles Town Bar. It was necessary for the two largest ships to get out their guns before they could anchor; and though lightened as much as possible, they touched ground, and were several times in danger of running aground.

The Commander in Chief of the operations upon this occasion, was General Lee. He had exerted himself with remarkable activity in putting North Carolina in a state of defence against attack which had been suspected by General Clinton. He had, with the expedition, provided for the defence of the coasts of Virginia, and of North Carolina; and was now employing himself with equal diligence for the defence of Charles Town.

After crossing the Bar, the next obstacle to be surmounted, was a fort on the west point of Sullivan's island: commanded the passage to Charles Town, which lay six miles further to the west. Though lately begun, and not yet finished, it was in a stronger position than represented to the British commanders; who knowing the force which it would be attacked, and relying on the valour of their people, did not hesitate in resolving to assail it immediately.

From the eastward of Sullivan's island, Long Island was separated from it by some shoals or creeks, said to be fordable at low water, and not above two feet deep: at this ford, the Provincials had a strong body with cannon and provisions. General Lee was encamped on the main land from which there was a communication to Sullivan's island, by a bridge of boats, over which he could throw succours at pleasure, to the body of men posted there in

order to obstruct the passage of the British troops.

The situation of these upon Long Island was extremely inconvenient. It was a mere heap of sand without tree or shelter of any kind, where they stood exposed to the burning heat of the sun in the hottest season of the year. The inconveniences which attended the fleet and army were indeed excessive. The water they drank was extremely brackish, and their provisions were both indigent and scanty. Notwithstanding the great activity with which they laboured to forward their preparations, unexpected and unavoidable delays retarded the execution of many of the purposes necessary to complete them. Near a whole month was consumed in this manner, which afforded the enemy ample time to improve every advantage that could be suggested.

The twenty-eighth day of June, all things being in readiness, the bombardment began the attack in the morning by throwing shells at Fort Sullivan. About mid-day, the two fifty-gun ships, and two thirty-gun frigates, came abreast of the fort, and began a severe cannonade. Three other frigates took their station between the island and Charles Town, with an intent to invade the batteries of the fort, and to cut off, at the same time, the communication of the island with the main land, thereby to prevent its receiving succours, and the garrison from retreating. This position, too, would have obstructed any attempt from fire ships to interrupt the main attack. But these purposes were all frustrated by the ignorance of the pilot, who laid the frigates into the shoals, where they all stuck fast. Two of them were, however, disentangled, but they received so much damage, that they were unfit for the service proposed; and the other was set on fire, that she might not fall into the hands of the enemy.

In the mean time, a heavy and incessant fire continued between the ships.

ships and the fort. The Provincials behaved on this occasion with a courage and coolness that astonished the British officers and seamen: the execution they did was dreadful—Never was attack made with more intrepidity, nor defence with more deliberate valour. Those who had been in various encounters of this fort concurred in declaring that they had never been witness of so resolute a resistance.

The Bristol having lost the springs upon her cable which were shot away, lay some time terribly raked by the enemy's fire. They discharged a great quantity of red-hot balls, and set her twice in flames. The behaviour of Captain Morris, her commander, was extraordinary in every respect:—after receiving five wounds, he still remained upon deck, till obliged to quit it, in order to undergo the amputation of his arm; after which he undauntedly returned to his station, and received two wounds more; the last of which was from a red-hot ball, which took him in the belly, and put an end to his life.

Such was the slaughter on board the Bristol, that every officer and seaman upon her quarter-deck was either killed or wounded, excepting the Commodore, Sir Peter Parker, who stood alone unharmed, and conducted himself throughout the whole of this destructive day with great intrepidity and presence of mind. Captain Scott, of the Experiment, behaved with no less bravery; and besides the loss of an arm was otherwise dangerously wounded, that his life was despaired of.

The execution from the British shipping was very considerable; but the works of the fort lay so low, that numbers of the shot flew over, and they were of such a nature, as to stand the weight of very heavy metal, without being easily demolished.—They were composed of palisades, and earth very thickly intermixed. Dur-

ing the heat of the attack, the batteries of the fort remained so long silent, that the assailants concluded the fort had been abandoned: but this silence was only occasioned through want of powder; they had expended all their stock, and were obliged to wait for a fresh supply from the camp on the main-land.

It had been expected, that the troops posted on Long Island would have participated in the operations of this day, by fording over Sable-Creek at low water, forcing the enemy's intrenchments, and marching up to the fort; but the depth of the water proved much greater, and more trial, than had been imagined; the works thrown up by the enemy, were found, on a nearer approach, much stronger than they had at first appeared; their numbers and armaments far more formidable; and the position of General Lee such as to enable him to overpower with ease any force that could have been brought to attack him.

This dreadful engagement lasted till darkness obliged the British squadron to give over. The tide of the river was nearly at the lowest, and it was drawing towards ten, when the Commodore, having done all that skill and courage could prompt a brave officer to do upon such an occasion, thought proper to discontinue an action which no longer afforded any possibility of success. From the time the engagement commenced, to that when the ships drew off, ten full hours were counted; a long space for so close and incessant a conflict.

The Bristol and the Experiment were so much damaged, that it was apprehended they could not be got over the bar. This, however, through great skill and labour, was accomplished, to the utter astonishment of the Provincials, who had conceived it impracticable. The frigates suffered also considerably, though not mortally.

ably to the large ships, at the Provincials principally directed their fire.

It had been hoped that the bomb-which carried a mortar of a great construction, would have been highly serviceable in annoying the enemy; but whether it profited from overcharging it, on account of the distance at which she was fired, or some defect in the man- fixing that engine, the bed that was in a short time so loosened, became of no use.

It was the applause bestowed on Colonel Moultrie, who commanded in Fort Sullivan, and to his intrepid behaviour, the success of the defence of it was in a very great measure owing. He was well liked by his officers; and great bravery, and even heroism, were displayed by some of the subalterns. One of the grenadiers, named Jackson, seeing the flag-staff shot away, and from one of the embrasures on the beach, took up the flag, fixed on a sponge-staff, and amidst a shower of shot, remounted the merlon, and firmly fixed it in its former position.

For this uncommon act of bravery, he was publicly presented with a sword of value by the Provincial authorities, and was also promoted to the rank of sergeant, whose name was recorded, being mortally wounded by a cannon-ball. "I die," said he, at the last moments, "for a glorious cause, but I hope it will not expire here."—A sentiment not unlike the greatest characters mentioned in history.

A number of killed and wounded on board the British squadron, added to near two hundred. Those of the enemy could not be ascertained; but their loss must have been considerable, as most of the guns of the British were dismounted, and fresh reinforcements poured in during the time of the engagement.

A common spirit appeared on this

occasion among all the people who accompanied this expedition. A number of volunteers offered themselves, and acted with great bravery. At the head of these was Lord Wm. Campbell, Governor of South Carolina, whose courage prompted him to undertake the command of the lower-deck guns of the Bristol, a station of peculiar danger. Many of the seamen belonging to the ships of war, being disabled through illness, to attend their duty, the sailors on board the transports courageously supplied their places.

The behaviour of the Americans in this, and the various military transactions that had taken place since the commencement of hostilities, though it did not dismay, yet it highly surprised the British officers and soldiers employed against them.—Expecting from the general information they had received, that they were a people unapt for war, from the life of peace and plenty to which they had been accustomed, they could not help expressing their astonishment at the proofs they were continually meeting how wrongly they had been informed.—The truth was, that notwithstanding the prosperity of their domestic circumstances, their habits were by no means effeminate; their disposition, as already hinted, were remarkably active, and their occupations tended equally to invigorate their bodies, and sharpen their minds. But that, which of all other causes was the most powerful and efficient in stimulating them to act with resolution, was that very insinuation of their want of courage and capacity for war. It proved a constant spur in all their enterprises; they were continually reminded of it by their leaders; it filled them with resentment and indignation; and, together with the intimate persuasion of the justice of their cause, animated them effectually in supporting it.

While these various transactions were taking place in the adjacent Pro-

vinces throughout America, the Congress was deeply engaged in the preparation of that event which began now to be universally expected.

A circular address was sent to every Colony stating several reasons for which they judged it necessary that the authority of the Crown and Legislature of Great Britain should be totally suppressed, and the powers of government assumed respectively by the Assembly of each Province.

They founded the justice and propriety of this measure, on the conduct held by Great Britain during a long time past, but especially on the determinations contained in the prohibitory act lately passed, by which all intercourse was forbidden with the Thirteen United Colonies. An interdiction of this kind, was, in their opinion, a formal exclusion from that protection which the Crown owed to its subjects. They were, in fact, declared outlaws, and lay exposed to all people's mercy. They had nothing further to expect but ill-usage and depredation; and they were by proclamation given over to be plundered and despoiled of their property by all who could seize upon it. Such was, they said, the answer they had received to the dutiful and humble petition they had presented to the British throne, in the name of all the inhabitants of America, for a friendly redress of grievances, in order to a sincere and permanent reconciliation.

So determined and irrevocable was the resolution of Britain to establish an arbitrary government in the Colonies, that not content with levying numerous armies, and equipping powerful fleets at home for that purpose, she had applied to her foreign allies for the assistance of their troops, and was now preparing to invade the American continent with all the force her treasures could procure.

For these reasons, it was indispensably incumbent upon them to unite *their arms and councils* with the great-

est vigour, unanimity, and speed. The danger was manifest and imminent; the exertions they had hitherto made, though considerable, must now be increased in proportion with those of their enemies. As these had divested themselves of all manner of regard and feeling for the Americans, they were no longer bound to consider them as their brothers and parents, and were in all reason, absolved from any farther allegiance, to that monarchy and nation.

Englishmen, said they, are no longer governed by those maxims of equity and moderation, that led them to consider us as brethren. National pride, and criminal influence, have destroyed that integrity and benevolence with which they used to attend to our concerns. Administration, for a series of years, have been our declared enemies, and despotism is the system they have long pursued for the Colonies. The question is now, whether we shall persevere in the resistance we have begun, or pusillanimously lay down those arms which we have hitherto employed with honour and success?

Such was the purport of the representations made by Congress and its adherents. They were the natural result of the impressions made upon them by the dread they felt at the vast preparations to reduce them. They now imagined that ministry intended to realize their fears, and to compel them to the most servile submission.

Until this apprehension began to prevail, whatever might have been the secret views of individuals, the Colonists did not think themselves necessitated to carry their opposition any farther than to prevent the designs of ministry from taking place. They insisted on no more than the enjoyment of their ancient claims: a reconciliation on these terms was the utmost of their demands; and had not yet suffered the in-

tearing themselves asunder from a people from whom they derived their origin, and with whom a variety of powerful motives had long contributed to cement, and still continued to support their connection.

Those, who relying on the temper and circumstances of the times, had indulged themselves in the formation of another plan, and whose ideas went much farther than those of the generality, had not yet dared to unfold their minds. The public was not yet sufficiently irritated to countenance their notions, and to eradicate old habits of attachment.

But the news of what was transacting in Britain, excited an alarm of a different kind from any of the former. Complaints and anger at the behaviour of the Colonists, had been followed by threats, and afterwards by an attempt to compel them to obedience; but still the quarrel remained confined to the subjects of Britain; they were the sole parties concerned, and all hope was not yet extinguished of composing these unhappy dissensions without foreign interposition. But when they saw the sphere of discord enlarged by the association of strangers to this domestic dispute, they began to be persuaded, that those who had accused the British ministry of entertaining the most sinister designs, were well founded. They were now convinced that slavery or destruction was the alternative intended for them in the councils of Britain.

This conviction shortly became general, and operated with prodigious effect; it expelled all the remaining sentiments of respect and regard for the parent state, and wrought a revolution in the minds of many, which paved the way for that which sometime after entirely changed the face of affairs on the northern continent of America.

Numerous were the publications on this occasion, tending to inflame the public against the measures of the

British government. Many of them were composed with great art and energy; but none was so much read, and had such diffusive influence, as that which appeared under the title of Common Sense.

It was in every respect a bold and animated performance. As it spoke the language and opinions of a large proportion of the people, it was received with vast applause, and recommended as a work replete with truth, and against which none but the partial and prejudiced would form any objections.

The reasonings and arguments contained in these various writings, filled all companies and conversations, and excited a spirit of inquiry and discussion into the rights of human nature, and society at large, such as had never been exceeded, if ever equalled, in any country in christendom.

The ingenuity and eloquence with which the advocates of America supported the cause of their country against the claims of Great Britain, were of a peculiar cast. They denoted men who had dived deep into the subject, and were determined to bring to light the fruit of their lucubrations, and to avail themselves of every plea, however it might prove out of the common track, or offend established opinions, or wound the pride of those who build their authority on the weakness and credulity of mankind. All such restraints vanished before individuals, who from their situation, had nothing to apprehend from those of whom they were to invalidate the pretensions or to lessen the character. The more freely they spoke of crowns and sceptres, the more they knew their maxims would be acceptable to a people, whose suppliant disposition could bear submission to no power but their own.

They were now, said they, involved in a contest of more importance than any that had agitated the world for many ages. The dispute was not between states contending for some town

or territories, the destiny of an immense continent was at stake: the interests they were defending were those of whole nations yet to come: the decision of this dispute would reach many ages into futurity; and their posterity, long after they were no more, would have ample cause either to respect or to despise their memory.

Years had revolved since peace and reconciliation had been the continual subject of their thoughts, their entreaties, and their endeavours: but they now were called upon to attend to other objects. The sword was drawn, blood had been shed; there was no more room for friendly discussions. They had entered upon another scene, and must now act the part of men who had a new character to support.

There were people among them, who, casting their eyes on the long connection that had subsisted between Great Britain and her Colonies, imagined that its protection was necessary for their welfare; but though while in their infancy it was of service, they were now matured into a nation, and wanted it no longer. It was become dangerous, as they that are able to protect, may think themselves intitled to rule.

The connection with Great Britain carried a splendid appearance; but how dearly must it be purchased? Her honour and her interests often led her to take part in those quarrels that were almost perpetual on the continent of Europe. Her enemies, of course, were no less those of America, and every disaster that befel her must be participated by this continent.

The vicissitudes that time introduced into all human affairs, would certainly put a period at last to the sovereignty of Britain over America. The sooner it was done, the better for both: she would free herself from her slavish contentions, and from a precarious authority; and America

would establish that form of government which suited her situation, the inclinations of her inhabitants.

Nature could not intend countries so distant from each other should be subject to the same government. What an absurdity for to sail three thousand miles is to receive directions from home; how to manage their domestic concerns? Was it not more rational well as more honourable, the seat of government in a greater and extensive country, should be home?

Was it not a meanness ungrateful to generous minds, to be begging, as favours, what they could demand as rights? To depend the will and capriciousness of foreign ministry, for the settlement of business in which they had no rest, from the nature of things little acquainted with, and could therefore be competent to superintend?

Great Britain and America no longer trust each other. The connection between them was of a dead nature, and had destroyed all confidence. They were become fact, two separate states; and interests were wholly different. Vassalage reigned. Friendship was not subsist. Britain had clearly lost that the meant to rule without trouble; and America had evidence made it appear, that she would obey. Such being the determination on each side, what end could be served by talking of any other mode of reconciliation than a treaty of peace.

This might take place in order to avoid effusion of blood; but a return to their former state of subordination to Great Britain, was a situation which the Colonies were no longer calculated: they too much felt their own weight and importance: for they might possibly become not subjects to Britain: nor even this be expected, until she recognized the justice of the

d treated with them on the equals.

conciliation with Great Britain the terms of dependence, involve America in continual domestic trouble and incon-

The jealousy of Britain pour covertly to obstruct all efforts, and to stint the growth of strength and prosperity. The one on the other hand, would with less zeal to counteract favours: these would necessitate hatred and mistrust in Americans. They would of course their resentment, and make themselves to resistance. Their resentment could they re-

The negative, right, vested crown, would be constantly in opposing every beneficial they proposed; their industry cramped at home, and dis- abroad, and every impediment in their way, that rivalled success. Thus, to be re- with Britain on the old plan, to admit among them their hereditary enemy, in quality of a protector. The absurdity of conduct was so obvious, that surprising the British ministry entertain so contemptible an of the Colonists, as to hope might be prevailed upon to a-

prospects of the miseries result- in such a condition, justified termination never to submit to they had therefore the clearest take up arms in order to pre- themselves from so great a cala- They were not the aggressors; ted purely on the defensive: arms were not injurious to so- they were modest and founded e reason; therefore they were the Colonies had now attained maturity of political growth our, which entitled them to and consideration in the world.

They claimed what was in consequence their lawful due, the rank and the rights of a nation. There were many states much inferior to them in power, wealth, and population, that enjoyed this prerogative; why should they be denied it?

It was the universal desire that they should be placed on the footing of a free state. They were far removed from the country from which their ancestors originated. The land they dwelt in furnished them with the necessities of life in the greatest abundance, and with many staple commodities upon which to found an extensive and beneficial trade with every nation in Europe. So situated, no restraints but those of absolute coercion, would prevent them from making the most of the many advantages bestowed upon them by nature. But it was evident that Great Britain would find it very difficult to enforce a monopoly, were she able to retain them under subjection. The vast extent of coast she must guard with her cruisers; the immense tracts of land over which she must keep a perpetual watch, would, in spite of her vigilance, elude the regulations she might enact to preserve the commercial benefits of America entirely to herself. Other nations would come in for an ample share, and would, whenever the Americans were desirous of an emancipation from the authority of Britain, assist them with all readiness in effecting it.

It was therefore no less the interest of other powers than their own, that they should withdraw themselves from a connection from which they had every reason to be highly dissatisfied, and which it was experimentally found, could not be continued without being productive of incessant altercation. This was itself a sufficient motive to engage them to put an end to it.

They had now gone deep into the contest

contest; it had already cost them dear and was not probably near an end. The wisest course they could pursue, was to extend it at once to a nobler object than that which gave it rise. This was merely to prevent Britain from ruling them oppressively; but were it not more advisable to take a final determination not to suffer Britain to rule them at all? if they could resist her oppression, they could also resist her power: the first depended on the last. It was a duty they owed to themselves, to attain, as soon as possible, a state of security from the grievances of which they had so much complained. If having it in their option to remove them for ever, they should consent to remain exposed to them, they would be guilty of an unpardonable folly. It would render a repetition of the provocations they had endured, highly probable: and would reduce them to the necessity of recommencing a-new, what they had now more than half completed.

America was no less worthy of holding a place among free and independent countries, than Britain herself. In extent it was far superior, nor less in the variety of its productions. The natives were the descendants of those resolute Englishmen who left their country in quest of a freedom, which they could not find at home; or of those industrious multitudes who had emigrated from other parts of Europe, to enjoy, in this happy region of liberty, that toleration of civil and religious sentiments, which they were denied in the land of their nativity.

Many of this description were the most respectable of all characters. It was no such that nation owed their felicity and grandeur. Activity and enterprisingness of disposition, were the most useful qualifications in a state. From such forefathers they were sprung; and the world bore

them witness that they had not degenerated.

Superior to Britain in the advantages of soil, equal to it in the merit of its inhabitants, the only inferiority of America was in numbers. But that was a deficiency which time was remedying with a rapidity that astonished all those who beheld it. By fair and unexaggerated computation the population of America was reckoned to double in less than thirty years. It amounted at the present to more than two millions of white people. What a fund was this for increase, when once delivered from all restraints, and left entirely to the full operation of their unincumbered exertions?

But what need was there to justify their endeavours to obtain freedom? It belonged to them of right. They had purchased it with their blood at Lexington, at Bunker's Hill, and at many other places where they had been called upon to assert it, by those who would have denied them its possession.

America was now in its prime. It had attained that stage of political existence which is so emphatically, and no less truly styled the youth of nations. Now, therefore, was the season to employ its energy and vigour in asserting all the pretensions it could form; in securing all its rights; in a word, in establishing its independence of all sovereignty abroad.

The Colonies abounded with strong, healthy, and laborious men, full of courage and resolution to maintain the claims and the honour of their country. They had motives to stimulate them to its defence, peculiar to themselves. They were possessors and freeholders of the land they occupied; they did not hold it by those precarious tenures that degrade the rural class in Europe: they cultivated themselves: it was in every ad-

own: the life they led kept them distance from effeminacy; their were robust and their dispositionally.

In the small space of time since theicans had taken up arms, they exhibited specimens of valour and that had surprized their enemies and attracted the admiration of c. They had fully confuted base aspersions that represented as an unwarlike people, fit only : occupations of peace, and un- : contend with such veterans as be employed against them : but ad met these veterans, more than in the field, and had not belied character they had assumed of as ready to fight for their li- as the English themselves had formerly ; though now meanly ting to forge fetters for their A- a fellow subjects.

America need not despair of fur- ; individuals equal to the ar- task of conducting their affairs field, having already produced ho had conducted their coun- th so much prudence. It was pestuous times like the present men of genius came forward, played their talents to the world. an exalted character would in dormant, but for those re- ous that call forth and set in : the abilities of mankind. The ion of statesmen and heroes e chiefly to them. Active scenes signal for great and capacious : show themselves ; they na- took their station in the midst of , to increase, to direct or to allay it pleasure. Nature gave birth th men in all countries : but it ially in seasons of trouble and ion that they made their appear- such only were favourable to who were born to fix the destiny :s and nations. hout assuming more merit than due to them, the Americans

might challenge any people to exhibit within the same proportion of time, a large number of brave and resolute men, of enterprising commanders, of intrepid soldiers, than the Colonies had afforded in the few months the operations of the field had lasted. They had started up unexpected, and in a manner self-formed. But such had in all ages, been the consequences of strugglers for national freedom : all history showed it ; and they only trod in the footsteps of those patriotic champions of their country, who had preceded them in so many parts of the world ; whose example had been so frequently cited and followed by others, as well as themselves ; and would always raise up imitators among those who had too much spirit to bear with oppression.

The union of America was founded on the strongest tie ; a common apprehension of great misfortunes threatened indiscriminately to all.

This, which in appearance was an object of terror, was in fact the most efficient cause of their security. It compelled them to be unanimous and faithful to each other. It was therefore the firmest basis on which to erect such a constitution, as would equally benefit and protect them. The season of danger was the most proper, as well as the most cogent for such a purpose ; people then forgot their petty interests, and cordially joined for their public good. Too much safety unnerved those great passions on which the common welfare so much depended.—Were America arrived to that pitch of opulence and internal prosperity, which must, in the course of things, become her portion, it were much to be questioned, whether the same zeal and fortitude in opposing an enemy, the same dispositions to encounter hardships and difficulties, and above all, whether the same unanimity would have been found among them, as now happily characterized the Americans. *Situation*

situation would, with all its advantages, have also been attended with its concomitant flaws and deficiencies: corruption would have crept in together with excess of wealth; pride would have created those odious distinctions that render one part of the community an object of slight and indifference to the other; parties would, of course have been more easily formed in favour of an enemy, whose maxims corresponded with the designs of the proud and the haughty: disunion would have followed, with its constant attendants, debility and dispiritedness. Instead of the manly resistance that now did them much honour, the Americans would either have tamely and passively submitted to whatever Britain had thought proper to prescribe; or if some of them, less sunk in degeneracy than the rest, had erected the standard of liberty, and summoned their countrymen to the common defence of their interests, they would have been feebly supported, and most quickly have yielded to the mean disposition of the times and have conformed to the ideas and temper of the majority.

Such fortunately was not the case of America.—It was precisely in that situation which is most favourable for union and defence: it consisted of a number of detached parts, which necessity alone had united for their preservation; they felt their respective weakness while in a separate state, but they were no less conscious of the strength that would accrue from their conjunction. Mutual feeling and friendship grew from the ill treatment they had received, and the terrors they experienced from a common enemy.

In private life no attachment was more lasting than that which arose from a participation of adversity. Men never forget their reciprocal willingness to assist each other in the day of distress; they always remembered it with a peculiar complacency; and they who had been sincere friends

on these trying occasions, never would become, or remain long

In the same manner, those alliances and associations between public bodies which were the most solid and lasting as well as prosperous, had been concluded between nations involved in one common peril and calamity. In remoter ages, the invasions of Persians, by uniting the Grecian republics had rendered them invulnerable. In later periods the Cantons of Switzerland had emerged into freedom being forced to stand by each in opposing the tyranny of their reigns; and the seven provinces opposing the Dutch commonwealth owed their liberty to the same.

These illustrious precedents before them like so many invitations to America, to make one more catalogue of nations delivered from oppression by their virtue and perseverance. It might with the truth be added, that the case of celebrated nations was far from so favourable as their own. The last had a multitude of obstacles to contend with, from the proximity of an enemy, and the perpetual facility which he was able to renew his attacks and to weary out their patience: not experience proved it unconvincing.

To these examples others might be added, were it necessary. But were sufficiently conspicuous and did to awaken the people of America to a just sense of their condition to the propriety of improving the advantages that lay before them. These were evident and manifold. It was now in their power to form a republic which would become an instant of its formation, the potent and respectable of any existing.—No iniquitous plans could concur in its establishment; it was not to be founded on bloodshed and conquest, but on the very reverse, spirit of peace and unanimity.

gness and consent of those to be concerned in forming the only requisites wanting immediate existence. It was to be presumed, that with respect before them, there was a dissenting voice heard beneficial and honourable a

seemed to have had this long in contemplation, and gradually prepared it by the means as should render it feasible. It was now two centuries the first laid the foundation

Small were the beginnings made its first appearance; men, such as could look into the future and foretold the history of this immense continent under the auspices of a mighty people, colony, colony, and settlements all in one continued range to the extended shores.

At the same time, the seeds of that which now animates America were fully sown every where, brought from a soil where they vigorously fructified than in any other. The sentiments, the discipline of the government of the people, the first emigrants had accompanied them to this

They transmitted them entire to their descendants, they were faithfully conveyed to the next generation.

Every Colony, however it differed from others in some particulars and forms of polity, still kept in touch with each other in retainments of the English constitution; they knew its value, and they were cordially; in such hands it was free from contamination and in such hands it was modified thro' which its features were clear and

communion of ideas and

inclinations was universally established among all the Colonies founded by Great Britain. They were constitutionally one and the same people, though divided by the boundaries which nature has thrown between the different parts of this extended region. Whatever, therefore affected any one of them in this important respect, equally affected all. They had before them the lessons, and, what was still stronger, the examples, of the parent state, to guide and to authorise them in the observance of the maxims which its constitution so forcibly inculcated.

To the singular praise of the Americans, they had adhered to them with a fidelity which was not even found in the mother country. While a great proportion of its inhabitants was so infatuated by weak prejudices as to embrace opinions contradictory to the very essence of this constitution, and even to assert them with their lives, America remained immovably attached to them, and became, in this instance, an example to Britain.

A people so framed, were not to be led out of their way by deception, nor to be driven out of it by fears.

They stood on a ground of which they too well knew the solidity to abandon it. No other, they were conscious, would afford them equal security for the advantages they had so long enjoyed. They had too much sense to expect the continuance of them in a change of situation, and were possessed of too much spirit to resign them upon demand.

When in the plenitude of conquest and glory, Britain began to cast an eye of pride and haughtiness on these distant dependencies, and to divest herself of that complacency with which she had hitherto treated them, America still waited with patience for a return of her benevolence. She did not avail herself of the improper behaviour

behaviour of the parent state to cast off a connection of which she was not bound to suffer the continuance whenever it became oppressive. It was borne, however, ten long years in the midst of insults and mortifications on the one part, and of intreaties and remonstrances on the other. Pride, ambition and avarice, were the motives that stimulated Britain in this unhappy trial of the temper of the Colonies.—She had lately been used to see her enemies at her feet; she had spread her triumphant banners, and extended her dominions through every quarter of the globe; riches poured in upon her from all parts. But in the midst of this grandeur and prosperity, she forgot that America had stood by her in its acquisition. She seemed unwilling to admit her Colonies to a participation of her honours and emoluments, and determined to confine them to herself. She sought to abridge them of those benefits that resulted from their situation, and to deprive them of those rights that belonged equally to both, and without which no people can claim the title of British subject, and can only be considered as the vassals of Britain.

But this was an appellation which the spirit of America would not brook. She had been taught to glory in the rank and privileges of Englishmen; she would give up neither. She was resolved to assert them, and was conscious of her ability to do it. Britain was unfortunately of opinion, that she wanted both the courage and the means requisite for that purpose; and in that persuasion, continued those provocations, which roused at last the resentment of America to a degree that showed she was deficient in neither.

In an evil hour did Britain think meanly of her colonies; but the day was come which fortune had long pro-

jected for their deliverance from a situation unworthy the greatness and importance which they had attained.—They were duly sensible of the regard that was owing to them; and had it been properly paid, never would have conceived the design of a separation. They bowed before the parent state with a respect and humility which neither that, nor any other potentate will ever again experience. They besought Britain to recollect, that though they were her children, yet they were come to their full growth. They would assist her, they would bleed, they would die, for her;—but they would not be burthened with the yoke of servitude.

There is unhappily a propensity in human nature to overload those who are willing to bear. Long had the Colonies acquiesced in restrictions of various sorts, on every branch of their external commerce, and their internal trade. Accustomed to peaceable obedience from them, Britain imagined it would have no bounds. In that imprudent expectancy, she rashly transgressed all those of moderation, and invaded those privileges of which the possession had been left entire to the Colonists, on which the very existence of their freedom depended, and which ought therefore to have remained untouched, while Britain meant to secure them by any other tie than that of thralldom.

Such a change of conduct, on the one hand, naturally produced an alteration of behaviour on the other. The bonds of friendship once broken, animosity increased apace; but according to experience was much greater in the aggressor than in the sufferer. America would willingly have been reconciled; but the injury came from Britain, and she knew not how to forgive. She judged of the restraints of America by her own;

in the superiority of her arms, determined to crush an opposition she was afraid to trust.

She had to draw the sword in her own hand; still America looked forward with an eye to reconciliation. The arrogance of Britain demanded unconditional submission. Despairing of softening the rigour of a reasonable demand, where were the Colonists to take refuge? The spirit and wisdom of the measure had been in the same circumstances themselves, pointed out as necessary?

Not America repine at her lot, she was the happiest that could be. If she knew her own interests, she would rejoice at the opportunity jointly given her to dissolve a connection henceforth prove a source of embarrassment. The hour for the Colonies alone to be admitted in government, and to exercise exclusive sovereignty.

The strength of America, when compared with her enemy, Britain, relied on the dispersed situation of the Colonies, and the small number of those who would take arms. They calculated the resources of the Colonies by the rule of European wars, and fondly believed that the passions would prevent the Colonies from affording sufficient support of their cause. They paid the least attention to expectations, the circumstances of the Colonies would have undeceived them. There are cases wherein all men are united in the defence of liberty.

Liberty is the most interesting case; it always has, and will put arms into the hands of those who can wield them. There are also nations which are sooner fitted for war than others; this is peculiarly the case of America; where

greater multitudes spend their lives in the laborious business of clearing and cultivating the ground, than in any country whatever. But Britain was blinded by the impetuosity of her resentment, and bethought herself of nothing but instant revenge.

She now beheld, however, an union of force in America that began to alarm her. She had hastened a determination which would have lingered many a year, unless it had been thus forced into completion. She had brought America to that point, at which no option remained between servility and independence. Could she flatter herself that the Americans would hesitate about the choice?

Now therefore was the auspicious moment to carry the system of their government to perfection. With all its excellencies it would admit of many others. Fond of their constitution as the English were, it had involved them in many terrible disputes. This proved its imperfection, and showed that some radical deficiency lurked at bottom, which unless eradicated, would always be productive of evils, which might be palliated, but never thoroughly cured.

To what were due the civil wars that deluged England with blood, in the last century? Whence arose those intestine feuds, that filled it with heart-burnings and animosities, after the restoration of Royalty? What causes had brought about the Revolution? What was it, that in spite of these terrible remedies, still continued to afflict the constitution of England, and to render its boasted eminence highly problematic?

These questions they forebore to answer, lest they should seem to assume the province of dictators to the rest of mankind. But they were masters at home; and without meaning to offend the sovereigns of the world, they would venture to lodge the supremacy of the state in those from whom

whom it proceeded. The people of America, after so many examples of the inconveniences England had suffered under its present form of government, would now make trial of another.

The situation of America was particularly fortunate in this respect; she could chuse that model which appeared most eligible, without exciting any civil strife;—and she lay too far off, in case of an erroneous choice, to be exposed to the interference of ambitious neighbours. All she had to guard against, was domestic dissensions. But there were no individuals among them possessed of riches and influence enough to disturb the peace of society, on their own private account; the only danger they had to apprehend was from an union among the principal families. But even this was a very remote apprehension; there was so general an equality in the fortunes and circumstances of most men, and such a levelling disposition among all, that it would be an impracticable attempt in any set of men, much more in a single individual to aspire at exclusive power.

A government suited to the disposition and wishes of the Americans, seemed, in the universal opinion, to be very attainable. Ambition was a vice foreign to their character; the desire of domineering had never appeared in the most opulent and considerable among them; a kind and friendly behaviour to each other, marked all denominations of people, and placed them on a footing of neighbourly affections, that peculiarly distinguished them from all others.

To men of this description, a government that would let their rulers at a great height above them, must prove highly unacceptable. Such a system would please them best in which laws would be respected more than individuals, and wherein all distinctions would be avoided that were not evident-

ly and indispensably necessary. It therefore their duty to frame a constitution corresponding with inclinations of this kind, which were well known to be uppermost in the generality.

Few nations, if any, had, like Americans, been favoured with so desirable an opportunity of constructing government entirely to their liking. Force, and the pressure of circumstances, had decided the fortune of nations in this respect. How can they therefore, ought they to be, in this critical opportunity, while not obstructed them, while their enemies were unable to prevent it, and while themselves were unanimous in their endeavours to obtain it.

Were they to delay so salutary work, difficulties might arise, of which they had at present no conception. The enemy they had to encounter would undoubtedly assail them with every weapon of which he was possessed. One, he had of superior power; that was his gold. If he were to fail, him, still he had that source. Before he tried it, he would employ the other. Thus was the interval to come to a resolution as to them to settle their affairs on so firm a foundation as to frustrate all his attempts to overcome them by the temptation of lucre, which was in truth only one they had to fear.

In order to effect this purpose by all danger of a defeat, nothing remained to do, but to confirm all that had already done, and resolve to stand by all the determinations they had taken. These were the best preparations they could have made for great business that was next to be acted.

This business, great and important as it was, might be accomplished with the greatest facility. It consisted more than a declaration of independence. In doing this, they more than assert the plainness

were they dependant at this Providence and their own and courage?

ough this measure was attended with difficulty, contrary to those that were easily obtained, it was productive of a multitude of

It corresponded with the an incomparable majority, if the diminutive proportion of might disapprove of it deserved mention. It lifted America to

of a sovereign state; and independent nations with a respect later than that which they

were inclined to pay them, they continued to acknowledge the right of Britain. Such an judgement entitled her, in some to call them rebellious subjects; they had cast off their allegiance would speedily meet with would recognize their inde-

. Even the very act of claim-ould give them a consideration, never refused to a brave and ous people. It would pro-a respectful treatment even ose whom the dread of dis-Britain kept in awe; and a- h as were known to be inim- , it would secure every favour l be granted to them without o an open rupture with the ourt.

sure that came accompanied any advantages, ought not to d. To waver and hesitate radiest method to awaken the of the enemy, and to excite untract it. No uncertainty allowed to take place in such resolve and to execute should me deed; the enemy ought rized of both at once: he l be convinced of the inutility g to divide; and, together conviction, would feel a dimi- the influence of which he himself possessed.

To some this might seem a hazar- dous enterprize, full of danger, and tending to exasperate an enemy equally vindictive and formidable, and whose resources were an object of no less no- toricity than amazement. He would exert them unquestionably to the utmost on so urgent an occasion; and they might at length be found of superior weight in the scale of comparison with theirs.

To those who argued in this man- ner, no other answer could be given, than that in all emergencies of a similar nature to the present, to require an ab- sence of all peril, betrayed imbecillity of mind and weakness of heart in the extreme. When was so great an object as that proposed, ever compassed without difficulty and danger? Allowing both to be ever so pressing and imminent, still it were more imprudent and rash to fly from, than to face them: they would pursue and overtake the cowardly; the brave only stood a chance to overcome them. It was wiser, therefore, at all events, to embrace resolute measures: the more daring they appeared, the safer they were in reality: none, but such, could possibly procure success; all o- thers led to certain destruction.

But the hazards at which some peo- ple were so terrified, were imaginary. Britain had already summoned her ut- most strength to this contest. What- ever further steps the Colonies might take to oppose or to irritate her, would not produce more effectual efforts a- gainst them, than those she had made; they would indeed show the inflexible resolution in those who governed the American councils, to resist her endea- vours to the very last: but she could not too soon be apprized of this inten- tion; it might incline her to ponder on the ruinous expence attending the re- duction of a people thus resolved, the greater uncertainty of succeeding in such an enterprize, and the dangers of various kinds, to which in the mean

time, she would ly inevitably exposed.

America had much more to apprehend from her internal foes than her open enemies: of these she knew the strength, and could observe the motion; but the others under the mask of friendship, concealed the basest treachery: they made it their business to dishearten people, by exaggerated informations of the numerousness of the forces that were to be employed by Great Britain against the Colonies: they were continually extolling their valour, expertness and discipline; recounting their exploits, insinuating, in short, that they would prove irresistible.

But who were these formidable troops against whom Americans would not be able to stand? They had already withstood the bravest men in Britain. Was the pride of Englishmen so lowered, as to acknowledge any men braver than themselves? Were the Hessians, or other Germans in British pay, better soldiers than the natives of Britain? Were they more active and intrepid? Were they more zealous for the honour of their country? In a word, were they more compleatly qualified to wage war on the continent of America? Certainly not. The advantages, on the contrary, were on the side of the English in a variety of considerations. They fought in their own cause, were acquainted with the people, and the country of America; spoke their language; knew their sentiments; they had more vivacity in their disposition, and would act with more expeditiousness. But were the British troops ever so superior to the German, as they had not overcome the Americans, it was necessary for such as aimed at intimidating these, to represent the Germans as much preferable to them in point of soldiership.

If such excellent troops as the British had not succeeded against the Colonists, little had they to apprehend

from mercenaries, who came much less unwilling, to this distant scene of action, than the English themselves. These, it was well known, expressed reluctance enough to the service they were upon. Numbers, if not the far greater majority, disapproved of the quarrel they were engaged in, but were professionally compelled to support it.

While America was true to herself, she would maintain her ground against all her adversaries. Those who betrayed her, were an inconsiderable number; and to be apprehended only on account of their malice, and inveteracy. But if she had a few traitors at home, she had on the other hand such numerous and powerful friends abroad, as would not fail to strike a damp upon their enemies, when they beheld who they were, and with what a force they intended to support the cause of America.

Did Britain imagine that she would be left unmolested, to proceed at her leisure and discretion against the Colonies? It was indeed the interest of the many secret well wishers who surrounded her on every side, that she should indulge herself in this persuasion: they would compliment her with the fairest assurances and good will, and pacific intentions, till she had wasted her strength, and exhausted her finances; but the moment they saw her sufficiently debilitated, they would come forth and avow their purposes; and employ such a strength in their execution, as Britain would not, in her enfeebled condition, be able to oppose.

Nor would the Colonies, in the mean time, be left unassisted. Such a relinquishment would ill agree with the settled system of European politics. They would be supported by indirect and clandestine means from various quarters: these would fully enable them to keep the field, and weary out the enemy. It were needless to enumerate the parts of the world from which

would come. It might reasonably be expected from every nation and state, to whom the greatness of a was an object of envy. And these were some of the most powerful states in Europe. The major powers, in particular would certainly neglect so favourable an opportunity to deprive her of that superiority, of which they stood in much dread.

There were powerful motives to induce the people of America to go on valiantly with the work they had begun and to hope for a prosperous issue. To these might be added the certainty of being abundantly supplied with able hands to perform it was not only in the bravery of the inhabitants, and their aptitude for what America had reason to place the best confidence; their numbers in object no less interesting: the country was full of people, not only so, but eager to act in the defence. A specimen of their valour was given the very moment it was joined: within a few hours upwards of twenty thousand assembled on the memorable day of Lexington.

They were not multitudes hastily raised, and as easily dispersed:—these were men sincerely animated with love of their country, and earnestly desirous to signalize themselves in its defence.

It was not from the necessity of securing a livelihood, that they entered the profession of a soldier: they entered their lives freely and valiantly for the protection of all that was dear to mankind: they left comfortable homes, the seats of plenty and peace, and submitted to the hardships and toils of a military life, from a higher prospect than that of pay and reward: these they left to their families, whose chief inducements they necessarily be, from the character of the individuals of whom their ranks were composed; men picked

up where-ever they could be found depressed with indigence, corrupted through sloth, or immersed in all kinds of iniquity. Such were the recruits on which Britain was to depend for the supply of those armies that were to conquer America.

But experience had shewn that such men were not to be placed in competition with those who fought in reality, for what most nearly interested them. King and country were words of course employed in all monarchies, for want of something more substantial and significant; but what were king and country to individuals, who, from their situation in life, could feel for neither; who, for an increase of wages, would abandon their party, and act against it without the least remorse?

Add to these considerations, that most of those whom they were to encounter were new levies like themselves: the troops expected from Great Britain and Ireland, were in fact inferior to them; by far the major part had never seen service, and numbers were fresh from the plough, the loom, and the shop. Their equals in condition at best; though certainly not provided with such cogent reasons as those which ought to inspire the Americans to acquit themselves manfully in the approaching trial.

With so many inducements to look forward with the brightest expectations it would be unworthy of men contending for their all, to suffer one moment's despondency. The part they were acting had raised them to a station of conspicuousness that attracted the eyes of the whole world. Europe had fixed its entire attention on the transactions upon this continent, and waited with continual anxiety for the arrival of intelligence, what progress the Colonists were making. They had the wishes of all the brave, the learned, and the wise, in that most enlightened region of the globe. It behoved them to preserve that esteem and predilection.

tion. The unanimity with which it was bestowed, was a proof they were not undeserving of it. They were precisely in the same position the valiant though unfortunate Corsicans had been a few years before; praised and admired by all nations. There was indeed an essential difference in their own favour; the Corsicans were from a concatenation of unhappy circumstances, abandoned and left singly to struggle ineffectually against the heavy weight that crushed them at last. But they stood, as it were, in the midst of every kind of encouragement and assistance. Their own strength was great and respectable; that of their friends still more considerable. While Britain, their only enemy, had not a single ally deserving of the name — They who adhered to her were needy and mercenary hirelings, of no consideration in the system of European affairs. They lent their troops to Britain from the same motive they would lend them to any other power, pay and subsidy. They would withdraw them from the service of Britain, and devote to another, to its enemies if required, for a larger stipend.

From these premises it was incontestible, that no people engaged in dispute with another, could possibly stand on more advantageous ground than the Americans. No discouraging circumstances could be pointed out to alarm them: they had none but the common dangers of war to provide against; and they were duly prepared for them; but they had at the same time every reason to promise themselves a prosperous termination of it, and the completest success in the attainment of that object for which it was undertaken. Such was the substance of the divers publications and opinions of people in America at this time. The communication of these sentiments, propagated them with amazing speed, among the multitudes whom the fermentation of the times had prepar-

ed for their reception. They spread with irresistible rapidity throughout the continent; and gained so powerful a majority of proselytes, that those who intended to realize the speculations they contained, were convinced they should meet with no impediment, and would carry their schemes into the completest execution.

A declaration of independency now became the subject of universal discussion. It was mentioned as a necessary and indisputable measure: those who ventured to oppose it, those even who appeared doubtful of its expediency, were looked upon with a suspicious eye. No true American, it was said, ought to hesitate in giving it his hearty concurrence: a *denial* could only proceed from ignorance or false heartedness; those who were ignorant of the true interest of their country, deserved no attention; and those who were false to it, merited punishment.

Notwithstanding the violence of those who supported this measure, and the superiority of their numbers, two respectable Colonies had the courage to oppose them. These were Pennsylvania and Maryland. A great proportion of their inhabitants professed a moderation of sentiments, that did not coincide with that impetuous zeal, so common and prevalent in the others. They were no less attached to their country: but did not approve of that outrageous warmth, which bore down all coolness and reflection, and precipitated all measures without sufficiently pondering upon their consequences.

The establishment of a new form of government, was a matter of too serious a nature, to meet with their immediate concurrence, especially when accompanied with a total separation from the parent state. This, in particular, was strongly disapproved by a plurality of the Deputies to the several Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania.

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There were also various other ad-
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 Its power secured them respect every
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 of so delicate a nature as an entire
 scission and dismemberment from the
 main-body of so noble an empire as
 that of Britain, would be unpardon-
 able in men who had so long and
 so largely experienced the benefits of
 an union therewith. Novelty had
 its charms in public, as well as in pri-
 vate affairs: but, as to quarrel and
 part with an intimate and justly reck-
 oned a misfortune, it might with no
 less truth be deemed a serious calamity,
 for two branches of a nation to
 come to such a rupture as to renounce
 each other for ever.

The reasonings on the other side
 were conducted upon a different
 ground. Little notice was taken of
 the foregoing assertion. They were held

held as precarious and founded upon no certainty. Liberty, it was said, was the only basis on which they could build with any stability; without it, no advantages could be depended on; and they must trust to the discretion and caprice of others; which was a state intolerable to men of spirit.

An accommodation with Great Britain was impracticable:—Her terms were too imperious for the Colonists to submit to, while they were able to withstand her. What real friend to America would propose to lay down their arms in presence of such a force as was coming to invade the liberties of this continent? If they expected any terms fit for freemen to accede to, they must treat with arms in their hands: the moment they parted with them, all was lost.

Would any one, therefore, seriously advise them to consent to such a treaty as would necessarily deliver them up, naked and defenceless, into the hands of an haughty and arrogant enemy, whose will and pleasure they must implicitly obey, on pain of what chastisement he would think proper to inflict?—Perish the thought! and perish the man who should dare to avow it!

The seas between Great Britain and America were now covered with ships of war, and with transports filled with British troops, and with mercenaries hired for the purpose of subduing or of ravaging this continent. What should this intelligence produce in men of sense and courage, but an unanimous determination to stand by each other with fidelity and resolution in their common defence, and by no means to truit to the clemency of an enemy that offered no conditions?

An enemy that required them to lay down their arms, could mean them no good, and was not therefore to be trusted. But to what intent had they taken up these arms, if they

were thus tamely to be laid down? Did not America, with one accord, firmly agree never to sheath the sword till its freedom was perfectly secured?—Was this then so sacred an engagement to be performed? What a terrible figure would they make in the eyes of all nations, and especially their enemies, if after so long and deliberate a compact, they meanly recede from it, on rumour of the enemy's approach, without even having dared a single trial of spirit and strength?

Whence could proceed the countable dread of an enemy more formidable than him they already encountered; and few of themselves able to resist? His power was indeed increased, but their own was not diminished; and their courage to face him was augmented by the experience of a long and severe campaign, during which they had acquired a sufficiency of knowledge to discover, that mere discipline was the only requisite to secure success in war.

It was clear, therefore, that it could accrue to them from no measure than resistance. It therto answered their intentions fully than most of them had expected. It was reasonable then to hope persevering in the same train would continue to prosper, in the same manner, and would bring them to treat them with less haughtiness.

But if they mean to resist effectually they must adopt another system than that which they now pursued. They were involved in doubt and obliquity. They were opposing Great Britain with all their might, and they acknowledged themselves her

Was this consistent with the plan proposed, which was a plan of all grievances, and a perfect establishment of liberty? How could it be obtained, while Britain

least concession, and America remained in her allegiance? Acceptable that such a situation should throw their affairs into confusion to weaken that spirit, and keep them together? Their reliance on their unanimity; and not last, unless people should stand upon.

But at present on no fixed principle had chosen rulers, and abide by their directions, and their rulers professed to be on a superior, whose authority they would not submit to the conflict of power on the undenied claims on the one side, certainly, while these were the minds of men, and evering and undetermined side of the question to resolve.

State of indecision America remain with safety. It was her councils, unhinged break her spirit. She asserted her sovereignty, and was fearful. — This was, in some measure, herself either unworthy of it. People were of this opinion. And in this fluctuating situation, and generals would

deference and respect, of their zeal and confidence in the community, of its cause in contention; inevitably be the consequence; while those Princes abroad, that had formed connection with them, would be oughts of that tendency, and to the calamities, that from the adoption of so different a conduct.

And feeble minds were at the proposal of casting the vote to the parent state; could be told, that, where refused, obedience is no more than that, where oppression is resistance is no rebellion.

Britain began the contest, not America; this latter proffered the terms of reconciliation on which she would consent to remain united as heretofore; the former refused to accept of them. Who was now to decide between two people, each of whom insisted upon the propriety and justice of their demands.

In cases of this nature, it behoved men to proceed with great deliberation in giving a verdict for either of the parties. Much more might be said however in favour of America, than of Great Britain. True it was, they were both equally determined to support their pretensions by force of arms. But here it ought to be considered, that the first acted on the defensive. This alone was a plea of sufficient weight to authorise her having recourse to such a measure; but the second had nothing to plead in justification of so terrible a method of enforcing her claims, but the persuasion that they were justly founded, which was the very point in litigation.

Here then was Great Britain asserting from the other extremity of the globe, her jurisdiction over America and threatening ruin and extermination, in case her claims were not recognised in their fullest extent. Here stood America, in anxious suspense how to act, willing to avert the evils denounced against her by every reasonable concession, and yet utterly averse to yield to terms of dishonour and humiliation.

In this perilous situation, the question was, whether America thought herself possessed of sufficient strength to resist the force; that Britain was sending to execute her menaces; and if such were her persuasion, what were the properest means to render that strength most effectual?

The right, self-defence, was clear; the manner of conducting it was, therefore, to be adapted to the end proposed. Now it was evident, by the reasonings which had been adduced

ced, that the end would never be attained, unless a total alteration took place in the maxims and objects of their politics — While their measures were made subservient to the idea of re-union with Great Britain, the strength of America would never be put forth with due vigour; and it was much to be apprehended the contest would have an unfavourable issue. Why then should they delay the only measure that could bring them out of it with credit, and secure to them those advantages, to obtain which so much blood would be spilt in vain, unless they resolved to embrace it.

This indispensable, this only measure to save them from destruction, was to dissolve the union with Britain, and to declare America a free and independent State. By such a declaration, a change would be effected in the minds of men, that would instantly give an entire turn to the face of their affairs. The people would assume such ideas of their importance and rank in the political world, as would stimulate them to greater exertions than ever. Individuals employed in the service of the state, would conceive higher notions of those who were at the head of public affairs, and would obey their commanders, with more diligence and alacrity. The commanders would look upon themselves as invested with powers derived from supreme authority, and would exercise them with more firmness and decision. There would be no pretence for hesitation and doubt in the execution of orders; obedience would be properly enforced, and acquiescence in all classes would become an obligation. These, and many other advantages, would result from such a measure at home, while abroad they would command an attention to their proceedings, and willingness to hearken to any proposals for a connection with them.

If any people felt a repugnance to such a measure, let them reflect, that

herein America did no more imitate Britain. She had cast her Colonies out of her protection; was this but an abdication of government over them? Abandon this manner, were they not authorized to look to their own safety? Were they not bound by the first of all duties to provide for the welfare and preservation of that community which they composed?

Such were the arguments advanced on both sides of this important question. That which inclined to independence carried it by a strong majority. It was determined by the people at large, that their Delegates should abide the decision of Congress.

In the Province of Maryland, was no less an opposition to independence, than in Pennsylvania. Eleven counties, seven directed their deputies in Congress to vote against it. They obeyed accordingly, and quitted that assembly. But such was the general resentment and indignity of the other Colonies, that the people of Maryland seriously reflecting on the danger of being disunited from those who surrounded them on every side, who began already to mix with their reproaches, judged it necessary to alter their conduct. They commissioned their Deputies to attend the Congress, and to coincide in any measure which they might deem expedient. Thus authorized, they assumed their seats, and gave the sanction to that long expected declaration.

The fourth of July one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, a memorable day on which the Thirteen United Colonies declared their FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE. They renounced their allegiance to the king, and sovereignty of Great Britain.

The Manifesto they published was a vindication of this measure, and a very circumstantial enumeration

STORY OF THE LATE WAR. 177

and reasons that induced it; and exhibited at the strong representation of ideas, and maxims, that oft among those who in affairs of America, at that

in the course of human they, "it becomes ne-
ie people to dissolve the
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aine object, evinces a de-
them under absolute de-
their right, it is their duty
ach government, and to
guards for their future

security. Such has been the patient
sufferance of these Colonies: and such
is now the necessity which constrains
them to alter their former systems of
government."

The declaration next proceeds to
represent the treatment of the Colo-
nies, to have been a series of injuries
and usurpations, all having in direct
object the establishment of an absolute
tyranny."

It then entered into a specification
of grievances, and complained that as-
sent had been refused to laws necessary
for the public good.

Governors had been forbidden to
pass laws of immediate and pressing
importance, unless suspended in their
operation till assented to in Britain;
and that when suspended in this man-
ner, no attention had been paid to
them.

Assent had been refused to other
laws for the accommodation of large
districts of people, unless those people
would relinquish the rights of repre-
sentation in the legislature.

Legislative bodies had been called
together at places unusual, uncomfort-
able, and distant from the depository of
their public records, for the sole pur-
pose of fatiguing them into compliance
with ministerial measures.

Houses of Representatives had been
dissolved repeatedly, for opposing, with
manly firmness, invasions on the rights
of the people.

It had, for a long time after such
dissolution, been refused to permit
others to be elected; whereby the
legislative powers being incapable of
annihilation, had returned to the peo-
ple at large for their exercise; the state
remaining, in the mean time, exposed
to all the dangers of invasion from with-
out, and convulsions within.

Endeavours had been made to pre-
vent the population of the Colonies,
by obstructing the laws for natura-
lization of foreigners, refusing to pass

others to encourage their migration thither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of land.

The administration of justice had been obstructed by the refusing of assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

Judges had been made dependant on the crown for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

A multitude of new offices had been erected, and swarms of officers sent to America to harass the people.

Standing armies had been kept among them in times of peace, without consent of their legislatures.

The military had been rendered independent of, and superior to the civil power.

A plan had been formed to subject the Colonies to jurisdiction foreign to their constitution, and unacknowledged by their laws.

Acts had been passed by the British legislature, for protecting by a mock trial, the troops quartered among them from punishment, for any murders, which they should commit on the inhabitants of the Colonies.

For cutting off their trade with all parts of the world.

For imposing taxes on them without their consent.

For depriving them, in many cases, of the benefit of trial by jury.

For transporting them beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences.

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument, for introducing the same absolute rule into the English Colonies.

For taking away their charters, abolishing their most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of their governments.

For suspending the legislatures of

the Colonies, and declaring the Parliament invested with power to legislate for them in all cases what

The crown of Great Britain abdicated the Government of the Colonies, by declaring them out of protection, and waging war against

Their seas had, in consequence plundered, their coasts ravaged towns burnt, the lives of their lost.

Armies of foreign mercenaries been hired to complete the work of death, desolation and tyranny, throughout the Colonies.

Their fellow citizens, taken on high seas had been constrained to arms against their country.

Domestic insurrections had been cited among them, and endeavours been used to bring upon the inhabitants of their back settlements, the merciless Indian savages, whose known warfare is an undistinguished detection of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions they had petitioned for redress in most humble terms; but their representations had been answered on repeated injury.

Nor had they been wanting in attention to their British brethren. They had warned them, from time to time of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over the Colonies. They had reminded them of the circumstances of emigration, and settlement in this part of the world; they had appraised their native justice and magnanimity, and conjured them, by the ties of common kindred, to disavow usurpations as they would interrupt the connection and dependence between both people they too had been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity.

From these causes they judged necessary to determine upon a separation from the people of Britain; and to hold them as they held the rest of

and,—“ Enemies in war, in peace, friends.”

“ We, therefore,” concluded they, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the recode of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority, of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be dissolved; and that, as free and Independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things, which independent states may of right do.—And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.”

Such was the celebrated declaration of Independency, of which so much has been said and written. It was received by the people of America as a precious piece, containing truths and assertions, of which no man of discernment, and acquainted with the affairs of America, could entertain the least doubt. The grievances which it criticised, were looked upon throughout the Colonies as intolerable to men

of spirit, and such as none would submit to, that were not in a condition entirely helpless, and destitute of all means of redress. Possessing these, they would have thought themselves deserving of the most contemptuous treatment, if they had hesitated in doing themselves justice, after it had been so repeatedly refused them by those from whom they had the fullest right to expect it; and, who, as the authors of the injuries they had sustained, ought to have prevented them from having recourse to so desperate a remedy, by applying those in due time, for which the Colonies have so often petitioned. Such were the sentiments of the Americans.

That the people of America should have received this declaration, with universal approbation and applause, was no wise surprising. But what was truly a subject of amazement, was the universal assent and praise which it met with in all parts of Europe. This could only proceed from the spirit of invidiousness and malevolence, which was exerting itself every where, to the prejudice of Great Britain. Its conduct respecting the Colonies, was not a subject of which the states and people on the European continent were competent to judge. The fact was, that whatever it had been, they would have equally condemned it, from the disposition they were in to favour and forward whatever could detriment this country.

C H A P. XI.

Lord and General Howe appointed Commissioners and Commanders in Chief, in America, by sea and land.—Operations of the British Fleet and Army under them.

1776.

AFTER this formal renunciation of their allegiance to Great Britain, and erecting themselves into an independent sovereignty, it behoved the people of America to call forth all their strength and abilities, in order to support effectually so absolute a measure.

Hitherto their affairs had prospered beyond the most sanguine expectations of the wisest amongst them. The expedition into Canada excepted, they had succeeded in every enterprise they had formed; and had completely frustrated every attempt that had been concerted against them.

Their force at sea, though not consisting of large ships, was truly formidable from their numbers, and the captures they were continually making. They distressed the trade of Great Britain in every latitude; the West Indies swarmed with them; on the coast of America hardly any vessels could escape them, that did not sail under convoy. They infested in the Mediterranean; they ventured even into the bay of Biscay, and the neighbourhood of the British Channel.

Besides the great number of privateers fitted out at the expence of individuals, a considerable proportion of stout vessels, well equipped, and manned with excellent sailors, and expert commanders, were in the immediate pay of the Congress itself. A certain share of the prizes they took, was ap-

propriated to the public; the remainder was distributed among the captors.

At land, nothing had been omitted to put every accessible place in a posture of defence: batteries were erected at all the usual and commodious landings along the coast: forts had been constructed in every situation that required them. The forces in the field, and in immediate readiness for service, were exceedingly numerous, and well disciplined. They amounted at the time of the declaration of independency, upwards of fourscore thousand men.

It was the general opinion of the European nations, that Great Britain notwithstanding its vast naval superiority, and the regular armies it was about to send against America, would not be able to furnish a sufficient strength for the variety and complicatedness of military operations that would be required. It would be necessary to carry on several at the same time, in order to make a forcible impression on the Americans. Their dispositions were such, that if they were not assailed effectually in any place at once, they would by protracting the war, weary out, and consume the British troops merely by skirmishes, and partial engagements, and by harassing them in that multiplicity of ways, it would have it in their power to turn from the nature of their country, & the advantage of fighting upon the

HISTORY OF THE LATE WAR. 181

ground. Here they would find plenty of resources at hand, while of the enemy would be extremely various, from their prodigious discipline, and the time that would be lost in waiting for them.

The great strength of the British fleet, on the other hand, was by good judges esteemed capable of doing all the effects for which it was designed. It consisted of six ships of the line, and near thirty frigates, besides other armed vessels, and a multitude of transports. On board of these was an army of thirty thousand men, more troops as any in Europe, furnished abundantly with all manner of warlike necessaries. Such an army had never yet been seen in this hemisphere; and Great Britain alone was able to send and support so vast a force at such a distance.

It was under the command of Lord Howe, as Admiral, and of his brother-in-law, General Clinton, both officers of eminent merit in their respective departments, who possessed, in a high degree, the confidence and esteem of the nation on account of their personal services and the character of intrepidity which shone in their family.

The Province of New York, from its strategic situation, was fixed upon as the most proper for the commencement of military operations. As most parts of the Province were accessible by sea, it was not doubted that the possession of it could be obtained. No situation could be more favourable for the motions of the fleet or the army: hostilities could be carried on with equal ease and convenience to the troops engaged in them, either in Connecticut, the Jerseys, or in the interior of New York. The subjugation of the first, would open the way to the second; of the second to Pennsylvania, and of the third to the communication between them and Canada. By means the communications would

be cut off between the north and south Colonies, and a junction would be formed with the forces under the command of General Carlton. Could such a plan be carried into execution, it would, in all probability, decide the fate of America in one single campaign.

It was with the utmost cheerfulness that the officers and soldiers of the army that had gone from Boston to Halifax, were apprized of their new destination. They had now remained above two months in this disagreeable climate, confined to the transports for want of quarters to accommodate them ashore, and without a sufficiency of those refreshments of which they stood so much in need.

As the season for action had been long begun, General Howe grew impatient of delay, and resolved to quit Halifax with the force he had, and proceeded to New York, purposing there to wait the arrival of the reinforcements that were now on their way from England. He sailed accordingly about the middle of June, and at the end of the month arrived at Sandy Hook, a point of land that stands at the entrance into that great body of water, which is surrounded by New York, Staten, and Long Island, and is formed by the confluence of several rivers.

The Americans, who had long expected him, had fortified every place that was accessible on the island where the city of New York stands. It was garrisoned with an army, and provided with a numerous artillery, and every requisite for a vigorous defence. Long Island was also well guarded, and a large body of troops lay encamped at the most convenient landing place.

As the reinforcements were daily expected, it was judged most prudent to undertake no descent at either of these islands till they were arrived. The troops were landed at Staten Island.

and, lying opposite to the former, where many of the inhabitants joined them.

On the arrival of Lord Howe about the middle of July, a circular letter was sent by him to the several Governors who had been lately dispossessed of their authority by their respective Provinces, informing them of the commission he had received, and directing them to make as public as possible a Declaration accompanying the letter. Herein he made known the powers he was invested with by the legislature of Great Britain, in conjunction with his brother, of granting general, or particular pardons to all those, who, in the present confusions and disturbances, might have departed from their allegiance, and were now willing to return to their duty; and of declaring any colony, town, or district, to be in the King's peace; by which they would avoid the penalties they had incurred. It promised at the same time, that the services of those who contributed to the re-establishment of public tranquillity, should meet with due consideration.

This letter and declaration were printed, by order of the Congress in all the newspapers, with a prefatory advertisement that they were thus made public, in order to let the people of the United States know the nature of the powers with which the Commissioners were invested, and the terms, with the expectation of which, the British ministry had sought to amuse and disarm them; that those who had still relied upon the justice and moderation of Britain, might now be convinced, that they must trust to their valour alone for the preservation of their liberties.

In the mean time, a letter was sent by Lord Howe to General Washington to be delivered to him under the superscription of George Washington, Esq. But the General refused to receive it, as not being directed to him in that title, and in the like suitable to an *action*. His conduct in this in-

stance was particularly applauded by Congress; and they ordained that in future none of their officers should receive letters or messages that were not addressed to them according to their respective rank.

In order to obviate this difficulty, Adjutant General Paterson was sent by General Howe, with a letter directed 'George Washington, &c. &c. &c.' His reception was extremely polite; upon his asking for the General he was immediately admitted, and the usual formality of blindfolding was dispensed with, as a peculiar mark of respect.—The General received him in great form and dignity. The Adjutant expressed much concern in the behalf of his principals, on account of the difficulties that had arisen from the superscription of the letter; assured him of their high regard and esteem for his personal character, and that they had no intention to undervalue his rank. It was hoped, therefore, that the *et ceteras* would remove all obstructions to their mutual intercourse.

The General's answer was, that a letter, written to a person invested with a public character, should specify it; otherwise it could not be distinguished from a letter on private business: true it was, the *et ceteras* implied every thing, but it was no less true that they implied any thing. He could not consistently with his character, receive any letter relating to public affairs, that should be directed to him without a designation of his rank and office.

It was observed, in the course of conversation, by the Adjutant, that the powers entrusted to the Commissioners were very extensive; that they were ready to exert themselves to the utmost, in order to bring about a reconciliation; and that he hoped the General would consider this visit as a first step towards it.

The General replied, that it did appear that these powers consisted any more than in granting pardon—but America not having commi-

sence asked for no forgiveness, as only defending her unquestioned rights.

As ended a conference, from it became evident, that all at in the same line would prove equal at present; and that notwithstanding of a decided superiority in the same, would induce the Americans to the resolutions they had passed so unanimously, and with so much deliberation and solemnity.

At the arrival of the fleet and army in the neighbourhood of New York, had a great impression on the Congress: continued with the same inflexibility in the pursuit of the measures already framed, executing them with firmness, and punishing with severity all who opposed them.

At the same time before the arrival of this fleet, measures had been concerted for an insurrection at New York and Albany, the latter place especially, in favour of the British government. The actions formed by the insurgents were effectually supported by the British forces, then daily expected, inducing them to this measure; but they were discovered; some were executed, others imprisoned; numbers who had fled from their houses, were treated as rebels; and the estates of all those from whom proofs could be found, were confiscated.

While alterations were now taking place in every province as were judged adapted to the republican system established by the declaration of independence. They acted herein with alacrity and confidence, the more sure, as the greater force intended to be sent them was daily increasing by reinforcements from Britain. But the firmness of the Congress had inspired them with universal emulation. It was in the very face of this fleet and army, while the first were casting anchor off New York, and the second landed on Staten Island, that resolute

body had declared America independent.

It was far in the month of August before the British forces could be collected. As soon as they were possessed of a sufficient strength, the commanders resolved to make an attempt upon Long Island, which lay more open to attack than New York. Its spaciousness afforded better scope to the operations of an army, and it would furnish plenty of provisions.

Preparations being made by the fleet to cover the descent of the army, it effected a landing, unopposed, between two small towns, called Utrecht, and Gravesend, on the nearest shore to Staten Island. General Putnam lay encamped at a small distance with a numerous body, at a place called Brookland, on the northern shore.—His camp was on a peninsula, the whole breadth of which was fortified. The East River, separating him from New York was on his left; a marsh, extending to the water-side, on his right; and behind him was the bay. A range of hills, covered with woods, separated the British and Provincial armies. The road to the enemy lay through a village called Flat Bush: Here began the ascent to the hills, and near it was the principal pass over them.

General Putnam ordered large detachments to occupy the hills and passes. The center of the British army, composed of the Hessians, took post at Flat Bush; the left was under General Grant, near the sea-shore: and the right, consisting of the major part of the British troops, was under General Clinton and Lords Percy and Cornwallis.

On the twenty-sixth towards evening, General Clinton, with the van, of that part of the army, moved from Flat Bush across a large extent of country, and seized upon a pass in the hills of the utmost importance, which

bad

had been neglected by the enemy.—The road being thus cleared, the main body, which followed close under Lord Percy, crossed the hills without molestation, and descended into a low and level country, that lay opposite to General Putnam's lines.

Early in the morning of the twenty-seventh, the engagement was begun at Flat Bush, by the Hessians, under General Heister, and towards the water-side by General Grant; and a heavy fire of cannon and musketry continued with equal vigour on both sides during several hours. The ships in the mean while made several motions on the right of the enemy, which extended towards the water-side, and was engaged with General Grant, in order to abstract their attention from the left and rear, against which the principal attack was intended. Those who were engaged with the Hessians, first discovered the danger they were exposed to from the movements made by the British troops under General Clinton, and began immediately to retreat, towards their camp; but they were intercepted by them, and forced back into the woods, where they met again with the Hessians. Surrounded and overpowered with numbers, they had no other resource left, than to break thro' them: this some were so fortunate as to effect; but many were cut to pieces in the attempt; others escaped through the woods, where numbers also were killed or taken.

Their right, which was engaged with General Grant, was too late apprised of the misfortune which had befallen their left and centre, to provide for their own safety in due time. Their retreat was cut off by a body of British troops, which had occupied the ground on their rear, and who now fell upon them with great fury. Some of them took shelter in the woods; the greater number endeavoured to make their way through a marsh that lay be-

tween them and their lines; but many were drowned or perished in the marsh.

The victory was total and complete. Their loss, it has been asserted, amounted to between three and four thousand: of which more than two thousand were slain in the battle and pursuit. Their behaviour did them no discredit; while any hopes remained, they stood their ground with courage; and when a retreat became necessary, they showed no less spirit in their endeavours to effect it.

Among those Americans who fell on this day, a regiment from Maryland was particularly regretted. It consisted wholly of young men of the best families in that Province. They behaved with astonishing intrepidity, and were all killed or wounded.

This was the greatest blow the Americans had yet received. The loss they sustained in the field, though great, did not equal that depression of mind they underwent in consequence of it; and which outweighs all other calamities in a contest of this nature. What aggravated it still more, it followed directly the proclamation of independency. By the enemies to their cause, it was represented as punishment; and to the weak-minded it appeared as a sinister omen.

They lost, in this action, some of their best officers and bravest soldiers. The body under General Putnam was composed of select troops; and those who took possession of the hills, were the choicest consisting chiefly of marksmen. Had not the pass been discovered, which opened the way for the troops to cross the hills, and assail them in the rear, they had no doubt of being able, from the advantage of their position, to have maintained their ground successfully.

Great valour and activity were displayed on this occasion by the British troops. They had long wished an opportunity of meeting the Provi-

round. They found it; ed them to improve it to r. They were conscious ce. Had they not been with the advantages they and obtained, their repu- l have suffered a stain, not have easily been ef-

uous was their ardour, truct of their pursuit could strained by the orders of als: they followed the up to their lines, and assaulted them directly; titude of carrying them by a regular attack pre- dulence of this warmth, t undoubtedly, however ave been attended with sion of blood. The Pro- e still not less than fif- nd strong; and would, l to a conflict that mult so critical and decisive, y made a most desperate

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ory was purchased, when nce of it is considered, at p rate. The killed and the British army did not hundred and eighteen; ily sixty one were slain, red of the enemy were g whom were three Ge-

th army encamped that in front of the enemies he next day began to rations for a formal at- the Provincials, upon ex- appeared so diminished by hat their officers thought is prudent to venture a air camp, unless it were

assaulted before they could make a retreat.

General Washington himself, though a man of a fearless disposition, and not apt to despond in the worst of times, did not think it proper to risk a second action, till the first impressions of that, which was just terminated to their disadvantage, had subsided. He had crossed over from New York in the height of the engagement, but too late to retrieve the fortune of the day. He had the mortification of seeing some of his best troops slaughtered or taken, without being able to afford them any assistance. The utmost he could now propose was to save those that remained. He was well convinced, that an army so numerous, provided with such an artillery, composed of such excellent soldiers; and elated with victory, could hardly be withstood at the present moment. New York required to be strengthened, and no time was to be lost in withdrawing to that place. Were the wind to permit the British squadron to station itself between the camp and that city, all might inevitably be lost: should the troops on Long Island be defeated; the remainder of the Continental army might be so discouraged, as to lose all hope, and no longer dare to face the enemy. A retreat was therefore indispensable; but this too was become a matter of difficulty, from the position of the British army, investing their works, and watching all their motions.

In this extremity of danger, General Washington exerted himself with that vigilance and circumspection, that peculiarly characterised him. During the night of the twenty-ninth of August, favoured by obscurity, and in the profoundest silence, he withdrew from his camp, and conveyed his troops to the adjacent ferry with their baggage, and as much of their military stores and artillery as could conveniently be carried off. Here they embarked, and landed

safely on the opposite shore. This retreat was conducted with so much order and secrecy, that it was not discovered till the next morning, when the British troops took possession of the camp and artillery abandoned by the enemy.

A few days after this evacuation of Long Island, General Sullivan, who had been made a prisoner in a late action was sent by Lord Howe to the Congress with a message, importing, that though he could not consistently treat with that assembly in the character they had assumed, yet he would gladly confer with some of their members in their private capacity, and would meet them at any place they would appoint. He informed them that he was empowered, with the General, to terminate the contest between Great Britain and her Colonies in a manner acceptable to both. He expressed an earnest desire that a settlement might take place before the events of war became so decisive as to render it no longer a matter of choice for one of the parties to treat. Were the Congress inclined to enter into an agreement, much might be granted to them, which they have not required.—Should the conference produce the probability of an accommodation, the authority of Congress would be acknowledged, in order to render the treaty valid and complete in every respect.

The answer to this message was, that the Congress of the Free and Independent States of America, could not, consistently with the trust reposed in them, send any of their members to confer with him in a private capacity; but that, in order to evince how desirous they were to restore peace and amity upon equitable conditions, they would depute a committee of their body to learn whether he was authorised to treat with persons commissioned by the Congress for that purpose, and what proposals he had to offer.

The committee appointed for this business, consisted of Doctor Franklin, Mr Adams, and Mr Rutledge, who waited upon Lord Howe at Staten Island, where they were received and entertained with great civility and respect.

The conference was opened by Lord Howe's acquainting them, that though he could not treat with them as a Committee of Congress, yet he was authorised to confer with any gentlemen of influence in the Colonies, on the means of restoring a good understanding between Great Britain and America.

To this the Deputies replied, that they could not consider themselves in any other character than that, in which Congress had placed them; but should however attend to any proposition he might have authority to make for the purpose he had mentioned.

Lord Howe then entered upon the subject of the meeting in a discourse of some length. The chief purport of it was to inform them of the sincere and earnest desire of the King and the ministry to make the British Government easy and acceptable to them in every respect. In case of submission, they were assured that those acts of Parliament, which were in obnoxious to them, would undergo a revision, and the instructions to Governors would be reconsidered; that if any just causes of complaint were found in the acts or the instructions, they might be removed.

The Deputies made answer, that a return to the domination of Great Britain was not now to be expected. They mentioned the repeated petitions of the Colonies to the King and Parliament, which they complained had been treated with contempt, and answered by additional injuries. It was not, said they till the last act of Parliament, which denounced war against them, and put them out of King's protection, that the Americans declared themselves independent.

declaration had been called for the people of the Colonies in general. Every Colony approved of it, they all now considered themselves independent states, and had settled, and were occupied in settling their governments accordingly. It was not more in the power of the Congress to be advantageous to them, that they should restore their former dependent situa-

'there was no doubt,' continued 'that the Americans were inclined to peace, and willing to enter any treaty with Britain, that was advantageous to both countries.'

If there was the same good disposition in Britain, it would be easier for Lord Howe, though not empowered at present to treat with them independent states, to obtain fresh instructions from the British Court for that purpose, than it would be for Congress to cure them from the several Colonies to consent to submission.

When an explicit declaration of their intentions on the subject in question, was laid at once, that no accommodation was at present to be expected, it was an end to the conference.

When the report made to Congress by the committee. 'It did not appear upon the whole,' added they, 'that Lord Howe's commission contained any other authority of importance than that of granting pardons, such exceptions as the commissioners would think proper to make, and restoring America, or any part of it, to be in the King's peace upon submission. The residue of the commission consisted of the power of engaging into the state of America, and referring and consulting with any of the commissioners might think fit, but upon their representing the contents of these conversations to the ministers, on a supposition that they were to submit, might after might not, at their pleasure,

make any alterations in the former instructions to Governors, or propose in Parliament any amendment of the acts complained of. Any expectation, therefore, from the effect of the powers lodged in the commissioners, would be too uncertain or precarious to be relied upon by America, had she even continued in her state of dependence.'

As the Congress seemed now immovably determined to persist in the resolution of maintaining independency at all events, Lord and General Howe in quality of commissioners, judged it necessary to publish a declaration, wherein, after taking notice of the Assembly's refusal to accept of the terms of reconciliation, offered to them, they informed the people of America, that they were equally desirous to confer with all well-disposed persons, upon the means of restoring the public tranquillity, and establishing a permanent union with any Colony, as a part of the British empire.

Herein it was represented, that it being the undoubted intention of the King and Parliament to remove any causes by which the people of America might be aggrieved, it behoved the inhabitants at large, seriously to reflect upon their present condition, and to judge for themselves, whether it were more consistent with their honour and happiness, to offer up their lives as a sacrifice to the unjust and precarious cause in which they were engaged, or to return to their allegiance, accept the blessings of peace, and be secured in the enjoyment of their liberty and their properties, upon the true principles of the British constitution.

In the mean time, the most active and vigorous measures were resolved upon. The provincial forces that had evacuated Long Island, were now polled at New York; where they had erected batteries on every spot that could admit of them. They were incessantly occupied in firing

upon the British troops and shipping, which kept up no less constant a fire upon them. The East River lay between both armies. Its breadth in this place was about twelve hundred yards. The British troops were extremely impatient to pass it, and attack the enemy, who lay partly in the city of New York, and partly in the main land, guarding every place, where they suspected the royal army might attempt to make a descent.

The ships of war had now stationed themselves in that part of the river, which faces the city and were continually engaged with the batteries on shore. It was not without much difficulty they silenced those, which had proved the most troublesome, and enabled the troops to seize upon those Islands, which, though small, annoyed them considerably by the continual fire of the cannon planted upon them, and without the possession of which, the operations intended could not take place. This unceasing cannonade lasted several days, and kept both parties in continual alarms.

The intention was to make a descent upon the Island where New York stands. In order to divert the enemy's attention from the real place of attack, several ships were directed to move up the river, to the north of the Island; other parts were threatened in the same manner. The more to embarrass the enemy, a small Island was secured, facing the center of New York Island.

On the 15th of September, a large body of British troops embarked, unobserved by the Provincial army, and proceeded to a bay three miles to the north, above the city. As the enemy had not expected they would have chosen this place, they had not prepared it for any considerable resistance. The ships attacked their works with so much vigour, that they were soon abandoned, and the troops set on shore.

When the enemy saw them landed,

they did not chuse to risk a defence of the city, and left it instantly, retiring to the north of the Island, where their principal force was collected. They lost upon this occasion a great part of their artillery, and military stores, as well as a considerable number of prisoners. They did not, however, retire without fighting, and engaged the British troops whenever they found an opportunity of making an advantageous stand. But it was observed, at the same time, that they did not act altogether so vigorously as in the late action upon Long Island, whether it might proceed from the loss they had sustained of many of their best officers and soldiers, or that it had somewhat dispirited them.

The length of the Island of New York is full sixteen miles; but the breadth not more than two, where broadest. This made it easy for the British forces to extend their camp from shore to shore. The enemy lay in great force opposite to them. They had strengthened the ground they occupied in such a manner, as to render it very difficult and dangerous to attack them. In order to secure a communication, and a retreat, if necessary, to the continent, they had been particularly careful to fortify the passage called King's Bridge, by erecting very considerable works on both sides of the water.

Their distance from the British encampment was not above two miles; but the intervening ground was full of narrow passages and files, which were in their possession, and of such a nature, as to enable a small number to maintain them with facility against a much greater.

General Washington had very judiciously chosen this position. He could from thence advance or retreat at pleasure, without apprehending he cut off in case of a defeat, it was determined to risk no engagement, and to send out skirmishing parties. These, in

he, could easily withdraw to their body, which was so posted, as to their retreat, without being obliged to expose themselves out of strong holds, in order to secure it. Another motive was, that he found it necessary to give them time to recover from the discouragement they experienced from their late defeat.

The skillfulness and discipline of the Royal army they had ; to their cost, to be much superior to their own ; and though far being deficient in courage, yet perceived, that the advantages arising from them were such as and experience only would prove.

For this reason, their commander, without venturing any thing else, kept them in continual exertion against their enemy. Skirmishes and encounters happened daily ; and began to be noticed by the British, that the Americans gradually recovered their spirits, and behaved with much more firmness than they once lately.

The possession of New York was attended with all the advantages that had been expected. It had been desired by the enemy, previous to falling into the hands of the British, if it were not found tenacious to commit it to the flames, rather than these should reap any benefit being possessed of it. The precision, with which they abandoned the city, preventing them at that time carrying their intent into execution ; but a few days after, some persons, who had been left behind for this purpose, watching the opportunity of dry weather and a high wind, set fire to the city on the dead of night, and caused combustibles, which they disposed with great dexterity in various places. The conflagration was dreadful ; many parts at once suddenly in a blaze. Notwithstanding the speed and activity with which the soldiers and sailors exerted themselves, the rapidity of the flames

was such, that a fourth part of the city was consumed. Several of those, who had, it was said, been the incendiaries, were, on being discovered, treated without mercy : and by the irritated seamen and soldiery, thrown instantly into the midst of the fire.

The situation of the enemy in the strong grounds between the city and King's Bridge, rendering an attack there extremely hazardous, it was determined to make such movements as to compel him to abandon them. For this purpose an embarkation was made of most of the troops in flat-bottomed boats, in which they were safely conveyed through a dangerous passage, called Hell Gate, and landed near the town of West Chester, lying on the continent towards Connecticut.

Lord Percy was left with a considerable force for the protection of New York, while the fleet surrounded that island on every side, and from the judicious position of the ships, could at any time afford a shelter, in case of a disaster, or improve any success that might be obtained.

From its encampment near West Chester, after having received a supply of men and provisions, the army moved to Rochelle, situated on the sound, separating Long Island from the continent. Here, being joined by fresh reinforcements, it was determined to intercept the communication between the Provincial army and Connecticut, and to surround it in such a manner, as to force it, through want of provisions, to leave its strong holds, and venture an engagement to extricate itself.

The Royal army was now posted in what is called the lower road from New York to the Northern Colonies. The upper lies through an extent of high lands, known by the name of White Plains, full of craggy hills, and difficult passes. Thither the army began its march, after leaving a sufficient force to secure the lower road and

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the communication with those places, from whence stores and necessaries were to arrive.

General Howe's motions greatly alarmed the Provincials — They perceived that by remaining in the encampment, though too strong to be forced, yet they would be straitened to such a degree, as to be compelled to quit it at a disadvantage, of which he would not fail to make the most, to their great detriment, if not their total ruin. Were an engagement to ensue, unless they proved victorious, their condition would be critical in the extreme; a retreat would be next to impracticable, from the superiority in number of the British forces, and the opposition they would meet from the shipping.

But exclusive of these considerations, fatigue, bad quarters, want of cloathing, and of some of the most essential necessaries, last especially had occasioned much illness among the Provincials, which was further increased by a vice very predominant among many of the Americans, indolence, and carelessness, in what related to their persons, furniture, and manner of feeding: a deficiency the more surprising, as they chiefly originate from the English, who are indisputably the most cleanly people upon earth, and whose examples and manners they had always been fond of imitating.

The evidence and proximity of the danger they were in, called up the whole attention of the American commanders. In a council of war summoned upon this occasion, it was resolved to quit their present position, and extend the army into a long, but well secured line, by throwing up works along its front, and fortifying all the advantageous positions they could seize. In this manner the Provincial army stretched along the ground opposite to that where the Royal forces were marching, from *Valentine's Hill*, near *King's Bridge*, on

the right, to the *White Plains* on the left. The *Brunx*, a river of considerable depth, lay on their front, between them and the Royal army; and the *North River* covered their rear, at great distance; the intermediate between securing a passage for heavy baggage up the country, is of necessity.

The position of the Provincial so advantageous, that great circumspection was requisite to prevent from molesting the Royal army. moved forwards with great caution, and vigilance, and left no opportunity for the enemy to avail himself of. did not however discourage them from pushing sundry detachments over the *Brunx*, and skirmishes upon every favourable occasion; but though sometimes successful, they were generally worsted. Upon the approach of the Royal army to the *White Plains*, were obliged at last to call in all detachments, and to form one general encampment on the banks of the *Brunx* in front of the British army on the opposite side of that river.

On the twenty-eight day of October, at break of day, the British troops, divided in two columns, advanced towards the *White Plains*. The enemy maintained the ground in front occupied by their several detachments till near twelve o'clock, when they withdrew to their main body, and was preparing for the more serious engagement, which they foresaw was now to take place.

At noon, the British army drew up in order of battle, and moved towards the enemies. They were first posted upon an eminence, the summit of which was protected by the *Brunx*. Over this river there was but one convenient ford, the banks of which were very steep and rocky. On perceiving the approach of the British troops, they came out of the woods and occupied the grounds, leading to the ford with a large force.

able number of field-pieces.

British regiments, with a body of lians, and some companies of is, were selected to force this nt passage. They marched the ford, crossed it, and through ful fire of musketry, grape shot, non, ascended the hill, the bot- which commences at the ford, lent order, and with great in- y. Upon gaining the summit eminence, they were at first received by the enemy; but lack was conducted with such le and vigour, that they drove m their posts, and compelled retire towards their entrench-

is time, large divisions of the army had followed that which ie passage of the Bronx. They emelves completely matters round that had been possessed : enemy, after dislodging them variety of posts, which they ed with great obstinacy till to- reniag.

ge division of the British Mes- ops encamped in the night anon shot of the enemy's en- ents; and the whole army lay ir arms, intending to attack y's camp next morning. But as it was light, the Provincials covered to have made such ad- works to the lines they had up before, that it was judged icious to attack them without r strength. Reinforcements rived, preparations were made eligned assault, but it was pre- y a rainy and tempestuous night, e frustrated the arrangements been taken for that purpose. hatever show the Provincials e of a resolution to stand their hen they saw that dispositions ing in the British army which a vigorous attack, they it most advisable to withdraw. ordingly broke up their camp

in the night of the first of November, and removed into a mountainous coun- try, called the Township of Newcastle, having previously set fire to the houses in White Plains, and the neighbour- hood.

What principally intimidated the A- mericans on this occasion was, the formidable appearance of the batteries with which they saw their lines threat- ened, from several heights surrounding them. They were also no less apprehensive that General Howe might pos- sess himself of the hills that lay in the rear of the Provincial army, by which he could command it in such a manner, that a retreat would become impracti- cable in case of a defeat.

Neither was a formal engagement any part of the system formed by Ge- neral Washington. To avoid it was the settled intent of all his operations, which tended to no more than to har- ass and fatigue the enemy, and ac- custom his own people gradually to face them, that whenever it should be absolutely requisite to come to a pitched battle, they might be so well trained and used to face their enemies, that a reasonable confidence might be placed in their exertions.

In the mean time, General Howe fully perceived, that, notwithstanding his repeated endeavours, he could not bring the enemy to an action, and that from the situation of the country and their knowledge of every place and spot where they could fix themselves advan- tageously, it would be impossible to com- pel them to fight but upon the most un- equal and hazardous terms. He there- fore took the determination of ceasing a pursuit that would only prove the more ineffectual the longer it was con- tinued, and to turn his attention to the dispossessing them of the forts and fast- nesses they still retained in the neigh- bourhood of New York. The distance at which they had retired, would ren- der the conquest of these places a work of much less difficulty than it would have

have been, had such an attempt taken place before the British troops had gained a decided superiority in the field.

In order to carry this measure into execution, a body of troops advanced to King's Bridge, from which the Americans withdrew, without opposition, into Fort Washington, which was immediately invested. This fort was situated on the western side of New York island, at a small distance from King's Bridge, and almost opposite to Fort Lee, lately erected on the other side of the water, in the Province of Jersey. The fortifications, though in good order, were not sufficiently strong to resist the weight of such artillery as would be brought against it, if necessary. Its chief strength was in its situation, and the difficulty of approaching it without being exposed to a heavy fire from the garrison and the adjacent works and lines, that surrounded it on every side. It was defended by three thousand men, and well provided with artillery, and seemed to threaten a stout resistance.

The Governor, Colonel Magaw, being summoned to surrender, and having made answer that he would defend the fort to the very last extremity, it was determined to make a general attack. Four divisions of the army were employed for this purpose. One of them composed of Hessians, under General Knyphausen, moved forward about noon, from King's Bridge; a thick wood lay before him, where the enemy was posted so advantageously, that it was a considerable time before they could penetrate. During this attack, a body of British light infantry advanced upon a party of the enemy who were posted behind rocks and trees, from whence they kept up an incessant fire. They dispersed them, however, by climbing a steep ascent, from whence they came down upon the enemy with such impetuosity, that they were unable to withstand them. They were followed

and supported by a detachment of the Guards, under General Mathews, and another body of British troops, under Lord Cornwallis. In the meantime, another division, under Lord Percy, carried an advanced work; and Colonel Sterling, at the head of the forty-second regiment, forced his way up a difficult height, which was very resolutely defended: he gained the summit, where he took a considerable number of prisoners, and greatly facilitated Lord Percy's success.

Colonel Ralie, who led the right column of General Knyphausen's attack forced the enemy from their posts, after an obstinate resistance, pushed forward to their advanced works, and lodged his column within one hundred yards of the fort. He was soon after joined by the left column, under General Knyphausen; upon which the garrison surrendered prisoners of war.

As Fort Lee lay opposite to Fort Washington, it was necessary to secure it, in order to acquire the full command of the North River. To this intent Lord Cornwallis crossed over the river to the Jersey side, with a strong body, and marched with all expedition towards the fort, in order, if possible, to surprise the garrison. Herein he certainly would have succeeded, had not a countryman apprized them of their danger. It was with much difficulty, and in the utmost confusion that they effected an escape, leaving all their artillery and warlike stores, their tents standing, and all their provisions.

In consequence of these successes, the British troops penetrated into the furthestmost parts of both East and West Jersey, without meeting any opposition, the enemy carefully avoiding them every where. They tended the quarters in which they proposed to winter, for New Brunswick as far as the river Delaware. A sufficient number of boats on the shore for the ferrying over the

s, it is highly probable that Philadelphia would have fallen into their hands, so great was the consternation among the Americans at that period. If an attempt of this kind had been made, care had been duly taken to prevent them in time.

While Lord Cornwallis, and the other parties under his command, were over-running the Jerseys, an expedition was undertaken against Rhode Island, under the direction of General Mifflin, and Admiral Sir Peter Parker. Success was complete; the Province abandoned the Island at their approach, and they made themselves masters of it without losing a man. In this measure, the American Squadron under Commodore Hopkins, was obliged to withdraw as far up the river as Providence as it was practicable, and to continue there blocked up and inactive.

The success which had attended the British arms during the present campaign, began to make a serious impression upon numbers of the people throughout the continent. Notwithstanding the firmness expressed by their leaders, many seemed to entertain but faint hopes of their being able to successfully resist their resistance to the power of Britain—Such as were inclined to hostile measures, were wanting to represent in their best light, the calamities which had already been experienced in so many parts of the continent, and the greater miseries they should enjoy persisting in a contest that appeared so unequal.

These representations had their effect with multitudes. Notwithstanding the violence with which the advocates of independency supported the propriety of that measure, there were many who did not scruple to declare, that peace and reconciliation with Great Britain would seem far more eligible.

Measures of this kind, though

combated with great force and energy by the contrary party, were the more alarming to those who were at the head of public affairs, as they daily perceived a visible declension of that ardour in the cause, for which they were contending, which had so forcibly animated all classes in the last campaign, and the beginning of the present. They had promised themselves a continuance of this disposition. Relying upon the spirit that manifested itself throughout the Colonies, they had ventured to take the bold and decisive resolution of declaring America independent. The confidence with which they had acted before, and after that measure, had surprized the world, and inclined reflecting people to think, that they had more resources in contemplation than they chose to divulge.

But when, in this depression of their circumstances, they saw none of that assistance appear which they conjectured had been expected, and in the certainty of which they imagined that so many daring measures had been taken, they began to call in doubt the prudence and foresight of those who had adopted them, and to be of opinion, that rashness and intemperate councils had produced them. The danger was so great, the pressures of every kind so heavy, that it now seemed, unless they had provided friends to succour them in their present difficulties, they would unavoidably sink under them: and that if having endeavoured to obtain them, they had failed in the attempt, they were guilty of a fatal precipitation and oversight in the management of their affairs, and had acted very unwisely in bidding defiance to the power of Great Britain.

While the campaign in the Province of New York and its adjacencies was carried on with so much vigour and activity, the operations in Canada were no less spirited and remarkable.

After the expulsion of the Province

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cial troops from those parts, and the restoration of peace and security to the government of Quebec, General Carlton turned his attention to the great object he had long had in view, that of penetrating into the Colonies by way of the Lakes.

The Provincials were now collected in great force at Crown Point, and were absolute masters of Lake Champlain, where Britain had not a single vessel to oppose them. Had not this been the case, they would have been pursued in their retreat, by the troops under General Burgoyne so closely, that it is probable the discouragement they were in from the losses they had sustained, and from that illness so much dreaded in America, the small pox, which was then fatally raging among them, would have given so decided an ascendancy to the British arms, that all resistance would have fallen before them: they would have reduced all the forts that commanded the communication between Canada and the Colonies, and opened an entrance into these, that would have facilitated the operations of the fleets and armies of Great Britain in every other quarter.

The principal point now in view, was to remove those obstacles with all possible expedition. This was an arduous undertaking, full of difficulties and impediments, and that required a peculiar degree of courage and perseverance to surmount. But the necessity of accomplishing it, infused uncommon animation into all those who were concerned, and produced such efforts and exertions, as were truly great and astonishing.

In order to acquire a superiority upon the Lake, it was calculated that more than thirty vessels would be required. Some of the largest, indeed, came from England; but it was necessary to take them entirely to pieces, and to re-construct them, besides the immense labour which the carrying and conveying of such cumbersome and prodigious loads occasioned.

The greatest obstructions lay in those

rapid currents of water, that between Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence. Here the toil and patience of the British seamen and rowers were almost incredible: they ported over land, and dragged up rapids thirty large long boats, a number of flat-bottomed boats of considerable burthen, a gondola of thirty and above four hundred batteaux.

This stupendous undertaking completed in three months. No dispatch was wanted. The importance of the object, and the shortness of time that would be left for military operations, from the lateness of the season, were motives that hastened labour and diligence with which the moment was equipped, to such a degree that the principal vessel, carrying masts, and eighteen twelve pounders was finished in twenty eight days the laying of her keel; and completely rigged and fitted for action, same speed and eagerness attended the whole of this laborious and perplexed business in a proportionable space of time.

It was intended, after securing navigation of the Lakes, and the possession of the forts commanding it, to push forward with all expedition to Albany, where they would find such accommodations as would enable them to winter commodiously. In this case they would be as soon as the severity of that season over, to co-operate in so decisive manner with the army at New York as to put a successful termination to the war early in the spring.

In the beginning of October, the fleet was in readiness. It consisted exclusive of the ship already mentioned of two stout schooners, the one mounting fourteen, the other twelve six pounders, a large flat-bottomed ship with six-and-twenty-four, and six nine pounders, and a gondola of nine pounders. Twenty smaller vessels, called gun-boats or brass pieces of ordnance, of

unders, or howitzers. its were equipped in the

Besides these, there nber of boats and ten- sizes, to serve as trans- ops, baggage, warlike rs, and all other ap- the army, that were to r the Lake under the is fleet.

d with a select body of guns were served by a the corps of artillery. ldiars, chosen out of belonged to this expe- pointed to the manage- all arms. Those who i this occasion unani- d in acknowledging ever seen a completer, y and naval service.

orce of the Provincials tion to the British. ted to no more than e largest of which was d mounted twelve six ra. Notwithstanding mportance of preserv- ity on the Lake, and nselves to the utmost they had not been able pint in any degree ade- ingness of the occasion. they were deficient in for that purpose. Be- materials for construc- ot a sufficiency of o- their sea-ports were so building of privateers : service of Congress, ers could be spared.

ed themselves, how- force they had, to en- Britain; and endea- the defect of strength ty of their manage- were commanded by , lately promoted to account of his gallant any instances, since ent of the war. Tho' ian, he had exhibited of an uncommon ge-

nus, in whatever he had attempted, that Congress did not hesitate to trust him with the important commission of defending the Lakes against a much superior power.

On the eleventh of October, General Carlton, at the head of the British fleet, came up with the Provincial armament. It was drawn up with great skill between an island and the main land, in order to prevent the British fleet from surrounding it. An action now began that lasted some hours, and was maintained with equal courage on both sides. The wind being unfavourable, prevented the strongest vessels of the British fleet from coming to action. The engagement was supported by a schooner of twelve six pounders, and the gun boats: they behaved with extraordinary firmness, but the inequality of such a combat, induced General Carlton to draw them off, and to order the fleet to be anchored in a line, that it might on a change of wind, be ready for an immediate attack upon the enemy.

The Provincials had lost in this day's fight, a vessel of twelve guns, which was the strongest they had; together with one of their best gondolas. Great execution was done among their other vessels by the British gun boats, in which the corps of artillery was chiefly stationed.

From the loss that had befallen them, they were now fully convinced that they would not be able to stand an attack from the whole fleet; they determined therefore to make the best of their way to Crown Point, where they should ly under the shelter of the guns of that fortress. They took the advantage of the ensuing night accordingly, and, favoured by darkness, withdrew unperceived, and were the next morning out of sight: but the British fleet pursued them with so much expedition, that after a chase of near two days, they were overtaken upon the second, and compelled to come to action in their defence.

It continued with great warmth upwards of two hours. Those vessels, in the mean while, which were most ahead, crowded sail, and effected their escape: they passed Crown Point and ran for Ticonderoga. Only two galleys, and five pondelacs, remained with General Arnold. With these he made a long and intrepid stand; but his second in command, General Waterburg, being taken with his vessel, and the others making but a faint resistance, he determined, in order to prevent his people and shipping from falling into the enemy's hands, to run these ashore, and set them on fire. He executed his intention with great skillfulness.

Though General Arnold had been unsuccessful on this occasion, the disparity of strength duly considered, he lost no reputation, and rose on the contrary in the estimation of his countrymen. He had, in their opinion, acquitted himself with no less ability in this naval encounter, than he had done at land before. One particular gained him much applause. He remained on board the vessel he commanded, and kept her colours flying, till she was on fire, to prevent the enemy from boarding her and striking them.

This victory over the Provincial fleet was complete and decisive. It broke entirely their naval force upon the Lake, a few only of their vessels escaped to Lake George; and the garrison of Crown Point, having destroyed whatever could not be moved off, evacuated it, and withdrew to Ticonderoga.

After taking possession of Crown Point, General Carlton had conceived the design of attacking the latter. To this intent parties were detached to reconnoitre it, and vessels approached it on the Lake with the same

view. But the fortifications appeared so strong, the garrison so numerous, and so many other impediments presented themselves, that it was thought expedient to lay the design aside, until the return of spring, when he would be assisted by the favourableness of the weather in an enterprize, which the lateness of the season, and the probability of its being obstructed by the severity of approaching winter, rendered extremely doubtful and hazardous.

These considerations induced General Carlton to conduct his army back to Canada, where they could be stationed in convenient winter quarters, and open the next campaign in health and vigour. The force intended for the operations to be then pursued was to be strongly reinforced, and great efforts made to strike a decisive blow. As the passage over the Lakes was now cleared, and no time would be lost in preparing for it, as happened in the present campaign, the march of the army would be expeditious, and the impression it would make rapid and forcible. Sanguine expectations were also entertained that the victorious army, under General Howe, would find such employment for the Provincial troops, that instead of sparing any for the reinforcement of those at Ticonderoga, all that could be collected in New England, would be required for the support of General Washington. Thus an easy road would be opened to the royal army in Canada, assisted by a variety of advantages, and retarded by few difficulties, it would take the field with the most flattering prospects; and while the Southern Colonies were falling beneath the British arms on one side, the northern would be equally compelled to submit on the other.

Transactions in the Jerseys.—1776

The great success with which the loyal armies closed this campaign given them a degree of combat augmented daily, from the aspect remaining to the Congress being able to retrieve their affairs. Their army was now, through battle, the numbers made proud desertions, considerably diminished.

But that which contributed it up effectually, was the upon which it had been first embodied. The term for the men enlisted was only a month, at the expiration of they were at liberty to quit the

This, doubtless, was the reason of procuring soldiers, at a time, perhaps, no other expedition expected ever to be wanted; that the contest was becoming more serious, it was evidently to form a more settled and establishment in the military

accustomed to the severe restraint of the soldier's life, nothing but the zeal of all classes were animated to common defence, could have upon them to submit to the accompanying such a professing fulfilled their agreement, might it equally incumbent on our countrymen, to undergo the weight of this public burden, as on themselves.

They certainly reasoned very differently, but however they might be governed by the principles of equity, in continuing the service, it was utterly inconsistent with all ideas of good political rotation of military duty

might have answered, had they been all equally experienced; but where, on the contrary, they were equally new to the business, it was requisite that such as had gained some knowledge in it, should persevere in the service: especially as those whom they were to oppose in the field were veterans in the profession, against whom every one should now be summoned that was capable of being of any utility.

The American army was now entirely disbanded. Out of near thirty thousand men, of which it consisted at the time when General Howe landed on Staten Island, hardly three thousand remained embodied. These, though probably the best troops they had, were too inconsiderable a number to form any reliance upon, against the attempts that were expected from the enemy. The military turn they were endued with, or had acquired, and their attachment to the cause they were fighting for, and perhaps to the General that commanded them, were the motives that prevented them from following the example of their fellow-soldiers. But whatever cause retained them together, it proved, in the issue, a circumstance much more important and decisive than could at that time have been imagined.

In the mean while various distresses were accumulating upon the Congress, and every day seemed to add fresh reasons to look upon their condition as desperate. Among other unfortunate accidents, one befel them which was peculiarly calamitous in their present circumstances. General Lee had, with great pains and diligence,

gence, gathered a considerable number of men, with whom he was marching with all possible speed to the assistance of General Washington, who was expecting him at the head of the Pennsylvanian militia. By the junction of their forces they hoped to form a body sufficient to guard the banks of the Delaware, hourly menaced by the British troops stationed in the neighbourhood. As the road held by General Lee was at a considerable distance from any of the Royal army's quarters, he thought himself fully secured from any danger on that side, and, of course, neglected to take those precautions which he would otherwise have done.

The consequence was that in crossing, the upper part of New Jersey, from the North river he took up his quarters at a house considerably removed from the main-body, where he remained with a slender guard. Colonel Harcourt happened at that time to be in the neighbourhood, with a detachment of light horse, that had been scouring the country, to obtain information, and to observe the motion of that body which was under the General's command. Whether it proceeded from attachment to Britain, or a hope of reward, a man acquainted the Colonel with General Lee's situation, and how easy it would be to seize and carry off his person without hindrance. Upon this intelligence, the Colonel hastened with all speed to the place where the General lay, and took his measures with so much dexterity, that the sentries posted about his quarters were secured without noise, the house forced open, and the General made prisoner. He was immediately mounted and hurried away with all possible expedition, through a considerable extent of country, where a number of posts, well guarded, lay in the way of those who took him, but they found means to avoid, or to escape them by the ra-

pidity of their motion, and brought him safely to New York.

The capture of General Lee was heavy loss to the Americans. His professional knowledge was great, and acquired by an experience accompanied with a perpetual study. He had contributed eminently to form the American troops: he was full of activity and resources, and of an undaunted and enterprising disposition. Such an officer was not easily to be replaced.

This event was productive, at the same time, of disagreeable consequences in other respects. A regulation for the exchange of prisoners had been settled between General Howe and General Washington. It had been duly observed hitherto; but there being no prisoner at present of equal rank with General Lee in the hands of the Provincials, it was proposed to deliver six field officers in exchange for him, as an adequate compensation for the difference of degree. Should this offer be refused, it was required that he should be treated only as to his rank, until he could be exchanged upon a footing of perfect equality.

The answer was, that General Lee had deserted from the British service, and could not be considered as a prisoner of war. He could not therefore claim the benefit of the regulation. This refusal occasioned much altercation. As General Lee had in the beginning of these troubles, resigned his half-pay as a British officer, it was insisted, that he could not, in common equity, be esteemed a deserter; and that no person being excepted in the regulation, he was entitled to it in the strictest justice.

The Americans expressed much resentment at the refusal to receive General Lee. Several British officers who were their prisoners, were treated with severity on that account. Congress renewed the de-

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cumstance, the affairs of the public
were thrown into the utmost confusion,
and every body was alarmed for the
safety of the state.

In order to obviate the fatal con-
sequences that might ensue from the
continuance of such a system, the Con-
gress ordered a new army to be levied ;
of which the soldiers should be
bound by the form of their enlistment
to serve three years, or during the con-
tinuance of the war. This army was
to consist of eighty-eight battalions,
furnished in proportionable shares
by each of the Colonies, and to be
raised and supported at their expence.
Great prudence and discretion were
used upon this occasion, that no Co-
lony should have reason to complain
of being charged with any more than
its due proportion.—Persons well in-
formed of their comparative abilities,
were employed in drawing up the
scheme, by which they were to carry
this measure into execution.—Virginia
and Massachusetts were each assessed at
fifteen battalions ; Pennsylvania at
twelve ; North Carolina at nine ;
South Carolina at six ; Connecticut at
eight ; Maryland the same ; New
Hampshire at three ; Rhode Island at
two ; Delaware at one ; and Georgia
the same. The two Provinces of
New York and Jersey, being partly
in the enemy's possession, having
greatly suffered already, and being
liable to suffer still further from their
incursions and depredations, were on
that account highly favoured in this
estimate, and rated at no more than
four battalions each.

The most liberal encouragements
were held out, in order to induce
people to enlist. Twenty dollars were
given as a bounty to every soldier that
enlisted ; besides an allotment of lands
at the end of the war to all that sur-
vived, and to the families of those who
should lose their lives in the service.
In this re-partition of lands among
the military, the republican careful

nests to prevent too much inequality, was remarkably visible. The share of a soldier was one hundred acres; that of an ensign one hundred and fifty; a lieutenant two hundred; a captain three hundred; a major four hundred; a lieutenant colonel four hundred and fifty; and the highest of any that of a colonel, no more than five hundred. To those who engaged for only three years, no lands were assigned.

An instance of care and foresight was manifested in the arrangement of this business, that reflected much credit upon those who conducted it. — In order to prevent the evil effects of that prodigal and careless disposition so common among soldiers, they were not permitted to alienate the lands designed for them during the course of the war. By these means, they would not, at its conclusion, find themselves in a state of indigence; and whole individuals would be disappointed, who lay on the watch to make a profit of the thoughtlessness and indolence of others, in pecuniary matters.

Previous to this new regulation, the Congress had ordained, as an encouragement and reward of military services, that all officers, soldiers, and seamen, disabled through wounds received in action, should enjoy during life, half of the pay to which their rank entitled them when the misfortune befel them.

This measure of distributing lands as a recompence of the military, was designed as a counteraction to another of a similar kind on the part of Great Britain. Large grants of vacant lands were promised to those who acted with loyalty in the present dispute. But instead of producing any benefit, this measure had more powerfully contributed to increase resistance, and to augment animosity than any other that had been adopted. Considering vacancy to mean forfeiture, the Americans made no doubt, that in case the British arms

should prevail, their estates and possessions would be confiscated, and become the property of the victorious party, and that very little moderation would be shown, where such a number of claimants were to be rewarded.

In the mean time, the funds provided by each Colony respectively, being found inadequate to the support of so large a force as they were about to raise, and to the vast demands arising from so expensive a war, the Congress addressed themselves to the public for a loan of five millions of dollars, at the rate of four per cent interest, for the reimbursement of which the United States became security.

During the Prosecution of these measures, the situation of the Americans was becoming daily more critical. The British troops were at this time over-running the Jerseys; they were masters of all the country in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, and occupied all the places of consequence on the Delaware, which was the only boundary between them and that city.

In this extremity, the Congress thought it necessary to appeal to the inhabitants of the continent, in order to remind them of the engagement they had entered into for their mutual defence, and to summon them forth for the protection of the state in its present danger.

They represented to them the immediate necessity of concurring with speed and unanimity in the measures planned for the common safety. They recapitulated the grievances they had suffered, the contempt with which they had been treated, and the many other complaints so often alledged by the people of America. No alternative remained but a manly resistance or a spiritless submission. Not but an unconditional surrender, to satisfy the pride of their enemies, had been, to avoid so enormous evil, that Congress had recurred

Declaration of Independency, which alone could place them on a level footing to withstand their enemies, and to procure them, in case of need, the assistance of friends. Their cause had prospered in a manner that had even outgone their expectations. The enemy had been defeated in a variety of attempts, from which they had entertained no doubt of success, and had dearly paid for advantages they had lately gained.

But these had little solidity, and would not last, when once the Americans had reunited their now scattered forces. These, however, had not led to the foe; their dispersion occasioned merely from the shortness of the term of enlistment, and the quality with which the soldiers had been discharged at its expiration. It was the only cause of the distress which the public was now reduced to; which, however, would speedily be remedied by the arrangements that were to take place in future. These would effectually prevent a repetition of the difficulties under which they were labouring. They assured them, at the same time, that foreigners had already rendered them essential services, and had given them most positive assurances of further

With such a prospect of assistance on the one hand, and of the miseries they would be subjected to, if the enemy was not resisted on the other, they would be shamefully wanting to themselves, if they did not combine their whole strength for the protection of many valuable objects now at stake.

Such was the substance of the representation made by the Congress to the people of America. It produced accordingly the desired effects. They simultaneously determined to exert themselves to the utmost in this season of universal danger, and to send whatever reinforcements could be had, to join those forces that lay in the vicinity of Philadelphia. The

protection of that rich and important city, now became the principal object of attention; and it was resolved to leave nothing untried, to prevent it from falling into the possession of the British troops.

Exclusive of the natural dread of being exposed to the mercy of a victorious enemy, the Americans were at this juncture particularly apprehensive of the Hessians, and the other Germans in the pay of Great Britain. Of all the measures that had been taken against them, that of hiring foreigners to invade their country, had given them the highest offence. British soldiers, though acting in the capacity of foes, still retained the feelings of countrymen, and would not shed their blood without some compunction. They were born and bred in a country noted for humanity and the constitution of which inculcated mildness. But the Hessians were of a ferocious disposition: educated under a despotic government, they knew no rights but those of force. Their manners were haughty and violent; they carried destruction, wherever they were masters, plundering all before them without distinction, and committing the most barbarous ravages.

They had, it was said, been told, before their departure from Germany, that they were to be put in possession of the lands of those whom they conquered; and they were full of this expectation at their arrival. But upon discovering their mistake, they resolved however to make themselves amends by appropriating whatever they could lay their hands upon. In this manner they carried on a fierce and predatory war; sparing nothing that came in their way, and behaving with a rapaciousness and insolence that rendered them deservedly objects of execration.

Such was the picture which the Americans drew of the Hessians. But they not only detested, they despised them.

them equally, as base mercenaries, ready to commit murder, and to slaughter a people, with whom they could have no pretence to quarrel, in obedience to a sovereign, who, like them, was influenced by no motive but that of pay.

The conduct of the Hessians was extremely offensive to the British commanders; but they were too powerful a body to restrain by compulsion, as they composed almost one half of the army. Notwithstanding the prudence and steadiness with which General Howe conducted himself upon this emergency, it was not possible to restrain their excesses, nor even to prevent them from spreading among the British troops, in a degree to which they would not have certainly been carried, had they not had such examples for a plea.

The depredations of the Hessians grew at last, it was said, so enormous that the spoils they were loaded with became an absolute incumbrance to them; and a frequent impediment in the discharge of their military duties.

The desolation of the Jerseys was one of the consequences of this spirit of rapine. The Americans who adhered to Britain, attributed to it the subsequent decline of the British cause in those and other parts. As the devastation was extended indiscriminately to friend and foe, it equally exasperated both parties; it confirmed the enmity of the one, and raised up a new enmity in the other; and it injured the British interest in all the Colonies.

But, unhappily, the mischief was not confined to America. The accounts which were sent to Europe by the enemies of Britain, represented the behaviour of its troops in so scandalous a light, as could not fail to affect the character of the British nation. Doubtless these accounts were exaggerated; but they were not the less insisted upon by those to whom they

were addressed; who, being the natural enemies of this country, were of course encouraged every report injurious to its reputation. The Friends who from the commencement of the contest, were the secret abettors to the Americans, openly countenanced all their accusations, and propagated them every where, in order to prejudice a people, against whom they were preparing to act avowedly on their part, after having long acted as a seditious one.

In the mean time, the approaching winter began to alarm the Americans for the safety of Congress. The British troops lay cantoned on the banks of the Delaware waiting the opportunity of a frost, to cross it without opposition, it was judged advisable for them to remove to Baltimore Maryland, which lay at a considerable distance.

By their departure the city was thrown into the utmost confusion. The awe which their presence inspired, restrained that party which though inimical to Britain, had opposed the declaration of independence. As it found itself unable, while to resist the torrent of that spirit which supported the power of Congress, it now united with that which was well affected to the cause of Britain.

The retreat of the Congress, the dissensions prevailing in the American metropolis, the successes of the British arms, and the danger they threatened on every side, began to operate powerfully upon many individuals. The impression upon some was such, that they fled to Philadelphia, and came over to the British quarters, to claim the privilege of submission.

Those who remained in the city were so resolute in opposing the measures of Congress, that they prevented it from being put into a posture of defence, as it had been intended. General Washington upon

of these disturbances, was to detach a considerable part of the small force, in order to quell

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In the expectation of that opportunity, the troops were placed in camps, extending from Brunswick to the Delaware. They occupied a chain of towns and through the heart of the Jerseys had stretched their quarters along the latter river, into several orders bordering upon Philadelphia. Notwithstanding the severity of the season, General Washington determined to make some attempt on the quarters of the British army nearest to that city, in hoping to alarm and constraining them to retire to a less alarming station. A detachment of Hessians lay at Trenton; at Bordentown, some miles from the latter, and a third was posted at Camden: and these three towns lay on the Delaware, the last within thirty miles of Philadelphia. The success of this enterprise had inspired them with presumption, and confidence

Full of these notions, they laid aside all carefulness and vigilance. They became inattentive to the motions of the Americans; and were wholly taken up with these licentious courtesies that had rendered them so odious. It was in a great measure owing to the hatred that was borne them on these accounts, that so much alacrity was shewn in concurring with the project that was forming against them. Private animosity was no less powerful on this occasion than public spirit.

General Wathington availed himself of this disposition, to execute the plan he had in view, which was to surprize them in their quarters, while they lay at a distance from each other. This was the only method remaining to attack them with any hope of success ; as when united, their force was such, as to overwhelm the small numbers to which he was now reduced. Should he delay this attempt, they would undoubtedly collect their whole strength, the moment they found the Delaware was sufficiently frozen to afford them a passage. As this was daily expected, the intended attempt admitted of no procrastination. At all events it would prove of service, by obliging them to withdraw to more distant quarters, when they found themselves unsafe from the molestation of the enemy in those which they occupied : this would give time for the succours that were hastening, from various quarters, to join him, to compose a strength, which might enable him effectually to protect Philadelphia, and the Province of Pennsylvania, from the incursion that was projected against them.

A considerable proportion of the force which General Washington had under his command at this time, consisted of men drafted from the militia of Pennsylvania and Virginia - though new levies, they were expert in their exercise, and good marksmen. When incorporated with those who

had remained with him, on the American army's late disbanding, and who were the best troops he had; they would, it was reasonably expected, become shortly no contemptible soldiers themselves, and fully supply the place of those who had left him. They had a powerful motive to stimulate them to exert themselves; the certainty, that were the enemy to penetrate into the country, they would shew it no more favour than they had done to those of which they had taken possession.

General Washington having assembled as considerable a force as he could collect in the vicinity, and as the expeditiousness with which he must act would permit, divided it into three bodies; they were each to arrive at the place of appointment on the evening of the twenty fifth of December. The first was to cross the Delaware at Trenton ferry, a little below the town; the second somewhat lower than Bordentown; the third division he commanded in person, accompanied by Generals Sullivan and Green. It consisted of near three thousand of the best men in the American service; he had also a train of twenty field pieces. He marched at the head of his division to a ferry some miles above Trenton, with an intent to pass it at midnight; which would enable him to arrive at Trenton by break of day, and surprize the enemy before they could make ready to receive him. But he was so retarded by the difficulty of breaking the ice, for the passage of the boats, that it was four in the morning before he could land his party on the opposite shore; and when this had been effected, a heavy storm of snow and hail rendered the roads so slippery, that it was past eight o'clock before they reached the precincts of Trenton. The General had upon landing, ordered a division of his men to take the lower road on the water side, while he proceeded with the other on the upper road, the more effectually to surround

and cut off the retreat of the en-

Notwithstanding the retardations they met with, and that it was broad day, the enemy did not cover them, till one of his detachments was attacked by the General's division, and the out-guards on lower side of the town were attacked by the other. Assailed in this unexpected manner, Colonel Ralle, was the commanding officer at Trenton, made every effort that could be expected from a veteran of great experience and bravery. He led his own regiment with the utmost celerity, and advanced at the head of it to support the party that had first attacked; but it was now so in such confusion, that it threw his regiment into disorder, and obliged him to retire into the town. They rallied, and brought again to bay the enemy by Colonel Ralle; but his receiving a mortal wound was compelled to quit the command and his troops, dispirited by this incident, were broken after a short resistance, and their artillery seized. They were at last completely rounded; and after making a less endeavour to retreat, they were compelled to surrender.

The number of slain upon this occasion was not considerable on either side; but that of prisoners was a thousand. None escaped but as lay at a distance from the scene of action, in places further down the river. Had the two other divisions of General Washington's little army been able to cross the Delaware, and pressed, the whole corps stationed at Trenton, must unavoidably have fallen into his hands; but the ice rendered the river impassable.

In consequence of not being supported by these two divisions, he repulsed the Delaware. His own was too weak to maintain its ground, against a force that would infallibly have cut against him, on receiving intelligence of what had happened.

the enemy lay in the neighbourhood of Trenton, and might in a few days be assembled.

On the return to Philadelphia, with a considerable number of private soldiers, was a circumstance the more remarkable, as it was totally unexpected. To raise a body of veterans, and to place them in their own quarters, was an action that no people durst see executed by troops so inferior to them in military discipline and experience. Such as were easily inclined, attributed this to the interposition of Providence; which had purposely suffered America to be reduced to the utmost distress, in order to teach it to rely so much upon its strength, as on that of an all-ruler. Those, on the other hand, who sought to account for events from human causes, ascribed this surprising assistance to the supineness of the conduct, in neglecting to keep a look out, and in holding their heads in too much contempt, to imagine that they would have the boldness to conceive, and the ability to execute so hazardous an undertaking. The success of this expedition, was considered as one of the most remarkable circumstances that befell the Americans in the whole course of the war. It happened at a time, when nothing less could have supported the least hope of their being able to extricate themselves from their present afflictments. Neither they, nor their enemies imagined they could survive so many months; and multitudes were now preparing to make the best conditions they could with the conqueror.

The capture of these foreign mercenaries, who had done them so much mischief, and of whom they had stood in dread, gave a new turn to their disposition. It removed all the fears they were in for their favourite city: it taught them, they had less to apprehend from

these strangers, than from the British troops, over whom their only superiority was in the exercise of rapine. None of these had yet suffered themselves to be surprized in so careless and unsoldierlike a manner.

Such were the ideas and reflections of the Americans upon this occurrence. The report of it was soon spread with the utmost care and diligence throughout the continent, in order to animate the people, and recall them from their late depression. It produced instantaneous effects in the parts adjacent to Philadelphia. Numbers of the most resolute and able bodied men in Pennsylvania, joined their countrymen who were already with General Washington; and they all behaved with particular bravery in the laborious operations that took place during the ensuing winter.

Nor were the contiguous Provinces deficient in their assistance upon this emergency. The criticalness of it was obvious to all the Provincial Assemblies, and they neglected nothing that could tend to so necessary a service as that in which their General was so deeply engaged. Those Provinces from which he derived the most effectual aid, were those of Virginia and Maryland: the first supplied him with a good body of riflemen; the second, with some regiments composed of the best men that could be drafted from the regiments on their establishment.

The alarm and concern occasioned at New York by this affair, was equal to the surprize and indignation which was felt by the commander in chief. The chain of cantonments had been so disposed that nothing but an unpardonable negligence, could have exposed any of them to be insulted by the enemy with impunity. The advanced posts, especially, were so strong, and the communication between them so quick and easy, that the efforts of a broken and scattered army could

possibly have made any impression upon them, had they exerted the least vigilance.

This unfortunate affair was attended by further consequences, that proved very detrimental to the interest of Britain in America: it much diminished, if it did not entirely remove, the terror with which the Provincials had hitherto beheld the Hessians; and what was, perhaps, no less prejudicial, it abated the esteem which the British troops had conceived for them, and lessened the confidence with which they had been relied upon before.

The Americans began now to revive on every side. Reinforcements came to General Washington from various parts, and he again found himself at the head of an army. He now repelled the Delaware, and took up his quarters at Trenton. Lord Cornwallis, who was purposing to return to England, was, upon this intelligence, obliged to harken back to the Jerseys; and General Grant moved with all speed from Brunswick to Princetown! with all the troops that were stationed in those parts.

The Americans were strongly posted at Trenton Creek, the bridge in their front, with other passes well defended with cannon. Lord Cornwallis advanced upon them with all expedition, intending to attack them before they had completed their works. Several skirmishes ensued, followed by a very severe cannonade on both sides; but the post had been so strengthened, that notwithstanding a very spirited attack, it could not be carried.

Darkness put an end to the engagement, which was intended to be renewed the next morning. But General Washington, whose intention it was to decline it, resolved, in the mean time, to make a second trial, in the nature of that wherein he had so well succeeded at Trenton.

A British brigade was stationed at Maidenhead, a town situated half way

between Trenton and Princeton where Colonel Mawhood lay the seventeenth, fortieth, and fifth regiments. He had halted in his march from Brunswick was to set out early the next morning. This body of men General Washington proposed to come upon by surprise, while at a distance from hoping to capture them in the manner as he had done the Hessian at Trenton.

To this intent it was necessary he should deceive those who were camped opposite to him, by seeming to remain in his own camp. They were kept up, parties left to guard the bridge and the pass. With the remainder he decamped the profoundest silence, during the deal of the night; and taking a circuit, to avoid the brigades at Maidenhead, he fell in next morning with Colonel Mawhood, who began his march at break of day, was advancing on the road to Maidenhead. The haziness of the weather and the unevenness of the ground prevented the Colonel from discerning the numbers of the enemy. The van first attacked him, but this easily repelled; and he continued his march, not expecting farther resistance.

But General Washington having arranged his force so as to attack on both sides, he was again furiously attacked, and shortly surrounded. He found, by the repeated discharges that were made where the fifth regiment was following him, that he was in the same situation.

On the clearing up of the fog he perceived the great superiority of force that encountered him, and he was cut off from the other regiments.—Nothing could extricate but the most desperate efforts; these were made accordingly: the regiment charged the enemy with bayonets fixed to their rifles.

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Whether these representations were
 well or ill founded, certain it is, that
 an antipathy, mixed with contempt,
 prevailed among the Americans with
 respect of the Hessians : it lasted the
 whole war, and is not forgotten at
 this day.

Notwithstanding the American Ge-
 neral miscarried in his original design,
 yet the spirit with which it had been
 attempted, and the bravery displayed
 in the late conflicts by the American
 troops, did both him and them great
 honour. The difficulty of maintain-
 ing posts so far in the enemy's coun-
 try, obliged the Royal army to re-
 tire from the banks of the Delaware,
 and to move towards Brunswick, in
 order to prevent it, with the troops
 and magazines lodged there, from
 falling into the power of the enemy.
 Lord Cornwallis made several mo-
 tions to draw them to an engagement
 but General Washington did not chuse
 to commit the advantages he had
 gained to the chance of a battle,
 which might in one day deprive him
 of what it had cost him many to ob-
 tain.

But while he declined an engage-
 ment, he was not the less active in re-
 covering what had been lost in the
 Jerseys. Dividing his army into de-
 tachments, that could be re-united in
 a few hour's notice, he spread them,
 as it were, over the Province. As
 they met with every support and as-
 sistance which a people, irritated to
 the highest degree against a retreating
 enemy could afford to their delive-
 rers, they quickly repossessed them-
 selves of all the posts of importance
 in the interior parts of the country,
 and at last extended themselves to
 the very shores in sight of Staten
 Island. Here they posted themselves
 so advantageously, and fortified every
 place they had retaken so strongly,
 that considering the severity of the
 season

sation, and the consequent difficulty of the service, it became impracticable to dislodge them at the present. The only places that remained in the possession of the British army in the whole Province of Jersey, were Amboy, situated on a neck of land at the mouth of the Raritan, and Brunswick a little way higher on the same river. What prevented the enemy from seizing them, as he had done the rest, was that they were open to the shipping, and at hand to be immediately and effectually supported by the great force that lay at New York.

The suddenness of this recovery of the American affairs from a state of so much distress, to such unlooked for prosperity, was a matter of utter astonishment to all the world. In Britain it was presumed that the war was partly at an end, and that a few finishing strokes would terminate the business in the course of the next campaign. It was therefore with equal pride and astonishment they were informed that General Washington had extricated himself from the difficulties which it was firmly believed, he could not possibly surmount; that by his activity and dextrous management, he had compelled the British troops to withdraw from the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, and to evacuate the Province of Jersey; that he was in some respects become master of the field; and was again at the head of a formidable body of men, with which he made continual incursions into the country round the British encampments, and that these were so frequent, that they were obliged to be perpetually on their guard to prevent surprise.

Now it was, that people began to diminish the so sanguine expectations of a speedy reduction of America, which had been so predominant during the last campaign. The successes that had attended it had appeared so

promising, that they had themselves with the complacency adopted, and expressed much at its not having been proportioned sooner. The dissolution of the American army was looked upon as an infallible proof that they were already weary of the war, and desirous of giving it over to other causes. If that were the true one, they were persuaded a deficiency of finances, and a despondency had occasioned; that little or no resistance henceforward be made. They with which people had cherised these ideas, was not greater dismay with which they were when they found how wrong notions had been founded.

Nor were the Europeans less surprised at this unexpected intelligence from America. They in a manner given up the hope had formed in favour of the Colonies. The maritime strength of Britain, the courage and superior discipline of her troops, the assistance of auxiliaries deemed as brave a people as Germany, and whose chief profession is that of war, and above all the digious resources of the British government; all these were things that inclined multitudes to think the Colonies would not be able to stand a long contest. Others, relying on the accounts given of the internal situation of the Colonies, had conceived another conjecture. They conjectured, that the misadventures formed by the want of success to military operations in America, would, themselves, retard the progress of the British arms, and so be effectually for the Americans. But the transactions of the last year had staggered them, and they began to coincide with the persuasion, that America might submit to Britain.

Though their wishes

fervent as ever on the side of the Colonies, yet their hopes were but faint, when the news of success of General Washington in Europe. No intelligence more welcome: they as if they had been assured, and were to be assisted by it as the Americans. It revived the drooping of all the numerous enemies

Such as had doubted of the Colonies to resist embraced the contrary because as had imagined from impediments which would a subjugation of them was possible, were confirmed in their

All apprehensions vanished of America, and she was pronounced to be stronger with respect to Bri-

the of General Washington famous over all Europe. Difficulties he had struggled with, and abilities he had manifested perseverance in the midst of discouragements, his patience in afflictive pressures, his watching for opportunities to use them, his conduct in imminent to the utmost,—all these served to place him in a most respectable light. He was extolled as the saviour of his country, and as an honour to the world where he was born. He was compared to Rome, to the last extremities by the arms of Hannibal; and the caution of Fabius, who rescued the Republic from destruction, was now universal to General Washington. The general enthusiasm of the Colonies in the cause of America was however allowed that had befallen the armies of the Colonies they had behaved upon the occasion with an intrepidity that was equalled even by their ene-

disadvantages against them were so many, that no generalship or valour could counteract them. The irregularity of the land, intersected by such variety of bars and impediments to military operations, formed as it were, a perpetual chain of ramparts against all attacks: the means of defence were supplied by nature, and were too numerous and powerful to be overcome by the exertions of art.

Thus circumstanced, though neither skill nor bravery were wanting on the part of the British commanders and troops, still they were exercised in vain upon a country that slipped, as it were through their hands, the moment they moved from one part of it, in order to secure another. It was experimentally found, that none but armies of the most prodigious magnitude would suffice for such a system of hostilities, as were indispensably necessary to make a successful impression upon America.— But had Britain been able to raise and transport such armies to America, they must have been famished for want of subsistence. It was with the utmost difficulty that provisions were procured for the British forces already there, and it would not be possible to support a larger number. The fertility of the country was no resource, as the inhabitants were masters of all its productions and used all manner of care and industry to withhold them from, or to render them of no service to their aggressors. This was an obstacle which no allurements of gain could surmount. They had been tried, but the hatred and animosity of the natives had frustrated them, and had cut off every hope of succeeding by such methods. Those of force were the only that remained; but the blood that was shed to make them effectual, was a price that too frequently exceeded their value. Such were the allegations of numbers.

The Americans, it was said, possessed the genius and capacity of the European nations from which they were descended, together with the

temper and disposition of the original natives of the continent which they inhabited. From the first they derived the strength of mind, vivacity of action, and the promptitude to learn and improve, which gave the Europeans so decided a superiority over all other people: from the second, they acquired that patience and fortitude which so peculiarly characterise the American Indians. From these mixed qualities, firmness in their resolutions, and a perseverance in their undertakings, that rendered them a dangerous foe to encounter, to whatever straits they might be reduced.

Oppressed in this incessant manner by every imaginable difficulty, the difference of a climate, wherein the weather is subject to such extremities of change, a country full of internal obstructions, and a people insensibly bent to resist them to the last, and abounding in means to harass and perplex them in every shape, it was often said, the utmost that could be expected from the British troops in such a situation, would be to behave like men of courage, and to preserve their honour.

The manner of carrying on the war was perfectly suited to the character of the Americans; full of acuteness and circumspection, and fertile in contrivances and stratagems. Hence every post that was tenable, was fortified in the most judicious manner, and defended with equal obstinacy.—Instead of regular engagements, for which the enemy might have time to prepare,

sudden encounters were sought, when, if they obtained no other advantage, they were sure of wasting the strength of the enemy, who must be recruited from an immense distance, while their loss would be supplied without delay. Depending upon surprisals, they were indefatigable in exploring and making the best use of opportunities to that intent; this, of course, fatigued the attention of their antagonists, and kept them in continual alarms.

Representations of this kind took place equally abroad and at home. Here, indeed, the warmth of those who had avowedly disapproved of the American war, became notorious. They now insisted upon the rectitude of the many arguments they had pledged against it; all which, they now said, were verified by the faint experience. They admonished those who were at the head of affairs, to desist from an enterprise, from which had so often been predicted, and now made it evident, that no success could reasonably be expected. The calamities with which it had been accompanied were great, but they were nothing to those that would follow if those who began, still obstinately persisted in such ruinous measures. Before a trial of them had been made, they had justly been pronounced hazardous in the extreme; but now that the fatality was unquestionable, it would be unpardonable in men who pretend to have the public welfare at heart, to pursue them any longer.

C H A P. XIII.

*ties of Confederacy between the United Colonies—Indians re-
sented by the Americans.—Winter Campaign in the Jerseys.*

1776.

URING the operations that were carried on by the British army, Lord Howe, and the American army under General Washington, the Colonies were resolved to put the last to that system of confederacy, which the Colonies had established in union.

Plans of confederation had been formed in the preceding year; but were temporary and conditional; supposed a reconciliation might take place between Great Britain and the Colonies.

Now that a determination had been solemnly embraced to renounce dependence upon Great Britain, and erect the Colonies into Free Sovereign States, it became necessary to frame a settled and permanent union among them, abstracted from all ideas of any political connection with the parent state, that imply subordination.

In this intent, another set of articles was drawn up by a committee of Congress, appointed for that purpose. They underwent a long discussion and were weighed, line after line, by the Congress itself, and were then approved and resolved upon by the delegates, who signed them in common manner on the fourth of September.

In the former articles they called themselves the United Colonies; but in the present they took the title of the United States of America.

Contrasted by the present situation, a reciprocal treaty of

union and friendship for their common defence for the maintenance of their liberties, and for their general and mutual advantage; obliging themselves to assist each other against any violence that might threaten all or any of them, and to repel in common all the attacks that might be levelled against all, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, commerce, or under any other pretext whatever.

Each state reserved to itself alone the exclusive right of regulating its internal government, and of framing laws in all matters that were not included in the articles of the present confederation, which could not any way be prejudicial to it.

No state in particular, was either to send or to receive embassies, enter into negotiations, contract engagements, form alliances, or conclude treaties with any king, prince, or power whatsoever, without the consent of the United States assembled in General Congress.

No person invested with any post whatever, under the authority of the United States, or of any of them, whether he had appointments belonging to his employment, or whether it should be a commission purely confidential, was allowed to accept of any presents, gratuities, emoluments, nor any offices, or titles of any kind whatever, from any kings, princes, or foreign powers.

Neither the General Assembly nor the United States, nor any state in particular,

particular, was to confer any title of nobility.

The states were not to form alliances or confederations, nor conclude any private treaty among themselves, without the consent of the United States assembled in General Congress, and without the intent and duration of that private convention being exactly specified in the consent.

No state was to lay on any impost, or establish any duties whatever, the effect of which might alter directly or indirectly the clauses of the treaties that might hereafter be concluded by the Assembly of the United States, with any kings, princes, or powers.

No state, in particular, was to keep any ships of war above the number judged necessary by the Assembly of the United States, for the defence of that state and its commerce; and none of the states were to keep on foot, in time of peace, any troops above the number determined by the Assembly of the United States, to guard the strong places or forts necessary for the defence of that state. But each state was always to keep up a well disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and equipped, and was carefully to procure, and keep in constant readiness in the public magazines, a sufficient number of field pieces, and tents, with a proper quantity of ammunition and implements of war.

When any of the states raised troops for the common defence, all the officers of the rank of Colonel, and under, were to be appointed by the legislative body of the state where the troops were raised, or in such manner as that state should judge proper to regulate the nominations; and when any vacancy happened in these posts, it was to be filled up by that state.

All the expences of war, and all other disbursements to be made for the common defence of the general weal, and that were ordered by the Assembly of the United States, were

to be paid out of the funds of a common treasury.

That common treasury was to be formed by the contribution of all of the states, in proportion to number of inhabitants, of every sex, or quality, except the land exempt from taxes in each state, and in order to fix the quota of contribution, every three years the inhabitants were to be numbered, which enumeration the number white people was to be sent to Assembly of the United States.

The taxes appropriated to pay quota, were to be raised and levied the extent of each state, by the authority and order of its legislative body, within the time fixed by Assembly of the United States.

Each of the states was to submit the decision of the Assembly of United States, in all matters or quod reserved to that Assembly by present act of confederation.

No state was to engage in without the consent of the United States assembled in Congress, or in case of actual invasion of enemy, or from a certain knowledge of a resolution taken by some nation, to attack them; and in case only, in which the danger too urgent to allow them to consult the other states.

No particular state was to give commission to vessels, or other ships of war, nor any letters of marque or reprisal, till after a declaration of war made by the assembly of the United States; and in that case they were to be granted only against the king or power against which war had been declared; and they were to conform, respecting these objects, to the regulation made by the Assembly of the United States.

In order to watch over the interest of the United States, and the general affairs, a certain number

was to be nominated every year, to the form settled by the body of each state, who were to meet in Philadelphia, until the General Assembly of the United States should otherwise ; and the first Monday of each year, was to be fixed for the meeting.

Each of their states was to preserve and power to recal, at any time of the year, their Delegates or any one of them, and to sit in the room of them for the remainder of the year ; and each state was to maintain their Delegates during the time of the General Assembly, and also during the time of the members of the council of

each state was to have a vote for each one of questions in the General Assembly.

The General Assembly of the United States was, alone and exclusively, to have the right and power to decide on all cases of peace and war ; to establish rules and regulations in all cases, the law of the prizes taken by sea or land, and to determine the manner in which the prizes taken by the land forces in the service of the United States, should be divided or distributed ; to grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace ; to appoint courts and tribunals to take cognizance of piracy and other capital crimes committed on the high seas ; to establish courts to receive appeals, and judge in all cases of prizes ; to receive ambassadors ; to send and conclude treaties and alliances ; to decide all differences arising, and that might arise, between any of the states, or its jurisdiction, or any other matter ; to coin money, and fix the value and standard ; to fix the weights and measures throughout the United States ; to regulate the commerce, and treat of all the Indians who were not

members of any of the states ; to establish and regulate the posts from one state to another, throughout the whole extent of the United States ; and receive, on the letters and packets sent by post, the necessary tax to defray the expence of that establishment, to appoint the general officers of the land forces in the service of the United States ; to give commissions to the other officers appointed by each state, to appoint all the officers of marine in the service of the United States ; to frame all the ordinances necessary for the government and discipline of the land and sea forces, and direct their operations.

The General Assembly of the United States, to be authorized, to appoint a council of state and such committees and civil officers as they shall judge necessary for guiding and dispatching the general affairs under their authority, while they remain sitting ; and after their separation, under the authority of the council of state.

They were to chuse for president one of their members ; and for secretary, the person whom they should judge fit for that place ; and they were to adjourn at what time of the year, and to what place in the United States they might think proper.

They were to have the right and power to determine and fix the sums necessary to be raised, and the disbursements necessary to be made ; to borrow money, and create bills on the credit of the United States ; to build and to fit out fleets ; to determine the number of troops to be raised ; or kept in pay ; and to require of each of the states, in order to compose the army, a quota proportioned to the number of its white inhabitants ; these requisitions of the General Assembly, were to be binding ; and in consequence, the legislative body of each state was to nominate the particular officers, levy the men, arm and equip them properly ; and those of

Officers and soldiers thus armed and equipped, were to proceed to the place, and within the time fixed by the General Assembly.

But if the General Assembly, from some particular circumstances, should think proper to exempt one or several of the states from raising troops, or to demand of them less than their quota; or should, on the contrary, judge it convenient that one, or several others, should raise more than their contingent, the number extraordinary demanded was to be raised, provided with officers armed and equipped in the same manner as the contingent, while the legislative body of that or of those states to whom the requisition should have been made, should deem it dangerous for themselves to be drained of that number extraordinary in which case they were to furnish no more than what they might think compatible with their safety.

The General Assembly was never to engage in any war, nor grant letters of marque or reprisal in time of peace, nor contract any treaties of alliance, or other conveniencies, except to make peace, nor coin money, or regulate its value, nor determine or fix the sums necessary to be raised, or the disbursements necessary to be made for the defence or advantage of the United States, or of any of them, nor create bills, or borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor dispose of any sums of money, nor resolve on the number of the ships of war to be built, or purchased, nor on the number of troops to be raised for the land or sea service, but by the united consent of Nine of the States: and no question on any point whatsoever except for adjourning from any one day to another, shall be decided but by a majority of the United States.

No Delegate to be chosen for more than three years out of six.

No person invested with any employment whatsoever, in the extent of

the United States, and received virtue of that employment, either himself, or by the hands of any other person, any salaries, wages, or emoluments whatever, could be chosen Delegate.

The General Assembly was to publish every month, a journal of its sessions, except what relate to treaties, alliances, or military operations, and it appeared to them that these ought to be kept secret. The opinions *pro* and *con*. of the Delegates of each state, were to be entered in journal as often as any one of Delegates should require it; and a copy of the journal was to be delivered to the Delegates of each state on their demand, or even to any one of the Delegates of each state at his particular requisition, except of the papers above mentioned, to be carried to the legislative body of his respective state.

The council of state was to be composed of one Delegate of each of the states, nominated annually by the other Delegates of his respective state, and should these electors disagree, Delegates should be nominated by the General Assembly.

The council of state was to be authorized to receive and open all letters addressed to the United States and answer them; but was not to contract any engagement binding to the United States, they were to correspond with the legislative body of each state, and with all persons employed under the authority of the United States, or of any of the particular legislative bodies; they were to add themselves to these legislative bodies or to the officers to whom each shall have intrusted the executive power for aid and assistance of every kind occasion shall require; they were to give instructions to the generals, and direct the military operations by land or by sea; but without making any alteration in the objects or ends determined by the General Assembly.

change of circumstances in-
, and coming to their know-
ice the breaking up of the
should render a change of
indispensably necessary; they
be careful of the defence
ervation of the fortresses and
posts; to procure information
nation and designs of the en-
put into execution the plans
unresolved upon by the Ge-
ssibly, by virtue of the
with which they were invell-
present confederation; they
draw upon the treasures for
the destination of which had
led by the General Assembly,
the payment of the contracts
they might have made by vir-
powers granted to them;
e to inspect and reprove, or
suspend all officers, civil or mil-
tary, under the authority of the
states. In case of death or
n of any officer, whose nomi-
nated to the General As-
they might replace him by
son they should think proper
next Assembly; they might
and disperse authentic accounts
military operations; they might
the General Assembly for a
term than that to which they
turned when they separated, if
important and unexpected event
require it for the welfare of the
States, or of any of them;
re to prepare the matters to be
ad to the inspection of the Ge-
ssibly, and lay before them,
next sitting, all the letters or
by them received, and to ren-
der an account of all that they
e in the interim; they were
for their secretary a person fit
employment, who, before he
on his function, should take
of secrecy and fidelity: the
of seven members of the
was to empower them to act.
of the death of one of their
s, the council was to give no-

tice of it to the colleagues of the deceas-
ed, that they might chuse one of them-
selves to replace him in the council,
until the holding of the next General
Meeting; and in case there should be
but one of his colleagues living, the
same notice should be given to him,
that he might come and take his seat
until the next sitting.

In case that Canada should be will-
ing to accede to the present confeder-
ation, and come into all the measures
of the United States, it was to be
admitted into the union, and partici-
pate in all its benefits; but no other
Colony was to be admitted, without
the consent of nine of the states.

The above articles were to be pro-
posed to the legislative bodies of all
the United States to be examined by
them and approved of, they were to
authorise their Delegates to ratify
them in the General Assembly after
which all the articles which constitute
the present confederacy, were to be in-
violably observed by all the United
States, and the union to be established
for ever.

No alteration was to be made here-
after in any of these articles, unless
that alteration should be previously
determined upon in the General As-
sembly, and confirmed afterwards by
the legislative bodies of each of the
United States.

Such was the tenor of the famous
Treaty of Confederation and perpetual
Union between the Thirteen Colonies.
It followed at the distance of three
months precisely, the no less celebrat-
ed declaration of Independency; and
like that, it was agreed upon at a
time when their fate was yet in sus-
pense. It may even be said, that
this latter determination was adopted
at a still more dangerous crisis than the
preceding. Their armies had been
repeatedly defeated, and were retreat-
ing every where before the enemy.
So much resolution and constancy was
an object of no small surprize in Eu-
rope.

rope. Their favourers compared their behaviour to that of the ancient Romans, when almost vanquished by Pyrrhus, and who in the midst of the severest defeats and losses, never submitted to despondency, and still continued to bid him defiance.

It was not only with British troops and their European auxiliaries the Congress had now to contend : a domestic enemy had been excited to invade the territories of the Colonies, in a part which was considered as the least defensible.

The British agents among the Indians, had long exerted their endeavours to bring them into the contest, as allies to Britain. Through the vigilance and address of those who had been employed by the Congress to prevent such a measure from taking place, it had been repeatedly defeated, and a plan of amity between the Indian nation and the Colonists had been settled, upon terms equally acceptable to both. But notwithstanding these successive failures, the zeal and activity of the British agents did not abate. They were experimentally acquainted with the fickleness of these people and with the readiness to concur in any enterprize from whence profit was to arise. By dint of seasonable presents, and by holding out to them the prospect of the immense booty that would fall into their possession, they induced them to take up arms in the cause of Britain.

In order to encourage them by the probability of success, they laid before them the scheme of action that was to be pursued upon this occasion. A considerable force was to be sent to West Florida, which was to march through the country of the Greeks, Chickesaws, and Cherokees. Strengthened by the warriors of those nations this force was to fall upon Virginia and the Carolinas, and thus distract the attention of the Colonists, while the British armaments were invading the sea coasts.

But the Indians were not support relied upon in this case. It was to be forwarded by the ration of others, in whom greater dependence might be. Circular letters were distributed among the well-affected to the government in the back seat acquainting them with the project that were making against the colonies, and exhorting them to a design that seemed to promise the greatest success. The other Indians in general were summoned to adhere to Britain, with the promise of the kindest treatment in case of compliance ; but warning them at the same time, of the certain and able miseries they would fall into in case of a refusal. They were ordered to repair to the place where the royal standard was to be erected together with their horses, their arms, and as large a stock of provisions they could collect ; for all which should be generously paid.

mean time, a subscription was declared their allegiance, desiring that it might be known who were friends or the enemies to Britain.

Those who conducted this business did it so effectually, that an insurrection followed in consequence of it, among the Indians. With the plausibility of a plan that promised such great advantages, they easily forgot the engagements they had formed with the Colonies, and entered heartily into a confederacy against them. Even their ancient friends the Six Nations, swerved from fidelity on this occasion ; and numbers of them were induced, by hopes of plunder, to join the rebels.

This Indian insurrection excited among the Greeks, a fierce and rapacious people, whose numbers were accompanied with the usual preparations of barbarians for an Indian war so terrible that are exposed to its effects.

ion of being powerfully
 ey proceeded with great
 impetuosity in their in-
 st finding themselves un-
 and knowing that if they
 de, they would quickly be
 , they held a consultation,
 was agreed among their
 sist, and to apply for peace
 nthey had offended. It was
 t the Congress, that this
 ran hostilities before they
 by the others, and had for
 deserted them : this at-
 y dissembled the injury;
 r concluded a treaty of
 them.

ghours, the Cherokees,
 leted their preparations;
 ge to inform them, that
 iring against the enemy,
 their assistance : but the
 ned them for answer, that
 ied the hatchet so deep,
 not be found. The Che-
 ever, proceeded without
 aded the back settlements
 of places, spreading mas-
 slation every where.

arious incursion was not
 ion.—The Colonies of
 d Carolina assembling a
 militia, hastened with all
 relief of their country-
 attacked the Indians with
 y, and defeated them in
 er with prodigious slaugh-
 drove them out of all the
 ements, and pursued them
 country : where they de-
 stroyed their inhabitants and burned
 of corn and other provi-
 sion and devastation was
 : Cherokee nation was in-
 erminated : what remain-
 to accept of any terms
 thought proper to im-
 me.

so complete and decisive;
 all apprehensions from
 dians. Dreading the fate
 rokees, they continued

quiet at home, and gave up all thought
 of the projected expedition. The
 cruelties that had been exercised by
 these savage warriors, gave such uni-
 versal offence to all parties, that both
 the well and the ill-affected to the
 British cause, concurred in expressing
 the utmost abhorrence of such a man-
 ner of carrying on hostilities, and in
 condemning those who had promoted
 this Indian invasion. The consequence
 was, that numbers of the adherents to
 Britain; determined to renounce all
 such measures in future; as experience
 had proved them to be fruitless, and
 as they were entirely repugnant to
 humanity.

This total deliverance from the
 fears which had so long alarmed the
 inhabitants of the interior and remote
 parts of the Colonies, was an event of
 the utmost consequence to the Ame-
 ricans. It answered two ends : it
 showed that the Indians were not so
 formidable as they had been represent-
 ed, and that they might easily be re-
 pulsed ; and it removed, at the same
 time, all apprehensions that they
 might be aided by those among the
 Colonists who were disaffected to the
 measures of Congress.

This security to their back settle-
 ments, was a circumstance the more
 desirable, as it enabled Congress to
 turn the whole of their attention to
 those operations that were immediately
 under their eye.—Had they been
 obliged to provide for the defence of
 those distant places, while they were
 so closely pressed by the British armies
 towards the close of the campaign,
 their distress might possibly have been
 too great to be remedied. But having
 now no internal foe to oppose, they
 were quite at liberty to improve those
 advantages which General Washing-
 ton had gained towards the end of
 that year, and the commencement of
 the ensuing.

He was now busily employed in the
 Jerseys in harassing the out-posts of
 the British army, and preventing sup-
 ply

plies from coming to the forces at New York. The troops stationed on the Jersey coast underwent the severest duty; they were day and night constrained to keep an incessant out-look; skirmishes followed each other in perpetual succession: they were in the issue very destructive; for though few might fall at a time, yet the total amount of them that fell in so many, was very considerable. They bore their situation with great firmness and patience, and endured all the hardships of a long winter, increased by the fatigue of unceasing hostilities, with the same courage and fortitude as they had done at Boston a twelve-month before.

But though they maintained the posts that remained to them in the Jerseys, they could not prevent the Americans from reaping the greatest benefit they could propose at this time. These continual encounters contributed to inure the Colonists to military discipline, and to prepare them for the operations of the next campaign, which General Washington reasonably imagined would be very extensive and important. For this purpose, he lost no opportunity of bringing the Americans to action as often as it could be

done without risking too much. This prudent management, however, did not prevent them at the opening of the campaign, which was much improved in the various operations of warfare, as to afford him a more grounded expectation of being able to face the British armies, if successful, at least in such a manner as would not reflect disgrace upon America.

The resentment occasioned by the depredations that had been committed in the Jerseys, had left few friends to Britain in that Province. The dread of seeing those persons return, who had spared neither party, rendered all parties in the cause in which they were engaged. To this it was owing, that motions were observed with extreme vigilance, that they stood or no chance of succeeding in their enterprises. So many were suffered through them, that there was no deficiency of spies to give information of whatever they expected to have in view; and mischief was done them by acting secretly, from motives of revenge, as by those who took part against them in the field.

C H A P. XIV.

*of the West Indies—Losses by American Privateers—
 Capt of John the Painter—Parliamentary Debates relating
 to America—State and Sentiments of the Nation.*

1776.

been frequently predicted, in Parliament and elsewhere, of hostilities with America, the India islands would be in great distress. That prediction now to be fulfilled in all

From the deprivation of heretofore supplies with which furnished from the American continent, all the necessaries of life so scarce, as to rise to four times their former price. The poor and the inferior classes of people, suffered greatly on this

Materials of indispensable business of their plantations could be procured any rate, and on account, that became a subject of alarm. Had it not for the adventitious help that the capture of American ships and absolute ruin must have been the fate of the islands.

The Americans were losers in this, they made themselves rich by seizing numbers of the ships laden from those rich cargoes. Herein they were aided by a variety of circumstances from winds, weather, &c. An accident happened last year, during the course of which proved highly detrimental to the mercantile interest of this country.

The negroes in Jamaica had formed a conspiracy against the white inhabitants. As part of the military force usually stationed on that island had been drafted off to America, the few soldiers that remained were not sufficient to keep the negroes in awe. They had determined to rise upon their masters as soon as a large fleet of merchant-men was sailed that was then loading with sugars in the different ports of the island. Fortunately for the inhabitants, the plot was discovered and suppressed; but until the danger had entirely subsided, the fleet was detained, and did not depart until after the customary time. By this retardment, it sailed at a season that was accompanied with much tempestuous weather, which scattered the ships, separated them from their convoy, and exposed them to the American cruisers that were lying in wait for them in the latitudes through which they were to pass in their voyage homewards. Notice had been received in America of the detention of the merchant-men at Jamaica, and they had employed the time given them by this delay, in fitting out a large number of stout privateers to intercept them. The consequence was, that many of the ships

composing this fleet were taken, and proved valuable prizes to the enemy.

The trade from the other islands suffered proportionably; and it was computed in London, at the close of the year seventy-six, that the losses of the merchants, and of government, by those vessels employed in its service as transports for troops, or stores, amounted to little less than eleven hundred thousand pounds.

The American privateers were at no loss where to dispose of these prizes. The ports of France and Spain, especially the first, were open to them both in Europe and in their American dominions. Here they sold them openly, without the least hindrance or controul. Such an indignity was not, however, unnoticed by the British ministry; remonstrances were made to the respective Courts, which produced some restraint on these practices; but though they were publicly disavowed, they received all manner of private encouragement, and no effectual interruption was put to the sale of the many vessels belonging to Britain, that were brought in by the Americans.

Had either France or Spain, or any power in Europe, acted in such a manner at any other time, they would soon have felt the resentment of this nation; but they knew its embarrassments; they saw that its situation would compel it to bear with such liberties as they were taking, and they continued them accordingly.

The behaviour of the French in their West India islands, was still more injurious and insulting than in France itself. They not only admitted the Americans openly into their ports, and purchased their prizes as fast as they could bring them in; they carried their audaciousness so far, as to fit out privateers under American colours, and to take commissions from the Congress, in order to cover their depredations upon the British shipping in those seas.

The captures made, on the other hand, on the Americans, by armed vessels of the British, were very numerous; but they counterbalanced the value of the captures made on Britain: as they were chiefly laid provisions, and articles for the West Indies, they proved ever highly useful to the Islands, where they always found a ready sale.

But it was not only the power or connivance of the French ministry at this encouragement of American privateers, that caused alarm to that of the British; the ports of both kingdoms of such indications as denoted objects of far higher and more importance were in agitation; an altercation subsisted between France and Portugal: but it was evident to discerning people, that something more was meant than a quarrel that Crown by the vast armaments that were carried on by the Bourbon. The compact that had been framed between the branches of that potent far present to the mind of all that reflected on the opportunity now given to it, by the difference between Great Britain and France, to depress that power it stood so much in awe, and it had lately experienced the effects in many parts of the world.

In the midst of the solicitude the naval preparations of the great monarchs occasioned in the minds of the people, the attention of the British was called forth by one of the events that are sometimes by seasons of general turbulent fermentation.

A man of an extraordinary mind, arrived in the course of the year from America. He was a Quaker:—Impelled by an restless disposition, his whole life had been a perpetual scene of an

country to another, without fixing there for a consistency. — The traits of his character engaged in a variety of such adventures as given to profligacy seem to denote. — Leading a vagabond, lawless life, he had gone through changes and vicissitudes. He killed several times as a soldier, and was often deterred, after receiving the bounty money. He had opportunities offered, been successful as a highwayman, a house-breaker, robber in every shape and form. He also worked occasionally at his trade which was that of a painter. — He committed a number of murders for which, if detected, he was aware that his punishment would be severe. He thought it prudent to abandon his native country, and transport himself to America. Here he remained three years, rambling from Connecticut Colony, and supporting himself by his trade. As his adventures known only to himself, he met with friendly treatment among the people. Before the unhappy quarrel between Britain, made it a duty to receiveatives of this island with kindness and hospitality. This quarrel was at its beginning to be serious, and drew the attention and conversation of the people. It was principally at the instigation of his own degree, that the conduct of the British government was deemed in the most outrageous manner. By frequenting and conversing with men of this description, he fully imbibed their opinions, and developed an aversion to his country and nation, that increased to the highest degree of inveteracy and violence. The warmth and impetuosity of a hot and enterprising temper, he continually brooding on the means of making his vengeance upon a people and kingdom he held in so much esteem. He projected at last the daring plan that ever entered into the conception of a political en-

thusiast, — that of contriving and effecting, alone and unassisted, the complete subversion of the power of Great Britain.

Fraught with a project that involved at once the total annihilation of the strength of this realm, and the deliverance of America from all its attempts to subdue it, he again crossed the ocean to this island, without communicating his intentions to any one. It was by this deep reserve, and averiness to mix with associates, that he had formerly preserved himself from discovery in the perpetration of his wickedness. He determined therefore to act upon the same plan in the execution of the enterprise he was labouring to accomplish.

He neglected nothing which could in any manner prove subservient to it. It was indeed of such a nature, as required the utmost boldness, perseverance, and industry of which human nature is capable. These qualities he exerted in the supremest degree upon this occasion, and carried them all to an extent that was truly astonishing.

His design was no less than to destroy the whole navy, together with the commercial greatness of Britain. In order to accomplish this end, his intent was to set fire to the King's dock yard, and afterwards to the principal sea port and trading towns in the kingdom.

Full of this destructive scheme, he visited and inspected with the keenest attention and vigilance, those docks and places at which his attempts were chiefly to be aimed. He strictly examined their situation and circumstances and especially the degree of care and watchfulness that was bestowed upon them, by those who were appointed to their guard. This he acknowledged, upon his trial, to have been scandalously deficient, and very inadequate to so great a trust, and such as afforded him the highest encouragement to proceed in his undertaking.

In the mean time, he was indefatigable in devising and preparing implements and materials for the execution of his purposes. His inventive genius contrived several of a very singular and extraordinary nature, and his whole time was taken up in making trials of their efficacy.

After failing in several attempts, he at last found means to set fire to the Rope-house at Portsmouth; hoping from the combustible articles with which it was filled, that the conflagration would be so violent as to extend to the adjoining magazines and store-houses, and thus complete, at one stroke, the ruin of the first arsenal in the kingdom.

The fire was however happily extinguished by the dexterity and diligence with which it was encountered; but not without having entirely consumed all the hemp and cordage in the Rope-house; a great, but comparatively small loss, when the danger is considered, to which the immense value of the prodigious quantity of naval stores lodged in the contiguous buildings was exposed, together with their very narrow escape.

But though the loss upon this occasion was not difficult to repair in such a country as England, the dread and apprehension excited by so daring an attempt, were not easily removed. An alarm was spread over the nation, that plots and machinations were forming against it of the most insidious and base nature; and that should open and avowed hostilities fail, clandestine measures would be employed against it of such a kind, as no care nor circumspection would be able to defeat. As no discovery could be made of the author of the mischief done at Portsmouth, it was accounted for, in the mean time, by various conjectures. It was attributed by numbers to incendiaries hired from abroad; some suspected France or Spain; others charged it to America; nobody imagined that mere political enthusiasm, uninfluenced by the

prospect of reward, would spontaneously have ventured upon so desperate an undertaking.

The perpetrator of this deed was now at Plymouth, watching an opportunity of repeating what he had done at Portsmouth. But the intelligence of what had happened at this place, had set people upon their guard; and making an attempt upon the dock, he was near being discovered.

Despairing of success in either of these places, he next projected to burn the shipping in some of the mercantile sea-ports. Here he expected to find men less apprehensive of such a design, and therefore less watchful. To this intent he proceeded to Bristol, where the party that sided with the measures that were now prosecuting against the Colonies, had lately procured an address of congratulation to the Throne upon the successes of the late campaign in America.

This was a powerful motive to excite the mind of so resolute and vindictive a man. He arrived at Bristol in January seventy-seven, and directly began with an attempt to set fire to the shipping, of which the crowded situation in the narrow gut that runs along the quay, and is almost dry at low water, exposes them to the most imminent danger in such cases. Failing in several endeavours upon those vessels, he next determined to make an essay upon the warehouses lying near them, in hopes that the flame would spread on both sides, and destroy both the city and shipping.—No more, however, than six or seven were consumed.

The terrors of the public were renewed upon this occasion, and the rage of the party was added to them. The enemies of the Americans ascribed these mischiefs to their favourers; these retorted the accusation, and presented them as proceeding from their own machinations, in order to have a pretence to blacken those opposed their iniquitous measures.

manner did individuals of conceptions, and violent temper to defame each other ly; while the more cool and of both parties suspended ions, and were struck with it and doubt whence so uned and unaccountable, and, ne time, so persevering a systiquity could proceed.

happily at last brought to a by a seizure of the offender, time after leaving Bristol, f further adventures of the , was taken up, on suspicion. ed upon examination with a und assurance that almost dis those who were authorised e into his conduct. He ath surprising art every captious nor when he was brought e Lords of the Admiralty did intedness fail him; he answer- word with the same caution, ined equally calm and unper-

, however, were found to bring ection.—A man of the same , who had also lived in Ame- who was an American, visited rison, and pretended much nd sorrow at his situation.— gly affected to be no less at the cause of America than ner himself, and as ready to en- ny undertaking to serve that

An intimacy being thus pro- tween them, the first was at duced to disclose himself. Evi- ng obtained in this manner, ough to his trial at Portf- here he maintained his char- e last, rejecting and invalidat- e testimony of his false friend baseness and treachery of his r. He received his condem- death with great composure, his fate with a fortitude wor- better cause than that which d for. When at the point of

execution, he acknowledged his guilt; and as an atonement for it, he left some directions how to prevent the dock- yards, and other public magazines, from being attempted in the like man- ner in future.

Such was the destiny of this wicked but extraordinary man.—His real name was James Atkin; but he was much better known by that of John the Painter. He was perhaps the most singular phenomenon to which the tem- pestuousness of the times gave birth.— The boldness and magnitude of his en- terprise, the motives that produced it, which tho' erroneous and unjustifiable, were not mean, the resolution and in- dustry with which it was conducted, the toils, difficulties and hardships, with which an individual in low circumstan- ces must have constantly struggled in his labours to accomplish it; all these con- siderations render it, tho' highly atro- cious, and criminal no less an object of astonishment than execration.

The ideas of the danger with which Great Britain was menaced, both from within as well as from without, received an additional weight from this event. Ministry had already begun to put the nation in a stronger state of defence than had hitherto been thought necessary. Sixteen ships of the line had been added to those already in commission; and other preparations made, that manifested speculations of unfriendly designs from abroad.

In the mean time the session of Par- liament was opened on the last day of October, 1776. In the speech deliv- ered from the Throne, it was repre- sented, among other particulars, that the people of America had not only renounced their allegiance to the Crown, and their political connection with this country, but rejected with cir- cumstances of indignity and insult, the means of conciliation held out to them by the Commission sent out for that very purpose. That if their resistance

continued

rope. Their favourers compared their behaviour to that of the ancient Romans, when almost vanquished by Pyrrhus, and who in the midst of the severest defeats and losses, never submitted to despondency, and still continued to bid him defiance.

It was not only with British troops and their European auxiliaries the Congress had now to contend : a domestic enemy had been excited to invade the territories of the Colonies, in a part which was considered as the least defensible.

The British agents among the Indians, had long exerted their endeavours to bring them into the contest, as allies to Britain. Through the vigilance and address of those who had been employed by the Congress to prevent such a measure from taking place, it had been repeatedly defeated, and a plan of amity between the Indian nation and the Colonists had been settled, upon terms equally acceptable to both. But notwithstanding these successive failures, the zeal and activity of the British agents did not abate. They were experimentally acquainted with the fickleness of these people and with the readiness to concur in any enterprize from whence profit was to arise. By dint of seasonable presents, and by holding out to them the prospect of the immense booty that would fall into their possession, they induced them to take up arms in the cause of Britain.

In order to encourage them by the probability of success, they laid before them the scheme of action that was to be pursued upon this occasion. A considerable force was to be sent to West Florida, which was to march through the country of the Greeks, Chickesaws, and Cherokees. Strengthened by the warriors of those nations this force was to fall upon Virginia and the Carolinas, and thus distract the attention of the Colonists, while the British armaments were invading the sea coasts.

But the Indians were not support relied upon in this case. It was to be forwarded by the ration of others, in whom greater dependence might be. Circular letters were distributed among the well-affected to the government in the back sent acquainting them with the pretences that were making against the colonies, and exhorting them to a design that seemed to promise the surest success. The other Indians in general were summoned to adhere to Britain, with the promise of the kindest treatment in case of compliance ; but warning them at the same time, of the certain and able miseries they would fall into in case of a refusal. They were ordered to repair to the place where the royal standard was to be erected together with their horses, their arms, and as large a flock of provisions as they could collect ; for all this should be generously paid.

mean time, a subscription to declaring their allegiance, despatched that it might be known who were friends or the enemies to Britain.

Those who conducted this did it so effectually, that an insurrection followed in consequence of it, among the Indians. The plausibility of a plan that promised them such great advantage easily forgot the engagements they had formed with the Colonies, and they entered heartily into a confederacy against them. Even their ancient friends the Six Nations, swerved from fidelity on this occasion ; and numbers of them were induced, by hopes of plunder, to join the rebels.

This Indian insurrection succeeded among the Greeks, a rapacious people, whose interests were accompanied with the most successful preparations of barbarity. An Indian war so to be that are exposed to its effects.

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quiet at home, and gave up all thought
 of the projected expedition. The
 cruelties that had been exercised by
 these savage warriors, gave such uni-
 versal offence to all parties, that both
 the well and the ill-affected to the
 British cause, concurred in expressing
 the utmost abhorrence of such a man-
 ner of carrying on hostilities, and in
 condemning those who had promoted
 this Indian invasion. The consequence
 was, that numbers of the adherents to
 Britain; determined to renounce all
 such measures in future; as experience
 had proved them to be fruitless, and
 as they were entirely repugnant to
 humanity.

This total deliverance from the
 fears which had so long alarmed the
 inhabitants of the interior and remote
 parts of the Colonies, was an event of
 the utmost consequence to the Ame-
 ricans. It answered two ends: it
 showed that the Indians were not so
 formidable as they had been represent-
 ed, and that they might easily be re-
 pulsed; and it removed, at the same
 time, all apprehensions that they
 might be aided by those among the
 Colonists who were disaffected to the
 measures of Congress.

This security to their back settle-
 ments, was a circumstance the more
 desirable, as it enabled Congress to
 turn the whole of their attention to
 those operations that were immediately
 under their eye.—Had they been
 obliged to provide for the defence of
 those distant places, while they were
 so closely pressed by the British armies
 towards the close of the campaign,
 their distress might possibly have been
 too great to be remedied. But having
 now no internal foe to oppose, they
 were quite at liberty to improve those
 advantages which General Washing-
 ton had gained towards the end of
 that year, and the commencement of
 the ensuing.

He was now busily employed in the
 Jerseys in harassing the out-posts of
 the British army, and preventing sup-
 ply

person they knew for the station he now filled with so much reputation. Previous to this unhappy dispute, he was a private gentleman possessed of a handsome patrimony; but his mind was much more liberal than his fortune; his generous and hospitable behaviour had recommended him to public notice, much more than his affluence. Had this been his only distinction, he would have attained neither greatness nor fame among his countrymen: and would have remained in obscurity like many others, that had no other claim to their predilection.

Those who composed the Congress, were not the richest men in the land. Their capacity and their resolution had dictated the propriety of electing them. They held their authority from the good opinion of the people; the republican ideas prevailing in America allowed them no other right to rule. It was absurd, therefore, to assert that the Americans were now become slavish and submissive: such a sudden change could not be supposed in men, who were known to be staunch levellers, and declared enemies of all personal prerogatives; who thought and acted with more freedom and independency of judgment, than any civilized people whatever; who were more jealous of their liberties than any other nation; and who, in defence of their rights, had taken up arms, and were now inspired with a determination to sacrifice all that was dear to them, rather than submit to demands that were contrary to their inclinations.

Such a race of men were not to be made tools of by a few designing individuals. The truth was, the whole continent had unanimously disapproved the conduct of the British administration; and when it was found, that it persisted in measures opposite to their requests, and that no expostulations would prevail, the Colonies had associated to oppose these measures; and

had like all other people in the like circumstances, been compelled to choose directors for the supreme management of their affairs. But could a direction of this nature imply tyranny? Their leaders were appointed by the people at large, chosen annually, and responsible to a public that constantly watched all their proceedings, and would withdraw its confidence at the moment it saw the least cause. With what face could ministers put such assertions into a speech, that ought to contain nothing but the strictest and most unquestionable truth?

What were the terms of conciliation offered to the Americans? Forgiveness upon unconditional submission. Did ministers seriously imagine the Americans would accept of such terms? Could they doubt an instant, that they would be refused with indignation, and that such a treatment would necessarily produce resistance? This, was the necessary course of things, and was followed with a determination to shake off the yoke of a power, from which they had nothing further to expect but enmity.

It had been asserted, that no people enjoyed greater happiness, and lived under a milder government than the British Colonies; their prosperity, and the strength to which they had attained, were instanced as proofs. This assertion was true; but militated against those who made it. Why did the force so rich and powerful a part of the British empire to sever itself from the parent state, at a time when unanimity and good understanding was so necessary, to enable this country to face the potent enemies, who were secretly watching for opportunities to despoil it of its power? The fabric of British grandeur, erected by the wisdom of our forefathers, long preserved by their prudence and valour, was on the point of falling to pieces, by the imprudence, the obstinacy of its

warnings of every kind could monish, nor even reiterated exhortations induce to desist from measures ere evidently pregnant with danger?

What could ministers mean by assertions of friendly and pacific sentiments from abroad? Poor politicians they be, who depended upon assurances, in the best of times, from those quarters whence they now

Old grudges were not so easily forgiven; and this nation had every reason to apprehend from those to whom it had done so much mischief in the late war. Resentment and ambition were in hand upon this occasion, and would not lose so fair an opportunity of revenge, as that which was offered by this fatal quarrel between Great Britain and her Colonies. Preparations of those powers who were not friendly in language, were not so friendly in action to the Americans; their partiality to this country; their encouragement to the privateers that were capturing the merchantmen, was a sufficient indication of the designs that were upon their councils, and was but too evident to what we were to expect, as circumstances had brought us to maturity.

As for unanimity, after plunging this nation into such calamities, the highest insult to a sensible people was the result of good fortune and success; but not of immediate and malversation: it implied respect and esteem; but who would give them to men who had forfeited both; who had crushed all reality by dint of numbers, and derided foresight itself, when, in the unhappy events it had produced? The assertions of that administration affected no man, had been fatally too pro-

The Colonies had resisted; and declared themselves independent; they were secretly, and

would soon be openly assisted by our enemies: all this had been foretold; and all this had happened: minority would now venture to make one more assertion, which was, that America was lost for ever.

One method only remained to extricate this country from the difficulties wherein it was involved, and to prevent still greater. This was to recall our armies from America, and to repeal all the acts obnoxious to that people. This, perhaps, might induce them to a re-union; but should they refuse to return any more to a state of subordination to Britain, still it were wiser to acknowledge their independency, and to unite with them upon a footing of parity, than to continue shedding their blood, together with our own, to no other purpose, than to satiate a base and unprofitable resentment.

A war with the whole House of Bourbon, and perhaps with other powers, would be the inevitable consequence of continuing hostilities in America; but such a war at present would no longer resemble those we had formerly waged with the Princes of that family. Powerful as they were at that time they would still be much more formidable now that the strength of America would be thrown into their scale. It was a sorrowful, but a true reflection, that one half of the British nation, was become an instrument in the hands of our natural enemies, with which most effectually to distress the other.

Impelled by these cogent reasons, it was the duty of every man who felt them, to oppose an address approving of measures which, if persisted in, must terminate in calamities, that would give such deadly wounds to Britain, as might prove incurable, and bring her to such a state of debility, as would, from one of the first powers in the world, reduce her to hold but a secondary rank among the European nations.

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The address was justified on the other side in all its parts, as founded upon equity, prudence, and spirit. Nothing was recommended by it, that tended to oppress the Americans: no more was to be required of them than a return to the same obedience, which every other British subject was bound to pay. Was it, in the mean time, consistent with the wisdom, in which this nation so justly prided itself, to throw away the fruits of the infinite cares and expences it had bestowed upon the Colonies, while any hope remained of reclaiming them from their defection? To give them up, would be to resign the wealth, the strength, and the importance of Great Britain: they were evidently at stake in the present contest; were the issue of it contrary to what was hoped by all well wishers to their country, its fall and degradation would be the necessary consequence.

It was equally repugnant to that idea of courage, so much boasted of in the British nation, to be terrified out of their rights by threats, or by resistance. The first was unworthy of their notice; and the second it became them to overcome by that valour, which had so long been the dread of their enemies. The question was now, who should be masters of America; whether Britain, that had founded, nurtured, and protected its Colonies there during the space of near two centuries, should still retain them; or whether those Colonies, now arrived at maturity, should turn at the hand that had raised them, and plunge the dagger into the bosom of their parent state? Would any one that was not an enthusiast in republican principles, and an advocate of political licentiousness, deny this to be a fair statement of the question?

There was a morality in public, as well as in private transactions. Nations were bound to each other by ties of gratitude, no less than individuals; and when they swerved from

their duty, were equally deserving of censure. The frequent breach of this duty, did not diminish its heinousness; it was indeed become so common, that unreflecting people thought it hardly merited notice, and claimed, as it were a sort of tacit allowance from the generality of its practice. But such people ought to be told, that neither habit nor prescription can give a sanction to iniquity. The more common the crime, the greater the scandal. Nations ought no more to be exempted from condemnation, when they deviate from rectitude, than the most obscure individuals.

Upon this principle the inhabitants of the Colonies were guilty of great undutifulness and ingratitude, in denying the request of their parent state, to assist her in the difficulties she had incurred on the joint account of both. To say that the monopoly of their trade was a sufficient compensation for what she had done on their behalf, was a fallacious assertion; they were a part of the empire, and ought, in justice, to contribute to the utmost of their abilities to its common exigencies, as well as this country. But this they most certainly had not done. While profusions of every kind fell upon the inhabitants of Britain, those of the Colonies enjoyed an ease of prosperity, such as no people on earth had ever been recorded to have experienced. Seven indigence was the lot of multitudes of this island: the poor's rate bore ample testimony of what numbers were in want; but the Americans knew no distresses of this kind; they were well housed, well fed, and well clad; and whoever, was industrious, was sure to lead a comfortable life.

This was an unanswerable proof, that the people of Britain, exerted themselves much more for the common good of the empire, than those of the Colonies. It was therefore a reasonable argument in favour of the demands, made by the British legislature upon the Colonies. Their refusal was not founded

upon

able motives. The internal opulence of which they had manifested a much greater capacity to bear additional taxes, comparative circumstances in Britain.

Season of arguing was over ; Mans had bid us defiance and we our enemies : the sword was to decide ; it was now, whether we could reduce obedience by superior force. To fail, it would be vain to her expedient. They were really found to be ungovernable through fear. Lenity and we had been tried to no effect had only prompted them to more audaciousness, and to assume the style of dictators in their course with government. It had done indeed under the title of remonstrances and petitions ; could not conceal the haughtiness of their disposition.

The determination that was through all their pretences of us, to render Britain subservient to their own convenience, and to their interests no further, than we made conducive to their selfishly of all considerations of heavier weight of burthens and borne by Britain, for the depredation of the whole empire.

Yet time to assert our national and supremacy ; we were strength and vigour ; the rest of this country, though they tried to a great extent, were exhausted. They could not stand upon a more critical and occasion than the present.

They had a right to demand and we had to call upon opposition to thwarting the measures that were being against America. What we had been contained in some predictions, they had erred in the principal point of us, by denying the intention

of the Colonies to cast off the sovereignty of this country. It was incumbent upon all good subjects, after such a proof of insincerity, to place no further confidence in the protestations, of whatever kind, that might come from America. While they continued to resist on the footing of subjects contending for their rights, people might be excused for pleading in their favour ; but they had now forfeited all right to patronage in this country ; and to espouse their cause at present, could hardly be considered in any other light than that of disaffection and disloyalty.

It was base and insidious to represent the circumstances of the nation as deplorable and desperate. Such ideas could only inculcate despondency which ought not to be admitted at the worst of times ; men of true spirit would preserve hope in the midst of adversity and real friends to their country, would never encourage despair ; but the test of the patriotism in those who patronised the Americans, seemed of late to consist in representing Britain as at the lowest ebb.

The successes of the last campaign in America afforded a well-grounded prospect of settling affairs to our satisfaction, a spirited prosecution of the business in hand, would speedily conclude it. None but enemies to their country, would throw any obstacles in the way of to desirable an object, as that of humbling her foes, whether they dwelt in Europe or on the continent of America ; whether they were foreign nations, long used to rivalry and enmity, or a people sprung from the same origin as ourselves, and emboldened by that flourishing situation in which we had placed them to make the first essay of their strength upon those from whom it was derived.

Much was threatened from abroad, and great terrors held out, that occasion would be taken from these unhappy broils to do Great Britain irreparable damage, either by fomenting them, or by attacking us in the absence of our
 See!

fleets and armies. But the prudence of government had fully obviated these objections. A sufficient force was preparing to face all dangers at home ; and the prosperity of our arms abroad had, it was well known, cast a damp on all the partisans of the Americans throughout Europe. However well they might wish them, the most inveterate of our foes would not venture to engage in so distant a quarrel, until they saw better signs of its terminating to the advantage of our opponents.

We were now in the career of victory ; it would betray weakness and imbecillity to be driven out of it by mere apprehensions. The object in pursuit was of such consequence, that we could not desert it either in honour or interest. It was the preservation of those possessions, on which so great a proportion of our commerce and our strength was founded. We should not therefore relinquish them until every effort had been made to retain them :—To act otherwise would justly subject us to the imputation of a heartless and pusillanimous people. If it were our misfortune to lose these valuable dominions, still we ought not to put it in the power of our enemies to say, that we lost them for want of courage to defend them.

What countenance could we bring to a treaty of accommodation with the Americans, the very moment, as it were, after they had done us the greatest injury they were able ? Had a treaty been advisable before, it was no longer practicable at present, unless we meant to condescend to the lowest degree of humiliation. But the preservation of our honour was of more importance than even that of America. Admitting that we had acted erroneously in our former proceedings with the Colonies, their present behaviour counterbalanced all the grievances of which they complained. At all events we had a clear right to make good our claims to the participation of those benefits, the prospect of enjoying which

had induced us, in common with many other nations, to found colonies in this newly discovered part of the world.

The people at large were as greatly alienated from the Americans however they might once have been inclined to favour them, they were full of resentment at their late conduct. The declaration of Independency had entirely altered their opinion of the Colonists ; and they were heartily disposed to concur in any measures in order to compel them to submission.

With so many reasonable motives, to persist in the determination to reduce the Colonies to obedience, it was but just to approve of an address that recommended it. The general sense of the nation coincided with the opinion of the majority in Parliament upon this occasion ; and an unanimity of this nature had always been considered as a proof of rectitude in the conduct adopted by ministry.

The conclusion of these debates was, that the address was carried in the House of Lords by ninety-one votes to twenty-six ; and in the House of Commons by two hundred and thirty-two to eighty-three.

Various, in the mean time, were the sentiments and dispositions of people relating to the situation of public affairs. Though a majority assented to the propriety of compulsive measures in America, yet their approbation was not given with that warmth and favour which usually accompanies a declaration of hostilities against the known and long avowed enemies of this country. The idea of that object for which they were to contend, was not sufficiently powerful to awaken much resentment. The vast distance of the scene of action, and the remoteness of immediate peril, rendered people less attentive to the transactions that were taking place, and less alarmed at their consequences than their real importance required a reflecting nation to have been.

That

who chiefly interested themselves in the business, were such as large contributions from America to alleviate the public burthens. These were the most numerous, being a clear and distinct gain of course the most influence. Others again were by motives of zeal for the nation, which they thought for a diminution by yielding it with its Colonies. There were great numbers who professed to be unable to decide which of the two, Britain or America, was most justifiable in their pretensions. These observed neutrality, and seemed to be different about the success of either.

Could it be forgotten, that the dissipation, and the eagerness for the pursuit of pleasure which had years so strongly characterised America, operated at this period in a bold and striking manner. So as this propensity, that nothing but amusement was allowed of in America, among many of the politest and that politics especially excluded from all genteel conversation. Many persons of this description universally remarked, that a quietness in the views and of administration, was the maxim. But as it rose from a motive than the fear of being

interrupted in their favourite pursuits by party disquisitions, they seemed in general to be little affected by the good or ill fortune of either side.

That division of the people which espoused the cause of the Americans, was incomparably more animated than any other. They had from the beginning of the contest acquired this character, and they continued to preserve it. They dreaded the success of ministerial measures in America, from an apprehension of the danger that would result from it to the liberties of this country. In this persuasion, they were indefatigable in representing every where the necessity of putting an end to the dispute. They considered it as ruinous in every shape: should the British arms prevail, though this might redound to the reputation of Britain, it would eventually, by a chain of causes not difficult to unfold, occasion, in all likelihood, the loss of freedom. Should America, on the contrary, be successful, the dignity of Britain would be hurt, and its lustre tarnished among the nations. The dilemma was equally perplexing either way, and the only expedient to avoid it, was a reconciliation with America, founded upon terms of reciprocal equality, before the operations of war had decided the superiority in the field. Such were the sentiments and wishes, of a considerable part of the nation.

CHAP.

C H A P. XV.

Parliamentary Transactions relating to America.

1776.—1777.

SHORTLY after the meeting of Parliament, a motion was made in the House of Commons by Lord John Cavendish, for a revival of all those acts by which the Colonies thought themselves aggrieved.

The reason he alledged for making this motion was, that such a revival would come very effectually in aid of the proclamation issued by the commissioners in America, by which the people in the Colonies were given to understand, that the Crown would concur in such a measure.

It was necessary, he observed, that Parliament should as speedily as possible confirm this declaration. Whatever proposals were made to the Americans on the part of administration, they would not be credited without this additional sanction. It would remove all mistrust, and establish that confidence, without which no negotiation could proceed. If it was therefore seriously meant to fulfil the purposes of the declaration, ministry ought cheerfully to concur in this motion.

It was however opposed with great warmth. —The arguments alledged against it were, that to take up such a discussion at the present, might embarrass the commissioners, and impede a negotiation that was perhaps commenced, and already in some forwardness. If they had begun, they ought to be left to conclude it. Being on the spot, they were best judges how to conduct a treaty with the Colonists, and what concessions might be granted or withheld.

In the sequel of the debate ordered by this motion, it was asserted by ministry, that until the Congress rescinded the declaration of independence, no treaty could be entered with America.

Such an assertion was very censured by opposition. It was less than a denunciation of all its calamities, unless the Act implicitly admitted the principle now in litigation, without a liminary stipulation.

The most haughty and a Princes had condescended to with their revolted subjects, standing they had renounced allegiance. Philip the Second of Spain, treated with the people of the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands, after they had abjured his authority, and declared themselves independent; he was not above making proposals to them, and promising to restore them to all their rights.

Instances of the same kind are adduced from all histories: they afforded enough to show the impriety and rashness of such a declaration, which was utterly inconsistent with sound policy, and tended to produce the most fatal consequences.

Other reasonings were also in support of the motion; but were nevertheless rejected by a majority of one hundred and nine, to seven.

This rejection exasperated the majority to a violent degree. It seemed to have formed a de-

drop entirely the contest with
 ry upon all questions relating to
 ica. They avowedly withdrew
 ver any were proposed, and from
 riod left the House to the full and
 urbed possession of the majority.
 order to justify this secession, it
 ledged that an attendance in the
 upon these matters, was ineffe-
 and nugatory; the weight of
 rs was irresistible, and baffled
 guments. It was a degrading
 always to contend with a cer-
 of being defeated. Discussion
 ain where people's votes were
 terminated. There was a time
 reasoning was listened to, and
 s due influence; but as experi-
 ed shown that time was no more,
 wiser to acquiesce in silence,
 undergo the fatigue of a fruit-
 opposition. They had for years
 ed to convince their opponents
 dangers into which they were
 to precipitate this country; and
 it impossible to stem the torrent
 eluded multitude, they would
 or the present, and wait with-
 ce until the frenzy of the day had
 d, and people were brought to
 consideration of things, either
 h their own timely reflection, or
 nviction enforced upon them by
 eable events.

season was not yet come for the
 to be undeceived. It was the
 of so many to continue the de-
 t, that it would last till an accu-
 on of calamities had oppressed
 ion to such a degree, as to be
 all degrees. Until then, indi-
 seemed too generally disposed
 nit to ministerial influence, and
 p at those benefits which were
 it to those who could further
 signs of men in power. The
 vere so degenerate that no man
 ave an opinion of his own, with-
 to his interest or pretensions in
 affairs. The venality so much
 ined of in former days, was an

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object of no consideration, when com-
 pared to its present increase. It was
 then temporary and occasional, but it
 was now reduced into a system; it
 pervaded all ranks and professions.—
 Means were found to make them all
 subservient to the purposes of ministry;
 such amazing numbers were benefited
 by their measures, that till defeats, dis-
 appointments, and losses of every kind,
 had disabled them from pursuing their
 schemes any longer, they were sure of
 a ready support from those whom
 they employed in their execution.

For these reasons, minority judged
 it necessary to refuse their presence to
 transactions which they disapproved,
 and could not hinder. They would
 reserve themselves for a more probable
 opportunity of being able to do service
 to their country. When they percei-
 ved that adversity had, as usual, open-
 ed the eyes of men, they would then
 come forth again, and endeavour, if
 possible, to remedy the evils which it
 was not now in their power to prevent.
 —Such was the apology made by the
 minority for their secession.

The strength of ministry was now
 become so decisive, that whatever was
 proposed, was immediately approved
 of, and carried without any opposition
 or debate. Never had those at the
 helm met with more accord and acqui-
 escence in the most successful eras.

The number of seamen was now in-
 creased to forty five thousand for the
 ensuing year; and the expence of the
 navy amounted to four millions two
 hundred and ten thousand pounds, in-
 cluding the ordinary, the building and
 repairing of ships, and a million that
 was voted to discharge the debt of the
 navy.

The expences of the land service
 were not less enormous; the amount
 was near three millions, exclusive of the
 extraordinaries of the preceding year,
 which exceeded twelve hundred thous-
 and pounds, besides new contracts for
 additional troops from Germany, to-
 gether

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gether with the half-pay list, and the pensioners of Chelsea.

A bill was also passed for granting commissioners to fit out private ships against the Americans. This was followed by another to empower the Crown to secure such persons as were accused, or suspected of high treason, committed either in America, or at sea. By the provisions of this bill, they were liable to be detained in custody without bail or trial, while the law continued in force; it was reserved to the Privy Council only to admit them to either.

This bill, however, did not pass without opposition and severe animadversion. It was contended that no legitimate or obvious reason subsisted for investing the Crown with so unusual a power.—There was no rebellion, either existing or apprehended, in any part of Great Britain or Ireland.—Such an extraordinary measure could be tolerated only in cases of great domestic danger, when the realm or constitution were immediately threatened; but neither of these could be pleaded in the present instance. The coercive measures already taken against the Americans, were amply sufficient, without any further addition; and the safety of the kingdom was amply provided for by the vast force at sea and land now in commission, and the readiness with which a now well regulated militia could be called forth.

The operations of this bill were of an alarming nature. It would augment the animosity of the Americans, and excite them to retaliate, by adopting measures of the like nature. This would embitter the minds of both parties, already exasperated in a high degree. It would increase the rage with which hostilities were exercised, and render men implacable on either side.

A variety of other arguments were alleged against the bill, which tended to show the danger arising from it to the liberty of the subject.

The reply of ministry was, that if these allegations were the effect of groundless discontent, and of a determination to oppose every measure of government, however prudent and well founded. The end of the bill could evidently be no other than to seize and imprison persons guilty of treasonable actions in the Colonies, or on the seas, or who acted contrary to their allegiance. Those who were innocent of such practices had nothing to dread; but surely it was consistent both with law and reason, to apprehend all persons both at home and abroad, who were justly suspected of holding a traitorous correspondence with the Colonists, by supplying them with money, or other means of resistance or by conveying improper intelligence to them.

After a long and violent debate, the bill passed by a majority of one hundred and ninety-five, to forty three: to so inconsiderable and slender a force was opposition now reduced upon this occasion, which numbers imagined would have called up a much greater list of opponents.

A petition was presented by the city of London against this bill, reprobating it in the most pointed terms, and declaring it unconstitutional, and subversive of the most valuable rights of the people, subjecting them to arbitrary proceedings, and putting them out of the protection of the law.

Great complaints were also made of the profusion that accompanied the expence of the American war. The extraordinaries of the last year for the operations by sea and land, amounted to no less than two millions, one hundred and seventy thousand pounds; a sum exceeding the largest appropriated to those services in any year of the last war, notwithstanding the prodigious fleets and armies that were maintained in so many parts of the world.

accounts were represented as very intricate and obscure, in order to fatigue the attention, and to prevent people from an examination. Benefits were allowed to contractors and aid to be enormous, and paid all alike; their charges were admitted without a due inspection, and accounts wanted that explicitness alone could render them clear, much for their authenticity. The

tonnage had been raised upon importment without apparent necessity; of rum was beyond the market; and other articles had been raised in the same manner. Those who furnished the army with provisions experienced severe complaints, on account of their bad quality, and of the want of wholesomeness.

The ministry was at great pains to defend and invalidate all these charges. A minute and laborious detail of the various branches of public expenditure was laid before the House, and an explanation used, in order to show the manner in which the public money had been expended. From a comparative prices at large, paid for dealings and transactions, it was deduced that the cost of the various articles purchased for the service of government, did not exceed the current demand for them elsewhere, and that they had been procured upon fair and reasonable terms. The hire of ships, for instance, had not been raised in the degree that had been expected; the price paid for transports was greater than that given in time of peace, was far from inequitable: since the price had risen, the wages of the crew were more than twice as large as before; none but the best built vessels were taken up by government; they were well manned and equipped, and every thing fitted out for defence: an increase of wages, and addition to the number of the owners of vessels, had obliged them to raise their demands on tonnage

proportionably, otherwise they would be losers.

Various objections were made to the accounts given of the employment of the immense sums levied upon the public. But what opposition bore the heaviest upon, was the bellowing of contracts upon the members of Parliament. The most harsh and severe animadversions were made on this practice; it was open and direct bribery; it gave ministry an opportunity of purchasing votes in that House to an alarming extent; as every time a new contract became necessary, the great profits resulting from it, excited the avidity of new competitors and laid them open to ministerial influence, in a manner equally undeniable and scandalous. This was one of the consequences of the American war, and none of the least pernicious, as it had created a new fund wherewith to corrupt the representatives of the people.

But exclusive of this, it produced another no less detrimental in its effects to the pecuniary interest of the public, than detrimental to its morals. It not only subjected the member thus bribed to the minister's command, but it reciprocally laid the minister himself under the necessity of conniving at the malversation of the person whose adherence to his measures he had purchased. What was this but a mutual toleration of iniquity on both sides? the more offensive, as it was carried on in the face of day, and in defiance, as it were, of that integrity, which ought, at least, to subsist in appearance, if not in reality, among individuals who pretended to claim the respect and esteem of their constituents, as well as their obedience.

To this it was replied, that no particular preference had been given to any member of that House merely upon that account, in the making of contracts. Agreements of this nature had invariably been made with persons

whose

whose line of life rendered them most proper to be trusted with the business assigned to them, and most likely to fulfil their obligations. As the wisdom of the nation had judged fit to admit men of mercantile education and business into that house, there could be no impropriety in applying to them in such cases, as soon as to any others. Their probity was not the less from their having a seat in Parliament; and they were as much entitled to benefit by their profession as other individuals.

Every contract had been conducted with as much caution and economy on the side of government, as was compatible with the diligence and exertions exacted from those who were employed. The most advantageous terms had been insisted upon, and obtained, that could possibly be devised or expected. Every individual's circumstances had been duly weighed, and his responsibility and his character duly ascertained, previous to his being trusted. If any deficiencies had happened, they were owing to unavoidable accidents, and to such fortuitous causes as could neither be foreseen nor obviated in the ordinary course of things.

It was equally unjust and absurd, to charge the employing of members of Parliament in the quality of contractors, to the necessity of procuring abettors of the American war. Ministry was supported by a majority that needed no allurements of that sort to preserve its superiority over opposition. The number of those who approved of that measure, exclusive of those gentlemen, who were possessed of contracts, was sufficient to constitute an incomparable majority. Had even those gentlemen, instead of adhering to government, formed a part of the minority, they were so few, that little strength would have accrued from their addition to it. But it was now become the maxim of opposition to *impute whatever was unfortunate or*

blameable, to the plan that did not coincide with their opinions. But whatever epithets they might affix to the conduct of ministry, such as were discreet and circumspect in delivering their judgment, would suspend it, till events more conclusive than those to which minority were so often appealing, had decided whose conduct was most deserving of approbation. This debate on contracts, and contractors, ended for a while the Parliamentary discussions relating to America. It was not till towards the close of the session, that an effort was again attempted to bring about a reconciliation between Great Britain and her Colonies.

His advanced age, and infirm state of health, had of late prevented the Earl of Chatham from taking an active part in the disputes that were agitating both Houses of Parliament. He viewed with an unfeigned concern, the dangers that threatened a kingdom, the councils of which he had once directed with so much success and glory. He determined again to come forth from his retreat, and endeavour, weak and debilitated as he was, to influence by the powers of his eloquence, and the still greater weight of his character, the contending parties to drop their animosity, and listen to terms of accommodation. The failure of his former attempts did not discourage, though he knew, experimentally, the obstructions that he should have to contend with, yet the firmness of his disposition was proof against all.

He repaired to the House of Lords on the thirteenth of May, and in the strongest and most pathetic terms, moved for an address to the Throne, to represent the deep regret and sorrow with which they beheld the distressed situation of the once flourishing and triumphant Empire of Britain, but menaced with impending ruin, by the continuation of the unnatural war with the Colonies; to advise speedy and effectual measures to be taken for putting a stop to -

re, upon the only just and true, a removal of grievance signify their readiness to concur in that necessary all cheerfulness and disinterestedness of regaining to the British Colonies, the advantages of these valuations. To heal and to redress, more consistent with the majesty of the Royal character prevalent over the people than the chastisement of the horrors of war, which only served to sharpen and consolidate the Colonists against the British and if continued, must lead to the final dissolution of them.

entered into an explanation of his motion, which was the obnoxious acts relating to, passed since the last confirm to them especially of disposing of their own property, he said, was coming to a decision, such an explanation was a herald of peace, the way for treating. It would remain to be settled preliminary of this kind in an earnest of the sincere disposition of Parliament, move the principal respect accommodation, and accommodation of it without violence or difficulty.

It was with great earnestness, necessity of adopting the proposed without delay, situation of Great Britain to the most imminent danger of the House of Bourbon; a right decide our fate as a treaty between France and us would be that final decision would not only lose the advantages which we had derived from our commerce, but

of our Colonies, but that commerce, and all those advantages, would be thrown into the hands of our natural and hereditary enemies.

After stating several particulars to show the impracticability of reducing America by force of arms, and the pernicious consequences of such a conquest, were it practicable; and describing the difficulties and distresses which had been brought upon the public, by engaging in hostilities, he concluded by saying, that "America was contending with Great Britain under the masked battery of France, which would open upon this country as soon as she perceived that we were sufficiently weakened for her purpose, and found herself duly prepared for war."

Lord Chatham's motion was seconded with much eloquence and energy by several of the other Lords in the opposition. It was no less vigorously resisted by those on the side of administration. The principal argument they employed was, that America from the commencement of the dispute, had taken a settled resolution to conclude it by a total renunciation of this country's authority. It was a design long premeditated. If the present causes of the altercations had not arisen, other pretences would have been found to quarrel with Great Britain. There was no reason to doubt they had been excited to act in the manner they had done, by the enemies of this nation, with a view to embroil, and keep us occupied at home, whilst they were left at leisure to pursue their schemes without molestation on our part.

Such a determination in the Colonists being once admitted, as it was certainly apparent from every circumstance attending the contest, it would be no less unavailing than unworthy of the character of a magnanimous people, to make concessions that would only produce further demands. But it was nugatory at present to be making any proffers; none would be accepted, un-

til the arms of Britain had humbled their pride : that was the most effectual preliminary to a peace : until the Colonies were convinced that they should not be able to make good their independency, they would maintain it. Nothing therefore ought to divert the attention of Britain from the measures she had adopted ; to them alone she must now trust, for a recovery of the Colonies ; and the only question at this day was, Whether the strength of Britain was adequate to the end proposed : the persuasion being for the affirmative, she could not consistently with her dignity, any more than with her interest, avoid making a trial. She was called out to the field, and could not refuse coming forth, without suffering disgrace, and losing her reputation, which was the greatest of all losses.

Whatever dangers might hereafter arise in the course of this quarrel, it still behoved us to proceed with what we had begun. Dangerous were the

concomitants of all spirited proceedings : it was the knowledge of, and the determination to face them, wherein true spirit consisted. We were engaged, it was true, in a perilous contest : but it was now safer to go forwards than to recede ; by the first we stood a chance of succeeding ; but by the second we tamely gave up every thing ; which was a behaviour that would deservedly subject us to contempt, and expose us to greater insults and dangers than those we were shrinking from through ill timed caution, or rather through a fruitless pusillanimity.

Various other arguments were urged on either side ; when after an animated and interesting debate, the question being put, Lord Chatham's motion was rejected upon a division, by a majority of ninety-nine to twenty-eight. This concluded all debates relating to the affairs of America, during the present sessions.

C H A P. XVI.

Military Operations in America.

1777.

At the opening of the spring, the British troops in America began in hopes of prosecuting their operations with more success, as they would not be hindered by the hardships of winter, when the rigour of the season had combated against them, and was a great impediment to all action against the enemy.

Persecution to which the well-to-do of the British government had subjected them throughout the Colonies, had induced great numbers to fly for refuge to the army at New York. It consisted not only of Americans, but also of natives of Britain and Ireland who had settled in that continent from the present troubles, and whose attachment to their country would permit them to yield obedience to the Congress.

In order to render them as useful as possible, at a time when no resource was to be neglected, such of them as were able to bear arms, met with considerable encouragement. They were ordered to recruit those regiments which wanted their complement; and a considerable corps was formed, which gradually augmented to thousands; they were officered by gentlemen who had been obliged to abandon their homes and families for their adherence to the British.

They were placed upon the same footing as the troops on the British side. They were paid, clad, armed, and received every advantage to which the others

were entitled. Several good purposes were answered by this measure: it relieved from distress such as were entitled to expect assistance. Instead of an incumbrance, they became serviceable in the cause for which they had suffered; it opened a prospect of deriving further aid to it from additional numbers, whom the outrageousness of party would expel from the different Colonies; and it pointed out a place where those who were desirous of obtaining revenge for that ill treatment they had received, would be duly encouraged, and amply furnished with the means of seeking it.

These people being thus embodied were put under the command of Governor Tryon, in quality of General of the King's Provincial troops, by whom they were so well disciplined, and exercised with so much industry and diligence, that they became in a short time of the highest utility. They replaced the regulars in all the posts that required to be guarded, and acquitted themselves completely in all the duties of a garrison, though they were not yet sufficiently experienced to be brought into the field. This was the first measure of importance adopted previous to the subsequent campaign by General, now Sir William Howe; who had lately been decorated with the order of the Bath, for his services during the last campaign.

The Americans had, during the winter, erected mills, and collected large magazines, in a mountainous part of the Province of New York called Courtland Manor. Its proximity to the

the present seat of war, added to the natural strength of its situation, rendered it very convenient for that purpose. As it lay on the eastern borders of the North River, it commanded an easy communication on both sides. Immense quantities of provisions and stores had been deposited there, as a place of the greatest safety, and which a very little defence could render inaccessible.

Peek's Kill, a place on the North River, at about fifty miles distance from New York, was the principal post of communication between the American army and its magazine. A plan was formed to surprize this place; by which an entrance might be secured to the upper country, and their deposits seized or destroyed. This was the only method of coming at them: an open attack was impracticable from the difficulty of the ground, and the facility with which the enemy could have removed them had they perceived such a design.

Colonel Bird, a bold and active officer, was placed at the head of this expedition. He embarked with about five hundred men under the protection of a frigate and some armed vessels. On the discovery of his approach, the enemy not thinking the place they were in tenable against his force, and seeing from the quickness of his motions that nothing could be moved off, retreated to a strong pass, two miles distant, after setting fire to the buildings, where the stores and provisions had been laid up in readiness to be conveyed to their army.

The troops landed without opposition: but found, upon reconnoitring the enemy, that the pass he had seized, commanded the entrance into the mountains so effectually, that it could not possibly be forced. They returned to their vessels, after destroying all that was on shore, as well as a number of boats belonging to the Provincials that had been just laden with provisions,

and were on the point of departure at their arrival.

As the quantity of stores destroyed at Peek's Kill was not so considerable, as it was expected, they would have been found: further attempts were projected to penetrate into those parts where they were deposited. Intelligence was brought that large quantities were laid up at Danbury, and other towns and villages in the Province of Connecticut bordering upon Coarthat Manor.

Another expedition was hereupon proposed of destroying them, the command of which was given to General Tryon, whose activity and diligence had been chiefly instrumental in procuring the intelligence. He was assisted on this occasion by General Agnew, and Sir William Erskine, two brave and expert officers, and a body of two thousand men were appointed to this service.

They embarked at New York and crossing the Sound between long Island and Connecticut, they landed at Newwalk, a place in that Province twenty miles from Danbury, the object of their destination. As that part of the country had no suspicion of any attack, it was wholly unprepared for defence, and the troops received no molestation in their march to Danbury, where they arrived on the twenty-sixth of April. But they had not been there many hours, before they were apprized that numbers of the Provincials were gathering on every side, and that they would shortly be surrounded if they made any stay. This rendered it necessary to use the utmost dispatch in the execution of their intent. They accordingly set fire to the store houses and magazines. Unhappily they could not prevent, the flames communicating to the town of Danbury, which was entirely consumed.

After performing this service they set out next morning for

midway between Danbury and where their shipping lay; enemy did not suffer them to unmolested. Generals Wooster, and Sullivan, happened in the neighbourhood. Upon notice of a party of British being landed, they exerted every with so much diligence, a considerable body of the militia Minute men were collected in a few hours. At the head of they determined to throw themselves in the way of the British troops, to interrupt their march, till sufficient reinforcements arrived to cut off their retreat.

In order to effect this design, General Wooster followed them close in their rear, harassing and obliging them frequently to face about to retreat. General Arnold proposed to other hand, to post himself at the old mill, through which the British was obliged to pass, intending to make a vigorous stand, till her assistance could arrive.—For this purpose he marched across the country with all speed, and reached the town of Ridgefield before the British troops could come up to

In the mean time the Provincials General Wooster pressed them on every side, making the most of every advantageous position they could find, and disputing the ground upon every opportunity. In this manner they not only retarded the march of the British troops, and obliged them to proceed with the utmost regularity and discipline. Notwithstanding they were guarded on each of their flanks, as well as in their rear, by small pieces, that did no small service; yet the Provincials continued to gail them with their muskets without cessation.

Being at Ridgefield, they found the enemy to encounter. General Wooster had so well improved the short time since he had taken possession

of the ground, which was not a full hour, as to have thrown up some works, behind which his men were advantageously posted and made a heavy fire on the British troops as they were advancing; but they were attacked with such vigour, that they gave way on all sides; not, however, till after making a resolute defence. General Arnold behaved on this occasion with remarkable intrepidity: his horse was shot under him, and a grenadier was coming up to pierce him with his bayonet, as he lay on the ground; but he recovered himself with great agility, and shot the grenadier dead upon his approach.

The British troops having made themselves masters of Ridgefield, halted there in the night, and resumed their march next morning. But the enemy was now strongly reinforced; and had seized every spot of ground on the road, that could be disputed with advantage.—The whole day was spent by the Royalists in forcing their way thro' a number of difficulties. It was evening before they reached a rising ground within gun shot of their shipping. Here they formed in order of battle, and on the enemy's preparing to renew their attack, they charged them with their bayonets so suddenly, and with so much fury, that they were entirely broken, and obliged to retire at a distance in order to recover themselves. This gave an opportunity to the troops of re-embarking without further hinderance.

It was time to provide for their safety by retreating: their ammunition was totally expended; it consisted of sixty rounds to a man on their setting out; from whence may be inferred the warmth and activity of the service they were employed upon. The loss on their side of killed and wounded did not exceed one hundred and seventy; but that of the Provincials was much greater. Their principal loss was that of General Wooster.

Wooster, a brave and experienced old officer. He had served in the last and preceding wars, and had signalized himself on several occasions. He behaved upon this with extraordinary valour. Though in his seventieth year, he acted with all the fire of youth, and headed every charge that was made upon the British rear, till he was mortally wounded. Several other persons of note among the Provincials fell this day. The number of gentlemen that served as volunteers among them on this emergency, was very considerable; and they exerted themselves with the more zeal and bravery, as many of the militia were new levies, who had seen little or no service, and required their example to encourage them.

In return for this incursion into Connecticut, the people of that province projected an attempt upon a post on Long Island, where a quantity of provisions had been collected for the use of the Royal army. This was Saggs harbour, lying at the eastern extremity of Long Island. Its distance from New York, and the smallness of the force stationed there, induced the Provincials to form the design of surprising it, and destroying the stores, by way of counterbalancing the damage that had been done them at Peck's Kill, and Danbury.

The person pitched upon to conduct this enterprise, was Col. Meigs, an active and daring officer. He was one of Gen. Arnold's principal companions in his memorable expedition to Canada, and in his attack upon the city of Quebec, when Gen. Montgomery was slain. He embarked with a chosen party of resolute men, about one hundred and fifty in number; and eluding the vigilance of the many armed vessels that cruized in the Sound, he landed within four miles of Saggs harbour.—Its guard consisted only of a company of foot, and an armed schooner. He

came upon them unawares, before break of day, and attacked them so vigorously, that though they made stout resistance, he overpowered and took them prisoners; destroying at the same time, all that could be found on shore, with the craft that lay in the harbour, notwithstanding a severe and continued fire from the schooner, that lay within less than two hundred yards distance.

What rendered this expedition the more remarkable, was the astonishing speed with which it was performed. It was begun and ended in less than thirty hours, computing from the time the party embarked at, to that when they returned to, Guildford in Connecticut; having, it is said, in that short space, measured about 90 miles by land and water. The diligence and courage displayed by Col. Meigs, gained him uncommon applause, and shewed that he had not, without reason, been selected by General Arnold, to accompany him in the most arduous of the attempts he had formed.

The spring was now far advanced; but the British army was prevented from taking the field through want of tents and other articles for encamping. The necessity, however, of watching the motions of the enemy, induced Lord Cornwallis to draw the troops that had wintered at Bruntwick, out of their cantonments. He formed a camp with the tents on the high grounds commanding the communication along the River Rariton to Amboy, where General Vaughan did the same with the division under his command.

The deficiency of camp equipment proved of the most material consequence to Gen. Washington, by affording him leisure to make due preparations for the ensuing campaign. He had, during the winter, carried on his operations with the best that could be selected from the army.

several Colonies ; but the major turned home on the commencement of spring, which happened to be the time at which their obligation to the Crown was expired. The dread of encountering the same difficulties in the present year as he had been involved at the end of the preceding campaign, and the dissolution of the Provincial Congress rendered him extremely anxious to keep them together, till reinforcements could arrive to supply their place.

But he could only prevail on a small number to remain. Some were influenced not to abandon him by the representations of their officers, and generous it would be to desert on such a cause at so critical a time ; but the major part were held by their attachment to his person ; which was not a motive of great efficacy with his countrymen, and proved in many instances a circumstance of great utility to his party. On this occasion it absolutely prevented the troops he had from disbanding.

These means he was enabled to prevent the appearance of an army ; but his real strength was so small, that it was not possible to take the field, and he could not have maintained his position. Thus, from whatever cause it proceeded, the delay in sending out the other appurtenances of an army, was one of the most unfortunate accidents that befel the British in the present year ; as it disabled it from commencing operations, while General Washington was utterly unable to oppose

a new method adopted by Congress in order to recruit their army, by keeping it on a permanent footing, which succeeded so well as it had been expected. The length of time for which it was proposed to enlist, did not coincide with the views of a people who thought that every man should in his turn personally stand in defence of his country. Such

It has

a system they considered as both equitable and not burthensome ; and did not seem willing to encourage any other. The enlistments went on slowly ; few cared to engage for the whole duration of the war ; and even three years appeared a long term to be absent from their business and families. Hence, notwithstanding the great encouragement given by the Congress, the numbers raised in each Colony fell much short of the proportion at which it had been rated.

In the mean time, the exigency was so pressing, that every method was necessarily used to remedy these deficiencies. It was proposed to make drafts from the militia to fill up the regiments ; but those who reflected on the temper and notions of the people at large, represented this as a dangerous expedient, and unfit to be tried unless in the greatest extremity. It would be considered as a breach of the public faith with individuals, and might lead them to withdraw their confidence from their rulers, the consequences of which would be fatal. In order to avoid these difficulties, permission was given to raise recruits among those multitudes of Irish emigrants, employed in the several Colonies in the capacity of indentured servants. By this measure, their masters indeed were deprived of their use during the time for which they had, as usually, purchased their servitude ; but necessity, together with an assurance that they should be duly indemnified, were motives that could not be resisted on the present emergency.

It had been hoped that the Northern Colonies, as most abounding with white people, would have been able to spare a considerable supply to General Washington's army. They were sounded accordingly ; but they pleaded the danger with which they were menaced by the strong force under General Carlton. An invasion was

certainly

certainly preparing from Canada; they did not think themselves safe at Bullion itself; and there were other quarters, from whence they might be attacked, and probably would, were they to divest themselves of the strength they had at present.

Such, however, amidst these difficulties, were the exertions of the Congress, and the several Provincial Assemblies, that while the British troops were detained at New York, from the causes that have been mentioned, General Washington had the satisfaction of receiving numerous reinforcements from all parts, and to find himself in a situation of carrying those plans into execution, which he could not have done, had the British army been able to begin the campaign sooner.

Encouraged by this seasonable augmentation of strength, he moved forwards from Morristown, and took a strong position in the neighbourhood of Brunswick, in the highlands, about Middle Brook. Here he threw up works along the front of his camp, well provided with cannon, and other defences. But his principal advantage was the difficulty to approach him; the ground being such, as exposed an enemy to every kind of danger in attacking him. He had chosen his situation with great judgment; on the one side he covered the Jerseys, and on the other he observed all the motions of the British forces at Brunswick, of which he commanded a full prospect from his camp, as well as of the country between that place and the shores of Staten Island.

The operations of the subsequent campaign took their direction principally from the manner with which General Washington had an opportunity of commencing it. Various and opposite opinions were now entertained of the plan of action that should be adopted in the present circumstance. — Previous to General Washington's receiving such large reinforcements, and taking possession of the ground a-

long Middle Brook, it was imagined that the British army would find difficulty in penetrating through the Province of Jersey to the banks of the Delaware, and that the Provincial forces would not have been able to offer any effectual opposition. — The retention of the Jerseys, would have enabled the communication between New York and the whole chain of posts would have occupied the road between that city and the confines of Pennsylvania. Had the enemy ventured battle, in order to stop the progress of the army, nothing could have been more desirable, as an opportunity would then be given of striking a decisive blow; but as the enemy probably retire as the British advanced, they would easily be masters of the passage over the river, and consequently of Philadelphia, which was an open and defenceless city.

Such was the plan of operations formed during the winter among a majority of people at New York, which would probably have taken place, had not obstructions of various kinds retarded it. — But General Washington's late movement totally altered the face of things. He had now possessed himself of a position where it was impossible to attack him without incurring disadvantage, and exposing himself to a considerable and inevitable loss without obtaining, perhaps, the success. Were the army to move forwards to the Delaware, with intention to force a passage, the loss of such an enemy as General Washington, would be attended with the utmost danger. He would be in the rear, and cut off the communication with New York, while the detachments were making head on the other side. Such a situation lay the army open to all difficulties. Were it in such a situation, it would be unable to retreat, and would be exposed to a total defeat, which would prove a disaster.

facility, from the many that had been prepared, he was compelled to retreat; but that would be of no facility; the enemy effionably seize upon all the great bloodshed many to force a passage back to their station.

Considerations made it appear desirable to drop the design of going into Pennsylvania across the river.

As Philadelphia was the place, a passage by water least attended with difficulty, though, perhaps, of more consequence than that defect of greater safety. A plan of could have the co-operation, of which the assistance effectual in the principal of the last campaign. By the fall of Philadelphia, the army would be stationed in the Colonies, and have the command of the rich and fertile of Pennsylvania, and to invade any part of the great Provinces of Virginia and, both by land and by sea to this, that an expedition of nature might be undertaken with facility, from the number of transports, well manned found in every respect, they were happily furnished with all that put it in their power to themselves of every advantage of superiority could give.

His determination was as was resolved, however, to proceed in order to induce Washington to quit his position, if it were practicable an engagement.

In the beginning of June, the long and much wanted supply of camp equipage arrived from together with a fresh body of auxiliaries, and a number of British recruits. Howe, after waiting with

the utmost impatience, was at length enabled to take the field. He repaired immediately to the Jerseys, and pitched his camp opposite to that of General Washington.

The Provincial army, exclusive of the strong post occupied, had received such an accession of numbers, as made it very considerable. The retardment of the necessaries that were to come from England, had afforded time for detachments to arrive from the furthestmost Colonies to Washington's encampment. The Northern Provinces, besides providing for the guard of the Lakes, had at last arrayed a large force, which was sent under the Generals Gates, Arnold, and Parsons, with orders to station it on the North River, in readiness to pass it, and march to the assistance of General Washington, in case of need.

Sir William Howe was now employed in continual endeavours to draw the American General from his encampment. He had a variety of obstacles to encounter; on the one hand, the vigilance of the Jersey militia was exerted in cutting off all refreshments, and watching all his motions. They performed this duty with the more keenness, as they were prompted by the resentment of their former sufferings. On the other hand, General Washington, though cautious not to involve himself in any risk, omitted no opportunity of exercising his men, and insuring them to action, by engaging them in skirmishes upon advantageous terms.

The British General made several movements, as intending to march to the Delaware. Considerable detachments passed along the flanks of the American army, taking the road to Philadelphia. Several motions of this tendency were made; but as they produced no effect, Sir William Howe drew nearer to the enemy's camp, where he continued some days, reconnoitring every pass and opening by which an access to it might be found. But

after

after much toil and search, none could be discovered that was practicable; the approaches were so strongly fortified, and every post so well guarded, that no hope remained of forcing them.

That no effort might be left untried to bring the American General out of his strong hold, another stratagem was put in practice. Sir William Howe broke up his camp with great seeming precipitation, and retired hastily from the ground he had just occupied:—He abandoned the post of Brunswick, and withdrew his whole army towards Amboy. This sudden movement, so little expected, and executed with such promptitude, deceived the Provincials. They came down from their encampment in large detachments and followed closely the rear of the British army, which still continued to retreat before them. They charged it with the greatest fury and from the celerity with which it moved, were encouraged to make a vigorous pursuit. As soon as the British army had reached Amboy, a portable bridge, which had been constructed for their passage over the Delaware, was thrown over the channel between Amboy and Staten Island. The baggage and heavy appurtenances, together with some troops, crossed over it to the other shore, and all seemed prepared for the remainder of the army to pass.

General Washington was now persuaded that this retreat was no feint. He decamped and came forwards to Quibble Town, in order to support the troops he had detached after the British army. As soon as this motion was perceived, Sir William Howe led his in several divisions, by different roads, in order to surround the Provincials, and force them to an engagement, by cutting off their retreat. The more effectually to compass this design Lord Cornwallis was dispatched with a strong body to seize on the passes to the mountainous part of the country which the Provincials had just

left. He was met by a large party, advantageously posted at the entrance of a wood, and well furnished with artillery. It was commanded by a gentleman well known in America by the title of Lord Stirling, though not admitted as valid in Britain. The troops under Lord Cornwallis were a mixture of British and Hessians: they behaved on this occasion with an emulation which the Provincials were not able to resist. They were quickly broken on all sides, and fled to a place called Westfield, where they took shelter in a thick wood.

The American General now saw the necessity of making a speedy retreat to his former situation, in order to secure it. He seized with all diligence those passes to the mountains, which he soon perceived Lord Cornwallis had in view: and with all possible expedition he repossessed himself of the encampment from which he had been decoyed by the dexterity of the British General.

It was now become evident, that no scheme whatever would move General Washington from the position he had resumed. To march through the Jerseys to the Delaware, appeared an attempt highly imprudent from the reasons that have been specified. Nothing therefore remained for the accomplishment of what was proposed, than to embrace the scheme of going to Philadelphia by sea.

While the necessary preparations were making for this important expedition, the spirit of enterprize which had lately singularized several of the American officers, was productive of a remarkable adventure. The capture of General Lee by Colonel Harcourt had occasioned much concern among the Americans, on account of the refusal to release him upon the terms that were offered by General Washington. They had long watched for an opportunity of making prisoner some British officer of equal rank, in order to procure his exchange.

length to be offered. The troops that had taken, and entered in Rhode Island, were sent commanded by General

A project was formed to him, as General Lee had to bring him off in the same

To this intent, Colonel dexterous and resolute man, ut forty others, went over providence to Rhode Island, in t; and notwithstanding the stationed on their way, and er of troops distributed about l, they landed undiscovered, : General in his quarters, and him off with his Aid de ithout meeting with any in-

apture occasioned uncommon in to the Americans, from in prospect it afforded them ring General Lee, for whom ertained much respect, and t devoid of anxiety. They d him as a person particular- ous to the British ministry, hom, should fortune favour sh arms in America, they scruple to make an example. ight they were highly desir- occasion to procure his de- and were of course exceed- iced at an event which in ion insured it. unexpected seizure of his per- disagreeable a manner, was ostification to General Pres-

cot. He had not long before set a price upon General Arnold, and promised a sum of money to any one that apprehended him. The latter answered this affront by setting a lower price upon the former.

This action of Colonel Barton did not pass unnoticed by the Congress, any more than that of Colonel Meigs, at Stagg Harbour. They voted them, together with the officers and soldiers who had accompanied them in their respective enterprizes, their public thanks, for the valour, activity and address with which they had conducted them; and ordered an elegant sword to be presented to each of the Colonels.

In order, at the same time, to testify their respect and gratitude to the memory of those who had lost their lives in the cause of America, and as an incitement to imitate their courage and patriotism, the Congress decreed that a monument should be erected at Bolton in remembrance of General Warren, who was slain at Bunker's Hill, and another in Virginia, for General Mercer, who fell in the action near Prince town.

As the circumstances of the former of these gentlemen were not affluent, it was also resolved by that Assembly that his son should be considered as the child of the public, and should accordingly receive a liberal and gentlemanly education at the expence of the United States.

C H A P. XVII.

Expedition up the Chesapeake into Pennsylvania.

1777.

WHILE Sir William Howe was making the necessary preparations for the projected expedition, the attention of the enemy was taken up in conjectures concerning its destination. Every part of the continent that lay open to an attack was equally alarmed on this occasion. Philadelphia made no doubt of its being the object of this formidable armament. But the country lying on the North River, was almost equally apprehensive. Intersecting the North and South Colonies, it was thought by some, that the intention was to form a junction with the forces that were on their march from Canada, in order to cut off the communication between the New England Provinces and General Washington's army. Charlestown was not without its fears; and Boston, from its importance, subjected an attempt, which was the better founded, as it was principally there the numerous privateers were fitted out that were so detrimental to the commerce of Britain.

General Washington felt the criticalness of his situation, and the superiority arising from the naval strength, that enabled the British army to menace at once every part of the American continent. The necessity of waiting till he could receive positive intelligence of the operations it had in view, obliged him to keep his position.

The great preparations that were indispensibly requisite for so important

an expedition, were not completed until the month of July was far advanced: it was the twenty third before the armament was able to take its departure from Sandy Hook.

Some days before the embarkation of the army, Sir William Howe directed some transports to sail up the North River. They were accompanied, by a large floating-battery, and other appearances of a design upon that quarter. This feint succeeded so well, as to induce General Washington to detach a strong force towards that River.

The strength employed upon the expedition under Sir William Howe consisted of thirty-six British and Hessian battalions, with a regiment of light horse, and a body of Loyalists raised at New York. The remainder of these, with another body of light horse, and seventeen battalions, were left at New York, under the command of General Clinton. Several battalions were stationed at Block Island.

A whole week's navigation was consumed in making the mouth of the Delaware. Here intelligence was received, that such effectual measures had been taken to obstruct the passage of the fleet up that river, that it would be equally dangerous and fruitless to attempt it. In consequence of this information, it was determined to proceed further south, and up the Chesapeake Bay, as far as the part of Maryland which is

vants, and is at no great distance from Philadelphia. Here the people of the country would not see many advantages to the Pro army, and it would be com- moner to retire before the Bri- ps, or to engage them on more terms than they could be brought to the Jerseys.

The voyage was rendered extremely tedious through contrary winds.

It was the middle of August, when the fleet's entrance into Chesapeake Bay. Great inconvenience was caused by the excessive heat of the weather in that sultry climate; but the care and vigilance of the officers, the health of the people effectually conformed, that at the time of landing, they were in a strength and vigour very unusual among soldiers after so long a sojourn at sea.

The navigation up the Bay was difficult and intricate. The Admiral's great professional knowledge and constant and high utility upon the occasion. Through a multitude of shoals, the fleet was safely conveyed as far up the River Elk, as it was practicable. Here the army met without opposition, on the 25th inst, after more than a month's delay from its leaving Sandy Hook. A detachment of the army was left to guard the boats and artillery, while they landed, and to bring them forward with all speed. The General then moved into the country at the head of the main body, taking with him the baggage and incumbrance of the army, and moving with all possible expedition to the head of the

General Washington, upon information of the fleet's sailing up the River, quitted the Jerseys, and on the defence of Philadelphia, was now visibly the object of the British army's landing at the encamped on the Brandywine

Creek lying about midway from the River to Philadelphia.

The former depredations of the Hessians, and the consequent irregularities of the troops in general, having excited much consternation among the people on shore, at their landing, it was judged necessary, in order to tranquilize the minds of the inhabitants, to publish a declaration, promising the strictest discipline and regularity, on the part of the soldiery, and full security and protection to all who behaved peaceably. Whoever had not assumed legislative or judicial authority, were included in this promise, notwithstanding they might have acted illegally in inferior stations, provided they returned immediately to their homes, and demeaned themselves inoffensively in future. A general pardon was offered at the same time to all the officers and soldiers in the American service, who should lay down their arms and surrender themselves.

Sundry impediments prevented the Royal army from quitting the head of the Elk, till the beginning of September. General Washington was now advanced to Red Bank, between the Brandywine and the Elk. The Provincials posted themselves in the woods contiguous to the march of the British army; from whence they interrupted its progress by continual attacks. In these circumstances, the British General was necessitated to advance slowly, and with great circumspection, through a country so well known to the enemy, to which he was a stranger, and where every step he took would certainly be disputed.

He was obliged, on this occasion, to be very sparing of his men, and to reserve them for services of importance and decision; but the enemy, whose business it was to diminish his numbers, assailed him by incessant skirmishes, wherein, though they were generally repulsed yet their aim was obtained, which was to weaken him without exposing themselves to any more than

the loss of men; which they could easily replace with others, while such a loss to him remained for a while irreparable.

As the British army continued to advance, notwithstanding their efforts to impede its progress, they retired on the other side of the Brandywine, where they posted themselves on the rising grounds upon its banks, in order to dispute its passage. Their army consisted of about fifteen thousand men. The force at present in the field under Sir William Howe, did not exceed that number.

Early in the morning of the eleventh of September, the British army, formed in two columns, marched to the enemy: the right, under General Knyphausen, proceeded to the most practicable passage, called Chadsford. Here the center and chief force of the enemy lay, expecting, and well prepared for, an attack. A severe fire of cannon continued from ten o'clock till the close of day. The Hessian General, according to orders, making repeated efforts to attempt the passage of the ford; several detachments of the Provincial army crossed the River, and engaged the British troops; but after a variety of skirmishes, they were at length totally routed, and compelled to re-pass the River.

While these two divisions of the opposite armies were occupied in this manner, Lord Cornwallis, at the head of the column on the left, and took a long circuit to the upper part of the Brandywine, where it is divided in two shallow streams. Thence he passed without opposition, and marched directly to attack the right wing of the Provincials.

On the discovery of this movement, General Sullivan was detached to oppose him with all the force that could be spared from the center. This body waited the approach of that under Lord Cornwallis, on a very advantageous eminence, guarded on its right, as well as on its left, by thick and

extensive woods. In this position they were attacked by Lord Cornwallis; and notwithstanding the strength of their situation, and a very resolute defence, their left was driven from its posts, and fled to the woods, whither it was warmly pursued.

On this disaster of the left, their right wing, which had not been broken, retired in good order to another advantageous ground, from whence, after some resistance, they were also compelled to retire in such confusion, that they were not able to rally.

During this defeat and flight of both their wings, their center, which was yet entire and strongly posted, was deavoured, by a seasonable resistance, to favour the retreat of the rest. On the coming up of Lord Cornwallis's main body, a very warm conflict ensued. Here the Provincials held their ground with so much resolution, that night came on before they had done their post, and prevented their being pursued.

Neither was it till towards evening General Knyphausen was able to cross the ford. Herein he was chiefly favoured by the vigorous attack that was making on their right. He stormed the intrenchment, and seized the cannon that defended the ford. While he was thus employed, the British troops that had broken General Sullivan's left wing, after penetrating through the woods, to which it had fled, suddenly appeared in sight of that post of the Provincial army which was contending with General Knyphausen. This unexpected appearance threw them into such consternation, that they gave way on all sides, and withdrew with the utmost precipitation. Darkness saved them from pursuing it had done those under General Sullivan; otherwise the greater part of the American army must have been taken or destroyed.

The behaviour of the day, was in general

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Sir William Howe, on be-
 rized of this movement, ad-
 upon him ; and was making
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him to another action ; when a viol-
 ent rain that had lasted a whole day
 and night, prevented him from com-
 pleting them, and enabled the Provin-
 cial army to avoid the danger.

In order to harass and fatigue the
 Royal army, General Washington
 posted several detachments in such a
 manner as to command all the roads
 and avenues to their encampment.
 His intent was to seize all opportuni-
 ties of drawing detached parties from
 their main body into ambuscades. This
 he could the more readily effect as
 the country was every where in his
 interest, and as the Provincial army a-
 bounded with people perfectly ac-
 quainted with all its local advantages.

A very considerable detachment
 sent upon a design of this nature, lay
 concealed in the depth of a forest, that
 stood at a small distance behind the
 British camp ; it consisted of fifteen
 hundred men, commanded by General
 Wryne. Upon this intelligence, Sir
 William Howe dispatched General
 Grey in the middle of night, with a
 party to surprize it. The enterprize
 was conducted with singular address,
 and intrepidity. Ordering his men
 not to fire a single shot, he advanced
 in profound silence to the out posts
 of the enemy, which were surprized
 and secured without the least noise.
 It was now between twelve and
 one. The main body of the enemy,
 unapprized of its danger, was retired
 to rest. Directed by the light of
 their fires, the party under General
 Grey proceeded undiscovered to their
 encampment, and, according to the
 injunctions they had received, rushed
 upon them with their bayonets. Three
 hundred were killed and wounded, and
 a great number taken, with most of
 their arms and baggage. Obscurity
 saved those that escaped, as it had
 done before at Brandywine Creek. Of
 the British party, four only were slain,
 and many wounded.

In the mean time, Sir William
 Howe was employing every movement
 and

and stratagem to draw the Provincials to action; but they too well knew the consequence of losing another battle in the present posture of their affairs. They did not seem inclined to risk an action even to save Philadelphia itself, now become the metropolis of America. When General Washington saw that he must either abandon the defence of that city, or venture an engagement, he declined the latter, without hesitation, as involved a decision, which, if unfavourable to him, would put an end to all the hopes of further resistance.

The British General discovering this to be his final intention, approached to the Schuylkill, the river that runs on the west, as the Delaware does on the east of Philadelphia. Having made such dispositions as were necessary to secure the passage over it, he conveyed the British army safe to the other side, without any opposition from the enemy. Nothing appeared to obstruct him; he marched to German town; and the next day, which was the twenty seventh of September, he took peaceable possession of the city of Philadelphia.

It had been expected by many, that should that city have been found untenable, the Provincials would have committed it to the flames sooner than suffer it to fall into the hands of their enemies, and become a place of arms, from whence they would have it in their power, from its central situation to annoy the other Colonies at command. But the hopes of recovering it on a happier day, prevailed over the fears of the service it might prove, while it remained in the possession of Britain.

Previous to their evacuation of Philadelphia, the Congress had ordered some of the principal Quakers, and other gentlemen of the first consideration in that place, above twenty in number, to be taken into custody, as *strongly attached to the Royal cause, and known enemies to the ruling*

powers. These gentlemen had repeatedly refused to give any written or verbal acknowledgment of allegiance or submission to the American government, or promise of holding no correspondence with its enemies. Notwithstanding the evident danger their persons were in, they had even the resolution to refuse confining themselves to their respective dwellings. The spirit of these gentlemen was unconquerable to the last. As they still persisted in defiance of threats, and in spite of all solicitation and intreaty, immovable in their principles and in their determination to reject the test that was proposed to them, they were sent off prisoners to Stanton, in Virginia, as soon as it was apprehended that the British troops would take possession of Philadelphia.

The first care of the British General, on his becoming master of this city was to erect batteries on the Delaware in order to cut off the communication between that part of the river above, and that below the city, and to secure it at the same time from an attack by water. This undertaking was opposed as soon as begun. An American frigate, of thirty six guns, assisted by another of smaller tonnage, and some other armed vessels, attacked the batteries immediately on perceiving the people at work upon them. The firing lasted some hours; but upon the tide of ebb, the largest frigate grounded, and could not be removed. Some pieces of cannon being immediately levelled at her, she could not stand the fire; the colours were struck, and she surrendered. The other vessels fled off.

But though Philadelphia was taken, the access to it by sea was yet impracticable; a variety of works had been constructed at a great expence, and with equal industry and labour, to render all attempts to come to Delaware fruitless. Facing the river, and the Schuylkill, to that river, lies the Schuylkill

accumulation of mud and sand, and is called Mud Island. Here strong batteries were erected. On the Jersey shore, lying opposite to it at a place called Redbank, a fort was built, well furnished with cannon. Along the channel between those batteries, ponderous mines were sunk, contrived after the manner of *chevaux de frize*, from which they received that denomination.

They were immense beams, lying each other in sundry directions, and headed with points of iron, firmly fixed, to pierce any ship that should strike on them. The above mines crossed, and fully commanded a part of the river where those mines were deposited; and they were sunk so deep, as not to be weighty without immense trouble and difficulty; but this was a work that could not be undertaken without securing those batteries, and being in possession of both sides of the

at Billings' Point, some miles lower on the Jersey shore, several more of these *chevaux de frize* were sunk in the channel of the river, and protected by doubts that mounted very heavy artillery. On the river itself were also well provided with cannon, two floating batteries, with a number of armed vessels, and several ships. All these impediments had to be overcome before access could be had to Philadelphia.

On the defeat of the provincial army at Brandywine Creek, and the subsequent march of the Royal army to Philadelphia, Lord Howe predicted to sail round to the Delaware, to support these operations in which the assistance of the fleet would indubitably be necessary. After entering the Delaware, as it was not possible to proceed up to Philadelphia, the fleet came to an anchor off the shore of Newcastle, on the Pennsylvania shore.

As the navigation of the river was

extremely annoyed by the batteries at Billings' Point, Sir William Howe detached a body of troops, under Colonel Sterling, to dislodge the enemy from that fort: on perceiving the Colonel's party crossing the river from Cheltenham, on the Pennsylvania side, the garrison immediately spiked all their guns, set fire to the buildings in the fort, and abandoned it without waiting to be attacked, or endeavouring to prevent the Colonel's landing. After the detachment had destroyed the fort, and especially those batteries that commanded the river, Captain Hammond of the *Poebuck*, a very brave and active officer, proceeded to execute the difficult business with which he had been intrusted by the Admiral. This was to cut away, and weigh up those ponderous machines that lay at the bottom of the river. He was vigorously opposed by the floating batteries, and naval force of the enemy that was stationed on the river to guard them; but with great courage, perseverance, and labour, he overcame their resistance, and succeeded in opening a passage for the shipping through this part of the Delaware.

In the mean time the British army lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. Its principal quarters were at German town, an extended place, consisting of a street two miles long. The enemy was posted at Skipach Creek, sixteen miles distant. As they had lately been reinforced with some chosen troops, General Washington hearing that the Royal army had detached several parties on various necessary services, and that another part of it lay at Philadelphia, determined to attempt the surprising of that which was at German town.

On the third of October, towards the evening, he left his camp at Skipach Creek, and marched in great silence, under the cover of night, hoping to reach the British camp undiscovered. At three in the morning he

was close upon it, and immediately made the requisite dispositions for an attack; but fortunately the patrols discovered his approach, and the troops were called to arms. Those whom he first attacked, being at the furthest end of German Town, and remote from the main body, were, after a brave resistance, overpowered by numbers, and obliged to fall back into the town, whither they were closely followed.

The suddenness of the attack, and the vigour with which it was supported by the enemy, obliged the British troops to make the greatest efforts to resist him. Colonel Musgrave, at the head of the fortieth regiment, had stood his ground till he was almost surrounded. Seeing no other way of resisting the impetuosity and strength of the enemy, he took possession of a large and strong stone-house, that lay full in their front with six companies of that regiment. From thence he kept up an incessant fire, and effectually checked the ardour with which they had hitherto proceeded.

It was necessary to dislodge the Colonel, in order to effect the purpose they proposed, which was to separate the two wings of the Royal army, that were divided from each other by this, and the other houses of German town. They brought up a whole brigade, with artillery, and assailed it on every side with the utmost fury, but without being able to dispossess him.

In the mean time, General Grey came up to his assistance, with a great part of the left wing, and seconded by General Agnew, with another considerable body. A part of the right wing advanced upon the enemy on the other side. The engagement was maintained during some time with equal obduracy; but the enemy was at length broken, driven out of the town and pursued with great slaughter.

After gaining this advantage, General Grey moved with all possible

speed to the support of the remainder of the British right wing, which was engaged in a hot dispute with the enemy's left. But this accession of strength compelled them instantly to give way, and completed the total rout of the Provincial army. It now quitted the field on all sides; but though the pursuit was continued some miles, as the country was intersected with woods and inclosures, they made their advantages of them, and found means to carry off their cannon.

The Americans attributed the loss of the day to the haziness of the weather. It was so thick, that they could not discover the situation nor movements of the British army, nor yet those of their own.—This prevented them from acting in concert; it even occasioned them to fire upon each other through mistake, in the heat of action; and was, in short, according to their representation, the real cause of the British army's having time to recover from their first surprise, and to put themselves in a posture of defence.

The British army lost in this battle, in wounded and prisoners, about four hundred and thirty men; no more than seventy were killed: a small loss in number, but it consisted, among others, of some very brave and excellent officers; among these, General Agnew, and Colonel Bird were particularly regretted. Of the Americans three hundred were slain, six hundred wounded, and upwards of four hundred made prisoners, among whom were fifty-four officers.

After the action at German town, General Washington returned to his encampment at Skippack Creek, where he continued to watch the motions of the British army, which had removed from German town to Philadelphia, in order to execute those operations which were necessary to enable winter in that city.

The reduction of Mud Island, and other fortified places on the

principal objects in view, together clearing it of those impediments which obstructed its navigation; a battery was erected for this on the western point of land to Mud Island, and a large Hessian detachment was detached across the Jersey shore, to attack the fort of Red Bank.

The detachment was commanded by General Mifflin, one of the best of the Hessian army, and who had acquired some signal and importance in this war. He was trusted in this enterprise by some force, and the arrangements were formed with great judgment. He made an intrepid assault on the enemy's entrenchments, and their principal outwork; but the prior defences were so strong, that he could not be forced. The Hessian detachment were obliged to retire, with the loss of their Colonel, who was wounded, with several other officers. In advancing to the river and in their retreat, they were galled by the enemy's galleys mounting batteries; to which, as they were obliged in their march to approach the shore, they could not get entirely exposed. Thus the attack by land totally failed.

The attack made by the ships was judicious and spirited: having cleared their way through the channel, Captain Hammond had exerted much resolution and industry in getting practicable, they took their position in such a manner, as to assail the forts and batteries towards the river, while the troops assaulted the works on shore. But the obstructions being removed by the enemy, had increased and altered the course of the river, and wrought such changes in its depth, that the ships could not pass a favourable situation for the direction of their fire. To those it was owing, that the *Augusta*, the *Merlin*, and the *Delaware*, were not able to come close into action,

were both grounded, and could not be got afloat.

The enemy perceiving the situation of these vessels, directed the whole fire of their galleys, floating batteries, and works on shore, and sent four fire-ships down the stream against them: but though the skill and courage of the seamen and officers rendered them ineffectual, the *Augusta* took fire during the engagement, and was burnt, together with the *Merlin*; and the other ships were obliged to withdraw, in order to escape the conflagration.

Notwithstanding this unsuccessful attempt, the determination still continued to surmount these various obstacles, both from the spirit of the commanders, and the absolute necessity of overcoming them. New measures were taken, and fresh preparations were made for this purpose. The enemy, who saw with what difficulties the accomplishment of this object would be attended, neglected nothing to increase them, and to throw additional obstructions in its way.

The people belonging to the fleet were of particular service upon this occasion. Through a small and difficult channel on the west side of the river, they conveyed a number of heavy pieces of artillery to a little island and within a gun-shot of Mud Island, and erected batteries that greatly annoyed it. On the fifteenth of November, it was attacked by the *Isis* of fifty and the *Somerset* of sixty guns, and by other vessels mounting heavy cannon. These succeeded so effectually the batteries on the above mentioned island, that after defending themselves vigorously during the whole day, the garrison of Mud Island, perceiving that preparations were making to give a general assault to their works on the next day, abandoned them in the night.

As the works of Red Bank were yet unreduced Lord Cornwallis crossed the Delaware, and advanced at the head

head of a considerable body to attack it ; But the garrison withdrew at his approach, and the place was demolished.

The works and forts on all parts of the river being thus reduced, a number of the enemies' shipping, seeing themselves deprived of this protection, took the opportunity of the first dark night, to pass the batteries erected at Philadelphia unobserved, and to move farther up the Delaware for their security. In order to prevent the remainder of them escaping in the same manner the frigate that had been taken from them was manned, and sent, with some other armed vessels, to intercept them.— They were so effectually cut off from the retreat they had proposed, that to prevent their vessels from being captured, they set them on fire, and abandoned them. They were all burnt, to the number of seventeen among which were two considerable floating batteries.

The news that Philadelphia was in the possession of the Royal army, had, in the mean time, spread an universal alarm throughout the continent. The Northern Colonies, which were most remote from danger, and had lately met with some singular successes, resolved upon this occasion to use their utmost efforts to enable General Washington to stand his ground till the expiration of winter ; when they doubted not of being able to collect such a force as would render Philadelphia untenable by the British forces. They now sent him a reinforcement of four thousand of their best men. By their arrival, he found himself strengthened, that he advanced within fourteen miles of Philadelphia, and fixed himself in a strong encampment near a tract of land called White Marsh.

The motion of the American General, gave hope to Sir William Howe that he was not disinclined to make another attempt, similar to that of German town, in which case a general engagement might ensue, which was an

object of constant seeking to the British army, as to well as their commander.

In order to afford General Washington such an opportunity, if he sought one, and to be at hand to improve any that offered to attack him, Sir William Howe marched out of Philadelphia on the fourth day of September, and posted himself opposite to the Provincial troops. He varied his position several times, to draw them, if possible from that which they had taken ; but they remained immovable, contenting themselves with frequent skirmishes, in which they were constantly worried.— Upon these occasions, their defeated parties were always pursued close up to their lines, with an intent to provoke them to come forth. But finding their determination was to act entirely on the defensive, after reconnoitring every part of the ground they occupied, and discovering it to be every where inaccessible, he resolved to return to Philadelphia, in order to refresh his troops. They had suffered great inconveniences, during their short excursion, from the severity of the weather ; having from their eagerness and hopes of coming to immediate action with the Provincials, left Philadelphia without their tents, or any other preparation for encampment.

His march back to Philadelphia was performed in the afternoon of the eight of December, leisurely, and in presence of the enemy, who, contrary to his wishes, gave him however no molestation. This disappointment was very grievous to the British troops, as the winter was approaching they were certainly desirous to close the campaign, if not with a decisive, at least with some conspicuous action, that should leave the enemy discouraged, and weaken his endeavours and exertions to harass and distress them, during the inclement season they were about to experience.

The last operation of the British army was to procure forage for

A large detachment was sent to that purpose, which was successfully accomplished. After this, it was ordered but to provide for a comfortable weathering winter, by disposing of the army in a manner as to guard against surprises to which they were in such an open place as to be exposed to it: it was done accordingly with diligence and care.

Washington, on the other hand, moved his camp from White Bank place called Valley Forge, to a place called the Schuylkill, about 18 miles from Philadelphia. It was then full of strength and vigour, whence he could observe the motions of the British army, and receive the speediest information of their proceedings at Philadel-

Proposing to pass the winter in this encampment, huts were erected, in order to enable the Provincial army the better to encounter the rigour of that season. Nothing shewed the warmth and firmness of their attachment, both to their General, and to the cause for which they were contending, than their willingness to submit to the various hardships, as well as inconveniences of so unaccountable a situation: it displayed a resolution and perseverance, which were convincing proofs to all reflecting people, that the war, however fatally it might terminate for them, would be of long duration, were Britain determined to prosecute it until America was entirely reduced. The resources of the people who could bear trials and sufferings with so much patience and readiness, were, at all events considerable and not easily exhausted.

C H A P. XVIII.

Military Operations on the Lakes, and in the Northern Provinces of America.

1777.

WHILE these transactions were taking place in the middle Colonies, events of a much more important and decisive nature happened in the Northern Provinces of America.

The British ministry had long projected an extensive line of military operations in this quarter. It was an object from which the most sanguine hopes had been conceived, and no doubt was entertained that to succeed here, would ensure success in every other part of America.

The four Provinces of New England were considered as the soul and support of the present confederacy of America against Britain. Could an impression be made upon them, it seemed evident that every other Colony would be almost equally affected.

In this conviction, a resolution had been taken to employ the summer of the present year in making a vigorous and spirited campaign upon the Lakes, and in the adjoining provinces. The reduction of the first, would open an entrance into the last; they were the natural barriers of the Northern Colonies, and if they could be forced, the others, it was presumed, would not be able to defend themselves, after having failed in the defence of such a strong outwork.

It was resolved, therefore, to leave nothing undone that could contribute to the success of the expedition that was intended. The British troops amounted to four thousand, the Germans to three thousand: the Province of Quebec, exclusive of its militia, supplied large parties of men for

the works that were carrying several places, and for the transport of stores, provisions, and baggage the rivers, and through the most circuitous passes in that country.

The command of this expedition was given to General Burgoyne, an officer of unquestionable ability whose active disposition, and ardent military fame, distinguished him in particular manner.

The officers employed under him were men of great bravery and valour:—The principal were, (Philipps, of the artillery, who had acquired great reputation in Germany during the late war; Generals Powell, and Hamilton, all excellent officers: the German Generals Ried and Specht, were both persons of professional merit.

The soldiers composing the army under them, were all disciplined and they came fresh and vigorous from their winter quarters, where all the care had been taken for the preservation of their health, and to strengthen them by continual exercise for the exertions they were going upon.

In aid to the principal expedition another was projected at the Mouth of the river under Colonel St. Leger, who was to be assisted by Sir John Johnson to the famous Sir William Johnson, who had so greatly distinguished himself in America during the late war.

The first general encounter of the army was on the western shore of Champlain. Here a detachment of Indians in alliance with the British met by General Burgoyne.

th a great war-feast, according
ceremonial established among
tions.

ade a speech to them on that
full of that strength and ani-
which peculiarly characterised
ier of speaking. He exhorted
behave with courage and fi-
their friends, and to avoid all
towards their enemies. He
lthem to be particularly care-
distinguishing between the ad-
and the fors to the British na-
le earnestly requested that
ld put none to death but such
ly opposed them with arms in
ods, and to spare old men, wo-
ldren, and prisoners; to scalp
h as they had killed in action,
at compassionately the wound-
lying. He promised them a
ard for every prisoner they
in, but assured them he would
rowly into every demand for

tions of this kind were un-
not very acceptable to the
dispositions of these uncivi-
litudes. They were not,
without effect; and though
not entirely prevent, they
great restraint to the perpe-
their customary barbarities.
addressing the Indians in this
a declaration was published,
to admonish and terrify the
ns and to induce them to lay
eir arms, and return to the
e of the British government,
: prospect of the miseries and
hey would experience on the
ne Indians, now engaged on
f Britain, and whose ravages
ty it would not be possible to

He displayed to them the
of that power which was to
yed against America by sea
warning them to cease a re-
nat exposed them to so many
s, and that would terminate
ruin of their country. He
to encourage and employ all

those who should assist in bringing their
countrymen back to their duty, and
in re-establishing the authority of the
British government. Assurances of
protection were given, upon the per-
formance of certain conditions, to those
who demeaned themselves peaceably,
and did not forsake their habitations:
threatening at the same time, severe
treatment to such as committed hostili-
ties, or abetted them against the armies
or adherents of Britain.

The campaign opened by the siege
of Ticonderoga. The Americans had
taken great pains to fortify this post,
already very strong by nature. On
the eastern shore facing Ticonderoga,
which lies on the west, they had erect-
ed a strong fortification on the summit
of a hill, which they named Fort In-
dependence: The communication be-
tween this post and the fort at Ticon-
deroga, was maintained by a bridge
constructed over the gut where the
fort stands, and through which the
water from Lake George flows into
Lake Champlain. The side of the
bridge towards Lake Champlain, was
protected by a boom consisting of large
pieces of timber, joined together with
iron bolts and chains of prodigious
thickness. Both the bridge and boom
were justly considered as works of
equal industry and labour.

In a small bay to the southward of
this bridge, there is a point of land, on
which a mountain stands, called Sugar-
hill. From this mountain the fort of
Ticonderoga is overlooked, and effec-
tually commanded. From this motive
it was proposed to fortify this hill,
as a necessary security to the fort; but
the extent of the works they had al-
ready erected, induced the Ameri-
cans to drop the design. The rug-
gedness of the ground on its summit
and sides, and the difficulty of its ac-
cess, would, it was imagined, prevent
it from being of any use to the enemy.

The garrison of Ticonderoga con-
sisted of about six thousand men, com-
manded by General Sinclair. It was
K k 2 formed.

formed, partly of continental regulars, and partly of militia.

The British army was in two divisions, one upon each side of Lake Champlain. This was occupied by the shipping, which, from the destruction of the naval force of the Americans in the preceding year, was now in full possession of that Lake.

On the second of July, the British right wing that marched on the west of the Lake, appeared in sight of the fort. On its approach, the garrison, contrary to expectation, set fire to all their out works and buildings, and abandoned them without making the least resistance.

The diligence of the British army was such, that by the fifth of July, it had established every post necessary to invest the fort completely, and to cut off its communication on every side.

The imprudence of the garrison, in not securing Sugar-hill, was now manifest. Notwithstanding its steepness, a road was made up to its very summit, which was leveled for the construction of a battery.

On sight of these preparations, a council was held by the American commanders; in which it was represented, that their whole effective force was not sufficient to man one half of the works; and that as it was not possible for it to remain upon continual duty, no effectual defence could be made; that as the place would be completely surrounded in twenty four hours, it ought immediately to be abandoned, in order to save the troops. This representation being admitted by the council, the fort was evacuated that very night.

As soon as morning discovered their flight, they were immediately pursued. General Burgoyne fell upon them by night, after destroying the boom and bridge, which the Americans had constructed to prevent the passage of any shipping from Lake Champlain to Lake George. It had cost them, believe, a

prodigious expence, in twelve months labour; but quickly demolished by the British. The passage was completely fore nine in the morning of frigates. The pursuit with such expedition, that in the afternoon, the van ran came up with the guarded the boats with. Two of them were taken blown up. Hereupon a fire to their boats, and works and other constructions. Falls, where after which they retired.

This was a total and de they lost all their baggage, stores, and provision that contained them, were, to the number of the artillery taken from less than one hundred and

The main body that had and for Skeneborough, pursued by General Frazer took it on the second day at five in the morning.

be attacked, the enemy strong post. The province commanded by Colonel Frazer the best officers in their had chosen his ground, that notwithstanding the and intrepidity with which attacked by General Frazer, tained his post with success. Reinforcements arrived at a large body of Germans coming up of this, the superiority of number in the use of the American had almost overpowered Frazer; but they now their ground no longer, mander being slain, and Reinforcements had enabled to strong and resist were entirely broken.

on all sides. Besides Colonel , many other officers were killed above two hundred soldiers : y were made prisoners, with officers, including a Colonel. wounded were more than fixed, many of whom flying to the perished there for want of news. The loss of the Royal army occasion was not considerable ; ne officer of note was killed, Grant, a very brave and determined in his profession.

General Lincoln, with the van of American army, was now at Castles, about six miles distant from the scene of the engagement. Upon the news of Colonel Francis being and his party defeated, together with the disaster at Skeneborough apprehending that he should be pressed, if he proceeded towards Anne, he thought it safest to retire into the woods, that is in the infinite space between that fort and contiguous parts of New Eng-

land. On taking possession of Skeneborough, General Burgoyne detached a detachment, with the ninth regiment to fort Anne, in order to waylay the enemy as were retreating place. On his march thither, he met with a body of the enemy sometimes as numerous as his own. He attacked him with great fury, he devoted to surround him : he obliged him to withdraw to a disadvantageous situation, in order to prevent them from executing their

He changed his ground accordingly, with so much judgment, that such exactness of discipline, and such valour, that after an attack that lasted three hours, and was executed with great vigour, the enemy was obliged to retire with so much despairing to be able to make good at fort Anne, they retired on and withdrew to fort Edward on the river Hudson.

These different engagements,

though some of them were very warm, yet the loss in killed and wounded did not exceed two hundred men, on the side of the Royal army.

These successes had a prodigious effect on the minds of those who obtained them. They made no doubt of carrying them to the utmost extent of their wishes and intents. On the other hand it highly alarmed the Americans, and rendered them extremely anxious what measures to take in order to stop the progress of the victorious army, which now threatened to overrun all the northern Colonies.

In the midst of this good fortune, it was no small mortification to General Burgoyne, that he could not improve it with the diligence which was requisite to make it complete. He was now under the necessity of tarrying at Skeneborough, till the arrival of the tents, held equipage, and provisions.

That no time, however, might be lost, indefatigable labour was exerted in clearing passages, and making roads through the country about fort Anne, in order to proceed against the enemy. The toil was astonishing ; but the spirit that accompanied it was not less.

While General Burgoyne was accelerating the preparations requisite to pursue his expedition, the American General, Schuyler, was at fort Edward, employed in collecting the militia from all the adjacent parts, in order to compose a force sufficient to make a stand at this place. Either the broken remains of the defeated army, repaired with their General, after taking a week's circuit through the woods, in order to avoid the British detachments that were exploring the country. They had suffered great distress from want of provisions and necessaries to shelter them from the continual rains that fell during their march.

The country between Skeneborough

borough and fort Edward, was so interspersed with woods, creeks, and morasses, and natural difficulties had been so industriously augmented by the enemy, that it was with the utmost pains and fatigue, the Royal army was able to work a passage through it. Immense trees felled for that purpose intersected all the roads and paths, and the watery grounds and marshes were so thickly spread, that it was necessary to construct no less than forty bridges to cross them. One of these bridges extended near two miles.

General Burgoyne's march through this wilderness met with very little impediment from the American troops.

It was not, however, till the end of July, that he reached fort Edward. The distance from this place, to that where he begun so laborious a march was small; but the obstacles were such, that it was an object of astonishment, how he could arrive thither in so short a time.

Thus, after struggling with an immense variety of toil and obstructions, General Burgoyne found himself at last on the banks of Hudson's river, so long the object of his earnest wishes. He was now in possession of all the country between fort Edward and the city of Quebec. His communication was up and free from all interruption, with the posts he had settled along that river. A large quantity of stores and provisions was already arrived at the latter, for the use of his army, which were now employed in conveying them from that place, together with arms, accoutrements, and other heavy equipments that were necessary to the other detachments.

Notwithstanding the great inconveniences to which the army was exposed, out of New England, the people did not even so far forget their attachment to the British government, as to desert it. In the midst of distress and danger, which the memory of the late war

an army occasioned, their was wholly occupied with the of making an effectual resistance.

The provincial assemblies on this occasion with a firm presence of mind, which lost none of those resources that they were still many extensive tracts that lay between the British army, afforded meritable situations to retard its and the hardships with which already been obliged to contend at such pains to turn out, ample earnest of the difficulty still find in penetrating further lapse of time taking up in this would allow them full leisure themselves in readiness to meet enemy upon a advantageous term he could no longer be avoided.

In pursuance of this, the militia raised every where, and drafted out of it to join the forces at Saratoga. The readiness and number of the turned out as volunteers upon occasion, was remarkable, and considered as an omen of the auspicious nature, as it shewed by no means despaired of the and that in case of necessity, of men would not be wanting. It means their troops at Saratoga to recover from the apprehensions which the successes of the British had struck them, and to exert themselves in thwarting its operations.

In order to give them full encouragement, they placed an at their head, in whom the troops, from his tried courage and capacity, justly placed the highest confidence. This was General Burgoyne, who moved to Saratoga with great artillery, and took the opportunity to their satisfaction. The success was brought to light, and it was that Colonel St. John's detachment upon a point of the Mohawk river made no further progress than

ked, would become a dangerous neighbour, as he would be soon to co-operate with, as well as to assist from General Bur-

late this danger, General moved from Stratoga to a place lying midway between the junction of the river with that of Hudson. In mean time, the apprehensions which had been averse to the part of the Indians in the Bri- began to be justified. Noting the care and precautions General Burgoyne to prevent some of their barbarous dispositions were sometimes carried to that shocked his humanity as it was totally out of his control them in the degree proposed. The outrages which were such as proved detrimental to the Royal cause rendered them their foe, for the which deceptions with attention to the threats held out in order to restrain

instances of this nature happened that time, which contributed to alienate the minds of the Indians in which they were recorded in particularly shock both parties. A young lady, the daughter of a zealous Royalist, on her way to the British army, was unhappily married to an Indian, who without regard to her youth or beauty, married her in circumstances of

sentiment occasioned by the death of her father, and no less the being exposed to their fury, and finally to bring recruits to the American cause, as the only

The inhabitants of the tracts contiguous to the British army, took up arms almost universally. The preservation of their families was now become an object of immediate concern. As the country was populous, they flocked in multitudes to General Arnold's camp, and he soon found himself at the head of an army, which, though composed of militia, and undisciplined men, was animated with that spirit of indignation and revenge, which so often supplies all military deficiencies.

The provincial Assemblies were not deceived in their expectation of those obstacles which would continue to oppose the British arms. The troops encamped along the Hudson, under General Burgoyne, were now undergoing hardships without any prospect of alleviation. From the end of July, to the middle of August, their whole time was taken up in forwarding the boats, provisions and many other necessaries, both for subsistence and warlike operations, from fort George to their camp on Hudson's river. The distance was not great, being no more than twenty miles; but the labour was excessive, the roads in many places lay through vast swamps, and in others had been damaged or destroyed. A very small proportion of the horses was come, that were to have been furnished in Canada: they were unavoidably retarded by the length and perpetual difficulties of a journey, that was to be taken through such an unceasing and perplexing vicissitude of mountains, forests, lakes, swamps, and rivers, scattered along a country, in many parts uncultivated and wild. No more than about one hundred oxen had been procured, of which it was necessary to employ ten and sometimes twelve, to draw a single batteau. In fifteen days of the hardest labour, no more than ten boats were got afloat in Hudson's river, and there was only four days provision before-hand in the camp. Thus it began to be apprehended, that

it would prove utterly impracticable to form a magazine sufficient to supply the army with provisions during the future operations of the campaign.

The want of resources was an equal motive of discouragement to the British army, and encouragement to the Americans. It was not doubted among them, that this alone would totally obviate the exertions that would otherwise have resulted from the British General's well-known abilities.

While he was pondering in what manner to remedy these alarming pressures, he was informed that Colonel St. Leger had penetrated as far as Fort Cranwix, and was closely besieging it. This suggested an idea of moving forward instantly. Were the enemy to retire to the Mohawk river, he would then be placed between the army under his command, and the forces under Colonel St. Leger, and liable to an attack from either side. By such a retreat the road would also lie open to Albany, between which and the American army, his own would then have an opportunity of passing itself. — In this situation the American General would be compelled either to fight him, or to cross the Hudson, in order to secure his retreat into New England. But should he, on the British army's advancing in the manner proposed, withdraw directly towards Albany, the country on the Mohawk would lie open, and he might form a junction with Colonel St. Leger, to the manifest advantage of whatever attempts they might think proper to make conjointly.

Such was the plan conceived by General Burgoyne in the present juncture. But the obstructions to the executing of it, or almost any other, still continued. The communication with Fort George was necessary to be preserved at all events, and at whatever distance he advanced. But the number of troops that would be requisite to form so long a chain of communica-

tion, and to guard the convoys of victuals, and other necessaries, on the way to the main body would lessen his army, as to render its exertions totally inadequate to any great actions; and unless the numbers employed were considerable, it would be ineffectual, as a strong body of the enemy lay within a few hours march, ready upon the first opportunity, to intercept any party that was not of some force.

This want of necessaries was more mortifying, as the Provencamp was furnished with them in greatest abundance. Its supplies came from the frontiers of New England to a place called Bannington, but more than twenty miles distant from the banks of the Hudson. Here a coecus magazine had been formed for the Provincial army, from which it drew their necessaries when they wanted. It was well guarded by numerous body of militia.

This magazine lying at no great distance, General Burgoyne formed the design of seizing it by surprise. The possession of so considerable a supply would enable him to prosecute the main object of his expedition.

He selected for this business Colonel Baum, a German officer of great bravery, who set out at the head of six hundred men, two hundred of whom were Germans of his own choice. To be ready at hand for the support of this party, the army marched to the eastern shore of the Hudson river and encamped almost a breast of Saratoga, with the river between it and the place. An advanced party was posted at Batten Kill, lying between the camp and Bannington, in order to support that of Colonel Baum.

At the time he set forward, a detachment of the enemy was conducting a large supply of cattle and provisions to their camp; these he seized and sent to the British quarters. He did not, however, proceed with

ition which was necessary to save the enemy, from the badness of the roads, and other deficiencies. He discovered his design, and they were obliged to receive him.

Being informed that their force was greatly superior to his, he halted, having taken an advantageous position. He sent notice of his situation to the general, who dispatched Colonel Baum to his assistance. This assisted with all speed to the support of his countryman; but the cause that had prevented Colonel from surprising the Provincials, prevented Colonel Breyman from getting in time to assist him: the constraints had so deepened the roads, that his artillery could hardly be got down, and the detachment did not march more than twenty-four miles in the morning, to four in the afternoon of the following day.

General Starke, who commanded the British, with Colonel Warner, having intelligence of the respectation of both parties, saw the propriety of attacking the first, before he effected a junction with the last. He advanced upon Colonel Baum with most diligence, and inclosed him on all sides. A body of Provincialists, who made part of his detachment, on the approach of the Americans, would have persuaded him to surrender like themselves, and to go up to join him; but their design was soon discovered. The detachment he had hastily raised were forced to make a valiant resistance, and the greater part of his detachment, overpowered by numbers, made the best way to the woods.—But he was completely surrounded with his men, so that they found it impossible to escape.—In this situation, attending all their ammunition, and renewing their sabres, and bravely attacking the Americans, with the loss of their head. But fortune did not second their valour; they were

overcome by superiority of number,

and were all either killed or taken, with their Colonel, who did not surrender till he was wounded and disabled.

Unhappily for Colonel Breyman, he was at this time pushing forwards in order to join the defeated party, the disaster of which he had no information of. It was about four in the afternoon when he reached the ground on which the engagement had happened, and found himself assailed on all sides. Though his men were much harassed and fatigued, they received the enemy with great spirit, repulsed and drove them from their posts; but their superior multitude enabled them to pour in fresh reinforcements, they recovered their ground, and compelled Breyman's party to retire. This, however, they did not do till they had fired forty rounds a man, after which, wanting ammunition, they withdrew under cover of the night.

Five or six hundred men were lost in these two actions, most of whom were made prisoners. But this loss was nothing when compared to the diminution of that dread in which the Provincials had held the British and German troops until this unfortunate event: it taught them that regular and disciplined soldiers were not always sure of victory; it removed, in short, all their fears, and inspired them with a boldness and confidence which they had never felt till this day.

Nor was the news received by the British army without anxiety. Accustomed to success ever since the commencement of the campaign, they were not a little surprized at this unexpected check. Though it did not diminish their courage, nor abate their ardour, it somewhat cooled that unbounded confidence of victory, which had induced them to look upon the enemy with contempt.

During these transactions, Colonel St. Leger was pressing with great vigour the siege of Fort Stanwix. A convoy of provisions, with an escort

of eight or nine hundred men, marched to its relief. The Colonel detached Sir John Johnson, with a considerable force, to waylay them upon their march. They fell into the ambush; four hundred were slain, two hundred taken, and the remainder escaped with great difficulty.

The Colonel did not neglect this opportunity of trying to intimidate the garrison into a surrender. He represented the Provincial strength as entirely broken through out the Northern Provinces, and that General Burgoyne had penetrated to Albany, where he was now receiving the submission of all the neighbouring districts. He reminded them of the danger to be apprehended from the Indians in his army, were the place to be taken by assault, and how hard a task it would be to restrain them from massacring every person that fell into their hands, in revenge for the number of their countrymen who had fallen in the attack of the convoy.

But these representations had no effect on the garrison: the Governor, Colonel Gansefort, a very resolute man, made answer, that he would maintain the fort as long as his men would stand by him, and that he was not to be intimidated by threats from the discharge of his duty.

The Colonel was much disappointed in his expectations of the condition of Fort Stanwix. It was in a much better State of defence than it had been reported, and the garrison consisted of selected men. The number of regular troops he had with him, was not sufficient to make any impressions of terror on their minds; and the Indians, of whom great part of his force consisted, were daily becoming more ungovernable, from the dissatisfaction they felt at the loss of their countrymen in the late engagement, and the little hopes they entertained of getting any plunder which was the only motive that induced them to join the British forces. Instead of being dispirited, the garrison,

headed by Colonel Willet, the in command, made several sallies. This bold and enterprising officer undertook with one more daring and dangerous attempt ventured out of the fort, eluding the vigilance of the enemy, and to a country filled with Indian parties the look-out, in order to have relief that was so much wanted.

In this disagreeable situation port was brought Colonel Burgoyne by the Indians, that General was approaching at the head of a thousand men to attack the fort. Upon this he assured them, that he would give him the meeting with British troops under his command that he would faithfully stand by if they would perform their part to accompany him to action. He told them that he was in earnest, their chiefs with him to pick out the ground where to meet the generals. But while he was thus encouraging and prevail upon them to remain true to their engagements, other intelligence was brought that General Burgoyne had been defeated with great slaughter, and was flying before the Provincial army. Upon numbers of the Indians immediately deserted him, and the remainder threatened to follow did not himself break up the fort to retire.

A remonstrance of this nature induced the Colonel to assent to their demands. A retreat was instantly made but from the unhappy circumstances to which this behaviour of the Indians had reduced him, it was with so much precipitation and disorder, that the tents, with part of the artillery and stores, were lost. They plundered the boats of the provisions, and carried off the baggage belonging to the officers, robbed and massacred all the soldiers that were at a distance from the main body.—This unfortunate event happened on the 19th of September.

August.

The report spread by the Indians to compel the British troops to raise the siege of Fort Sanwix, was not without foundation. General Arnold was advancing with two thousand men to attack the besiegers. He was himself, with eight or nine hundred, hastening forwards with all speed: and in order to come upon them unawares, he had traversed the woods, hoping to surprise them before they could make good their retreat. But he did not arrive till two days after the siege had been raised.

The failure of the expedition against Fort Stanwix, together with the defeat at Bennington, were very severe blows to the British interest in those parts. They animated the Americans to a surprising degree. They began now confidently to promise themselves that General Burgoyne himself would share the same fate as his officers.

He still continued in his camp in the neighbourhood of Saratoga, where he was exerting himself in forwarding stores, and requisites of all kinds from Lake George, intending, as soon as he had laid in a sufficient stock, to march directly in quest of the enemy, and endeavour to force his way through all obstructions.

Having, with indefatigable pains, amassed provisions, and other necessaries in sufficient quantity to last out a month, he threw a bridge of boats on the Hudson, and crossed his army over in the middle of September, encamping it on the hills and plains about Saratoga. The enemy was then at Stillwater under the command of General Gates, an officer upon whose professional knowledge and experience the Americans placed very great dependence.

In General Burgoyne's progress towards the enemy, the woodiness of the country obstructed him continually, and the creeks and swamps were so numerous, that much of his time was

taken up in constructing bridges; and

in repairing those which had been destroyed. As soon as he approached the Provincial army, he determined to make an attack.—He put himself at the head of the central division of his army, General Frazer and Colonel Breyman were on his right, and Generals Philips and Reidesel on his left. In this order he marched to the enemy on the nineteenth of September.

The Americans, elated with their late successes, did not upon this occasion wait to be attacked. They marched out of their camp, and advanced upon the central division, which they engaged with a firmness and resolution that had never before been experienced from them. General Arnold, lately returned from his expedition to the Mohawk river, had a principal share in the transactions of this day. At the head of a division composed of his best soldiers, he directed his attack chiefly on three regiments, the position of which exposed them most, and upon which, for that reason, he hoped to make the readier impression; these were the twentieth, twenty-first, and sixty-second. With the most intrepid and soldier-like perseverance, they maintained their ground against the repeated efforts of far superior numbers, which were continually refreshed; and assailed them with unabated fury. The burden of the day fell upon them, and they continued engaged until sunset. General Frazer on the right, rendered them occasionally good service; but he could only do it by detached parties. The post he occupied was of consequence; a large body of the enemy lay in a wood fronting him; watching an opportunity to seize it.

General Philips, who commanded on the left, on hearing of the danger to which those regiments as well as the central division were exposed, pierced through a wood that lay between, and came up to their assistance at a very critical juncture. General Arnold was pressing them so vigorously, that they were almost borne down with the weight

weight of numbers. By this seasonable help they were enabled to resist him. The artillery brought up by General Phillips was of essential service upon this occasion: it did such execution among the enemy, that though they continued the fight, it was no longer with the same violence with which it had begun. The arrival of General Reidesel, who followed General Phillips, with another part of the left wing, completed the success which had been gained. He charged the enemy so effectually, that they began gradually to give way; they did not however totally retire till on the very close of day, after having maintained a well-fought action from three in the afternoon.

This was a real battle on both sides. Hitherto the Provincial troops had been cautious of engaging without the Protection of works and defences, but they now came forth undauntedly and encountered the Royal army upon equal ground. The conflict was kept up near five hours with good order, courage and a degree of obstinacy that had never been expected, and excited, on that account, the more surprise and alarm. It was now foreseen, that instead of a flying and dispirited enemy, they would have a numerous and resolute army to encounter, equally with themselves disposed to stand their ground, and commanded by chiefs, whose activity and spirit they found, from experience, would leave no advantage unimproved.

The loss on both sides was severe; but the greater number fell on that of the Provincials, of whom upwards of fifteen hundred were computed to have been killed and wounded. The list of the slain and wounded in the British army did not exceed three hundred and thirty. Among those British officers who distinguished themselves, were General Eraser and Hamilton, to whom much of the honours of the day were due. Captain Jones of the *Artillery*, who was slain did eminent

service. After keeping possession of the field of battle during the night, the British army took post in the morning in front of the enemy and within cannon-shot of his lines.

But though the day was won, this action produced detrimental consequences. The first was a visible diminution of the alacrity of the Indians in the British army. The expectations of plunder by which they had been attracted, begun now to fail them entirely; and from this period they gradually deserted in such numbers, that in a short time they were almost reduced to nothing.

Little more fidelity was experienced on the part of the Canadians, or even the Colonists who had joined the British troops. They also withdrew by degrees, as soon as they began to perceive that the resistance of the Americans would prove more formidable than it had been at first expected.

These various defections happened at a time when their fidelity and constancy were more than ever wanted, and proved the more mortifying, as an accession of strength had been promised and depended upon, from both these quarters, at the very season when they broke their word in so ignominious a manner.

But exclusive of these, other succours of much more importance had been hoped for by the British General. From the first commencement of this expedition, he had promised himself a strong reinforcement from that part of the British army which was stationed at New York. He relied on its being able to make its way to Albany, and to join him there. Such a junction, he doubted not, would have given a decisive turn to all his future operations, and completed the intent of his expedition.

In this juncture, he received a letter from Sir Henry Clinton, who ~~then~~ commanded in chief at New York. It was written in cypher, and ~~the~~ many difficulties was at length

veyed to his hands. It informed him, that Sir Henry Clinton intended to make a diversion in his favour on the North River, by an attack on Fort Montgomery, and other places of strength, lately constructed by the Provincials, in order to bar the passage to Albany.

In return to the letter he had received, he dispatched to Sir Henry Clinton, some trusty persons, in disguise, who all went by different ways, with a full account of his present situation; urging him to a speedy execution of the diversion he had proposed, and informing him that he was provided with sufficient necessaries, to hold out in his present position, till about the middle of October; till which time he was determined to maintain it, in expectation of a change of circumstances in his favour.

The American army under General Gates, was in the mean time continually encreasing. The New England people were duly conscious how much their all was at stake, and were at the same time persuaded that an opportunity was now presenting itself, which, if judiciously managed, would prove one of the most auspicious that fortune had yet thrown into their hands for the benefit of the common cause.

Such were the clear expectations of all the Americans in those parts. But the Generals who commanded the army that was now opposed to General Burgoyne, began to conceive much higher hopes. The concurrence of circumstances was such, as laid before them the practicability of rendering the various obstructions, that had so powerfully retarded the progress of the British army, no less impedimental in its return.

This idea was further confirmed by the impossibility of the British army's moving forwards in its present condition, and the determination it seemed to have taken of acting solely on the defensive, until such an alteration of affairs happened, as would enable it to

act otherwise. But of this they had no apprehension.

General Burgoyne himself no longer looked upon the expedition he had been lent upon, with the same hope he had cherished when it begun. He saw a numerous enemy gathering round him from all quarters, whose force was hourly augmenting, while his own had considerably diminished.

While he was in this embarrassed situation, a project was formed by the New England people, to penetrate to the Lakes by the western frontiers of New Hampshire, and the upper countries on the Connecticut river, and to cut off his communication with Canada, by repossessing themselves of Ticonderoga, and the other forts and passes in that country.

General Lincoln was placed at the head of the expedition; and the Colonels Brown, Johnson, and Woodbury, men of known courage and activity, were appointed to act under his directions. They set out each with about five hundred men, and conducted the enterprize with so much skilfulness and secrecy, that they surprized all the out-posts in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, taking a great number of prisoners and boats, together with some armed vessels. They summoned Brigadier Powel, who commanded at Ticonderoga, to surrender, though without success.

In the mean time the situation of the British army, under General Burgoyne, was becoming daily more critical. From the uncertainty of receiving supplies of provisions, he was obliged, in the beginning of October to diminish the army's allowance.

The twelfth of October was approaching. This was the term till which the army was to tarry in its present encampment. The seventh was already arrived; and no tidings came of the operations that had been proposed for its relief. In this alarming state of things, the General, preserving the intrepidity of his character, resolved
upon

upon a movement towards the enemy.

He advanced accordingly upon the left wing of the Provincial army, in order to reconnoitre the ground it occupied; intending, if it was found practicable, to force his way forward through that quarter, or to secure it for the purpose of a retreat if that should appear necessary.

The body of troops employed for this purpose, consisted of fifteen hundred men. It was all that could with safety be drawn from the guard of the camp, in the present reduced state of the army. The force of the enemy in front of that which remained its defence, was more than double to it.

This detachment advanced within a mile of the enemy's left wing; but was prevented from proceeding any further, by a sudden and impetuous attack made upon the British left. Major Ackland, at the head of the grenadiers received the enemy with great resolution. A body of Germans, posted near the British grenadiers, was preparing to come to their relief; but the enemy's superiority of number enabling them to extend their front, the Germans themselves were attacked, and with difficulty stood their ground. Some even gave way.

General Burgoyne, on perceiving their distress, ordered a reinforcement to hasten to their assistance from the right. It was brought up with all speed by General Frazer, and preserved them from being entirely broken; But this brave officer was slain upon that occasion.

The danger to which the detachment was exposed from this unexpected attack on the left, compelled it to retire; though not without great difficulty. A large party of the enemy endeavoured to cut off its retreat, and the most desperate efforts were necessary to secure it.

The troops had hardly regained the camp, when it was assaulted with the greatest fury. The attack was principally directed against the post occupi-

ed by the light infantry under Belcarras, but it was defended with great spirit. The enemy, led by General Arnold, behaved as an example, with the utmost vigour and courage; but in the moment when on the point of forcing his way into the entrenchments, he received a dangerous wound; and his party, to overcome the obstinate resistance they met with, were at length completely repulsed.

But they succeeded in the object they made on the entrenchment; the German reserve on the right, Colonel Breyman was killed after a brave defence, and his countrymen fell with great slaughter; and that of their artillery and baggage, proved a heavy misfortune. In the evening the enemy made an opening on the flank and rear of the British army, which ended this unfortunate engagement, which was maintained with much obstinacy, that it lasted till night ended to it.

The losses sustained by the army upon this day, were truly great; that of General Frazer was deeply regretted by the whole army: his personal and professional character equally eminent. The list of the killed and wounded amounted, exclusive of the Germans, to near twelve hundred, among whom were seventy officers. The same list, on the side of the Americans, was much greater: Colonel Lincoln was among the wounded, as well as General Arnold.

The advantages obtained by the enemy, rendered the position of the British army so dangerous, that it was judged necessary to alter it the next night, in order to reduce the necessity of changing also their own disposition.

This bold, but requisite movement was executed with great order without any loss. The artillery camp, and its appurtenances, were removed before morning to a convenient ground, where

General continued to offer the enemy the whole of the day.

He did not remain long in his opinion: the American Generals obtained the most sanguine success in overcoming the British army exposing themselves to the other battle. They took care to surround and press it in manner, as to cut off all retreat, and deprive it of all

the intent they advanced in success, proposing to turn his flank, which would have effected him. On intelligence of this, he saw the necessity of retreating instantly, and determined to march towards Saratoga. The army accordingly moved at nine o'clock in the evening; and though within sight of the enemy, and incumbered with all its baggage, it retreated without loss. The only retardment was occasioned by heavy rains, and the necessity of guarding the boats which carried the provisions.

The principal mortification upon the British, arose from the necessity of leaving the hospital with the wounded. They fell of course, and the hands of the American Generals treated them with great kindness and humanity.

On the arrival at Saratoga, the army of the Americans had stationed a force to impede its passage across the Hudson's river of which it possessed the principal ford.

The only method of effecting a passage was by securing a passage to the river, a detachment of workmen was dispatched, strongly escorted, to repair the bridges, and clear the way to fort Edward. But the enemy would not prepare for an attack, the British guarded the workmen was not and being left without protection they were obliged to abandon

the banks of Hudson's river, op-

posite to those occupied by the British army, were covered with Americans, who kept a perpetual fire upon those who had the charge of the provision boats belonging to the British army. Many of them were taken. In order to secure the provisions, it was found requisite to land and convey them to the camp. This was not done however without difficulty and loss.

Several councils of war were now held on the properest means of effecting a retreat to fort Edward. The only method that seemed practicable in any respect, was attended with such danger, as afforded but little hope of its succeeding. This was to march to it by night: the soldiers carrying the provisions upon their backs, and leaving the baggage, and every other incumbrance behind, and to force a passage at the ford, either at or above that fort.

But while the army was preparing to carry this bold, but desperate scheme into execution, the scouts that had been dispatched to explore the motions of the enemy, returned with an account that they had cast up strong entrenchments opposite those fords, and had taken possession of the high ground between fort Edward and fort George, and raised defences well provided with cannon. Their parties were extended every where along the opposite shore of the Hudson, keeping a continual look out on every part of the river, where the least possibility of a passage was apprehended. Some had even crossed it to watch more narrowly the motions of the British army. Thus the least movement it made was immediately discovered.

In the mean while, the American army was hourly encreasing. Exclusive of their troops and militia, their camp was continually filling by the numbers that came on every side, to act as volunteers, and to share in the honour of destroying the British army, or forcing it to surrender. One of these alternatives was deemed inevitable.

able The force under General Gates amounted at this time to upwards of sixteen thousand men, while that under General Burgoyne, was so diminished, as hardly to consist of three thousand five hundred, fit for actual service.

No doubt was any longer entertained that the American General would succeed in the design he had projected, But notwithstanding all these advantages, this cautious officer, fully conscious of what exertions the British troops were capable in a desperate exigency, took as many precautions against this handful of men, as if the superiority lay on their side. The ground on which he was encamped, was, from its nature, and the works he had thrown up, inattackable, and it almost inclosed the British army.

In this perilous situation, it poised itself in the best manner that was practicable, fortifying the camp, and preparing for any attempt the enemy might, for its weak condition, be prompted to make. The men lay continually upon their arms, expecting hourly to be attacked; the cannonading from the enemy was incessant; and their rifle and grape shot reached every part of the camp.

The courage and constancy of the British troops in the midst of this arduous trial, was astonishing. They still retained their spirits in hope that either the long looked for relief might arrive, or that the enemy might give them an opportunity of fighting.

The thirteenth of October was now come. This was the day until which it had been determined to endure all extremities, in maintaining their ground against the enemy. After waiting all the day, in anxious expectation of what it would produce, no prospect of assistance appearing; it was thought proper in the evening, to take an exact account of the provisions left. They amounted, upon short allowance, to no more than three days subsistence a man.

In this state of distress, surrounded

by more than four times his and cut off from all means of the British General called a war; to which all the General Officers, and Captains commanding the corps, were summoned. The common opinion was, that in such circumstances, they could otherwise than treat with the

In consequence of this decision, a messenger was sent morning to notify it to the American General, and to lay those terms before him, upon which the British would consent to treat.

The terms that were offered evinced a spirit and sense of honour in the British commander, which no man could subdue. Nor were they of generosity wanting in the American General. Being himself a native of Britain, it is not improbable though engaged in the cause of America, he still retained those feelings for the reputation of his country which, it has long been observed in military men, more than all others are never willing to divest themselves though in arms against it.

A convention was settled, the terms of which were, that the army should march out of its lines all the honours of war, and accompanied by its field artillery, to a place agreed, where they should lay down their arms, by word of command from their own officers.

A free passage to Great Britain was allowed them, on condition of serving again in America during present war.

The army was not to be separated and the officers were to be at liberty to assemble the soldiers for religious and other necessary purposes of civility.

All individuals belonging to the army, were to retain their private property, upon delivering up the stores; and no baggage was to be searched or molested.

The officers were to be treated

arole, to wear their side arms, be quartered according to their

persons following the camp employed in the service of the of whatever country, or denomination, were to be included in this tion.

Canadians as had attended y, were to be permitted to re- their country, subject to the nditions.

British commander was to have rty of sending dispatches unto Great Britain, Canada, and ork.

were the articles of capitulation upon between the British erican Generals. When the situation of the British army is nsidered, and that no possibilitied of its being able to effect it, it must be allowed that the ag General acted with great tion.

ist also be admitted, on the and, that the firmness and redisplayed on this occasion, by isth General, were no less conin obtaining honourable terms. id been proposed at first, by erican General, that the Brups should be drawn up to their nent, and there ordered to their arms. But such a propos rejected without an instant's on. General Burgoyne sent itely a message to General to acquaint him, that unless he from this demand, all treaty nd at once; that the British vere to a man determined to

to any act of desperation han submit to it, and should ning consider the cessation of t had been agreed upon for ose of treating, as entirely at

reapid a message, delivered up- eliberation, in such circum- f distress, by men whom the a army considered at its mer-

cy, convinced General Gates that it would be wiser to yield up the point of honour, than to contend for it with men who were so justly entitled to it, and so firmly resolved not to recede. It showed him, too, that terms of rigour would not be accepted by such men, and that the only safe method of preserving his advantages, was to use them with moderation.

On the Seventeenth of October, at nine in the morning, the British army marched out of its lines, and deposited its arms at the place appointed. A memorable instance of magnanimity and military politeness is said to have happened on this occasion, and which reflected much honour on the character of General Gates. Sensible of the mortification attending such a reverse of fortune, and unwilling to aggravate it by any circumstance that might prove offensive to the British troops, in their present calamity, he kept the American soldiery within their camp, while the British army was piling its arms, that it might not have them for spectators of so humiliating a transaction.

The number of those who laid down their arms, amounted, according to the American accounts, to five thousand seven hundred and fifty, including the irregulars, Canadians and all the people following the camp. The list of sick and wounded, left in the camp when the army retreated to Saratoga, consisted of five hundred and twenty-eight. Exclusive of the above, the numbers of killed, wounded, taken, and deserted, of British, German, and Canadian troops, from the sixth of July, when the campaign was opened by the taking of Ticonderoga, to the seventeenth of October, when it closed by the convention of Saratoga, were computed at near three thousand.

The stores and implements of war that fell into the hands of the Americans, were very considerable. The artillery consisted of thirty-five brass pieces; there were seven thousand

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stands of arms, besides cloathing and a variety of other articles much wanted by the Americans.

Such was the fate of the expedition under General Burgoyne.—It had been undertaken with the greatest prospect of success, from the goodness of the troops, and the excellence of the commanders; but the difficulties, though partly foreseen, were not expected to be such as they proved in reality. When they were duly taken into consideration, it was the opinion of very competent judges, that the progress made by the British army, amidst such a complication of impediments and distresses, was truly wonderful in every respect; and that its failure at last was not so surprising as the perseverance and spirit with which it struggled with obstructions and hardships, which, it soon became evident to every man in the army, would in all probability, prove finally insurmountable.

While these misfortunes attended the British arms in the interior parts of New England, they were more successful in other quarters. In pursuance of the notice sent General Burgoyne, Sir Henry Clinton was employed in an expedition up the North River, in order to make a diversion in his favour. The force under his command consisted of three thousand men; and he was accompanied by Commodore Hetham, with a considerable number of ships of war and armed vessels. Their intention was to reduce forts Montgomery and Clinton, two places of strength, but rather at present in a state of unguardedness, from the necessity of unfurnishing every post to reinforce the army that was opposing General Burgoyne, and from the little apprehension of an attempt upon them.

For this reason it was determined to attack them by surprize. They were situated opposite to each other, on the sides of a creek that came down from the mountains to the North

River, and they communicated with each other by a bridge over the creek. In order to effect the intended surprize, several feints were made, and the troops were landed at a considerable distance from the forts, to which they proceeded in two separate divisions. After a long and difficult march through a mountainous country, they both arrived at the same time, each on that side of the creek where the fort stood which it was respectively to attack.

By this unexpected appearance of the troops by land, and the sudden arrival of the shipping up the creek, the garrisons were equally surprized and terrified. The galleys came up so close as to strike the very walls with their oars. The assault on both the forts was so impetuous and animated, that though a courageous defence was made, they were taken by storm, with no inconsiderable slaughter of the garrisons.

The loss of these forts was attended by that of two large frigates, and other vessels, which were set on fire by the enemy, to prevent their being taken. Fort Constitution, another place of some strength, was, on the approach of the British troops and shipping, destroyed in the same manner. Continental Village, a place lately settled, and in a thriving condition, was at the same time committed to the flames, by a party under Governor Tryon. This was in particular a severe loss; as, exclusive of other advantages, it was conveniently situated for military operations, and had barracks for near two thousand men.

This expedition was very detrimental to the Americans.

In these different attacks, the loss on the British side was small in number, but some officers of great merit were killed. Colonel Campbell fell in the assault of Fort Montgomery where he was principal in command, and by his judicious disposition, he contributed to its capture.

and Grant, two excellent
also slain; as was Count
a Popish nobleman of dis-
bravery, and aid-de-camp
y Clinton.

vastation and ruin that
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h River, were causes of
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nplained that while a ge-
ulation was granted to the
General Burgoyne, the
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were small losses in com-
iose which Britain had suf-
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ign, and served rather to
than to distress the
who considered them as
of rage and disappoint-

is the grief and dejection
, and unfeignedly expres-
n, upon receiving the hea-
of the fate of the British
General Burgoyne. The

upon this occasion was
surprize it excited: and
e greater, as victory and
their fullest extent, had
nguine and hourly expect-
that part of America
mmanded. His courage,
abilities, his zeal in the
these added to his first suc-
raised his character, and
troops, so high, that it was
othing could stand before
at all the north of America
sionably be subdued before
e campaign.

European states and na-
from habit, prejudice, or
o long been desirous of the
British grandeur, the in-
of what had befallen the
, at Saratoga, was a mat-
und unconcealed exultation.
sally received among them

as the defeat and ruin of Charles the
Twelfth of Sweden, at the battle of
Pultowa, had formerly been by those
powers whom that terrible warrior had
so long kept in awe. All the foes to
Britain began now to consult in what
manner they should improve such an
event to their own advantage, and to her
further detriment:

France in particular, interested her-
self, on this occasion, in a manner,
that plainly indicated she would not
long conceal the projects that were
then in agitation in her councils. Her
ministers were the readier to espouse
the cause of the Americans, as herein
they would coincide with the gene-
ral views and desires of the nation at-
large. Exclusive of the national and
hereditary inveteracy of the French
to the English, they considered them
in the present case, as acting an un-
justifiable part in respect of the Ame-
ricans.

Influenced by these principles, peo-
ple of all ranks and denominations ex-
erted themselves in their favour. But
it was principally among the military
classes this ardour was eminently con-
spicuous

Numbers of the young nobility in
France were eager to signalize them-
selves on this occasion; but none ex-
erted himself so conspicuously as the
Marquis de la Fayette, a young noble-
man of the first rank and fortune. Im-
pelled by that enthusiastic ardour
which arises from a liberal education,
and a native generosity of sentiments,
he embarked in the cause of America
from a conviction that it was a just
one, and that they were contending
for rights to which they had an evi-
dent claim. In this persuasion, he
purchased a vessel, loaded her with
military stores, and accompanied by
several of his friends, he sailed in her
to America, where he presented her to
Congress, together with his services.
He was received with the respect due
to his rank, and the acknowledgment

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that

that his offers merited. A command was conferred upon him, and he lost no opportunity of distinguishing himself. Others of the French noblesse and army followed his example.

Through the assistance of so many foreigners, the American armies were daily improving in discipline and military skill. Together with these, their spirits and hopes increased in the same proportion.

Nor did they consider their want of success in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia as any thing decisive. They acknowledged the bravery and military exertions of the British General and his troops; but they viewed their exploits in no other light than as acquisitions of honour, and remained fully persuaded, that instead of permanent

advantages, they would only be productive of additional difficulties. The nature of the country, they were confident, would fight against all the efforts of Great Britain. Had its armies been twice as numerous, their opinion was, they would only have covered twice the quantity of ground, and obliged the Colonists to double their pains and endeavours to resist them.

In this idea, they looked upon the generalship and courage that had been, or might be employed against them, only as protractors of the war. Such a notion could not fail to endue them with the most obstinate perseverance, as it was in some measure well founded.

Transactions in Great Britain relating to America.

1777.

consequences of the war with America were now beginning to in a manner that occasioned complaint among the mercantiles. The depredations of the in privateers extended to every Europe, as well as the West

now infested the coasts of Britain and Ireland with an insens that equally astonished vexed the whole nation. The between Great Britain and was interrupted by them to degree, that convoys became in the narrow channel that them.

America did not, however, escape vengeance of Britain: its navy privateers exerted themselves with activity, that the losses of the, though small at the commencement of hostilities by sea, became gradually much greater, and were severely felt than those of

—
e, in the course of this year, to manifest in a manner that room for doubt, what were by her designs with respect to Britain. Her naval preparations, however, not being sufficiently, nor the situation of affairs in America brought to that point in view, it was thought wisest who guided her councils, to her dissimulation to a longer though indeed it was to visit it could hardly deserve the

The British ministry, justly irritated at this ignominious duplicity of conduct, acted upon a variety of occasions with such explicit firmness, as left the Court of France no option between an absolute rupture and the redress of the grievances complained of. When pressed in this close and peremptory manner, the French minister gave way, and made satisfactory concessions in words. But they were not accompanied with any reality.

In this manner France temporized, according to the long established practice of her government; lest by precipitating matters, Britain might be roused sooner than was convenient for the schemes she had long been projecting, and had almost brought to the period intended for their disclosure.

Incensed at the encouragement given to the American privateers, the Court of Great Britain directed Lord Stormont, the British Ambassador at Paris, to demand an order from the French ministry, that all the American privateers should depart the kingdom, together with their prizes. The application was made when the French shipping, employed in the Newfoundland fishery, were all out upon that station. Had they refused to comply with the request, they foresaw that an immediate rupture would have been probably the consequence, and that this whole fleet would in all likelihood, have fallen into the hands of the English; by which they would

have

have been deprived of an immense number of the best seamen in France. They acquiesced, therefore, in the request, until the arrival of this valuable fleet. But they devised such a variety of pretexts to defer the execution of this order, that not a single American vessel was dismissed from any of their ports.

In the mean time the most vigorous and open preparations were making in all the dock-yards of France. Her intentions were so manifest, that all Europe was amazed at the passiveness with which Great Britain viewed and permitted them, and concluded that it must proceed from the consciousness of her internal weakness, and total inability to prevent them.

The general opinion of politicians was, that on taking the final determination to subdue her Colonies by force of arms, Great Britain should at the same time have come to an open rupture with France, which, it could not be doubted, would support the Americans in their present quarrel. There would have been no deficiency of reasons for such a measure: the conduct of the French in the West Indies, afforded ample cause for the justification of such a step. She would then have been taken unprepared: what force she had at sea was inconsiderable; and she was not in a condition to equip any formidable armament, from the neglect of her marines, the disorder of her finances were left in at the demise of the late king, and the unsettled state of her affairs in general since the accession of the present.

Such were the reasonings of all the judicious people on the continent, who wished well to this country. They clearly foresaw that France would not omit so inviting an opportunity of dismembering the British empire, and would use her utmost diligence to co-operate in so despicable a work. They were of course astonished that Britain could hesitate to attack an enemy,

that was unquestionably meditating all the mischief in his power, before he was in readiness to execute it. No valid motives could be alledged for such a delay. There was no medium between a reconciliation with the Colonies, or proceeding directly to hostilities with France.

In the midst of these preparations on the side of France, and the alarm they began at length to create in the minds of the British ministry, the hope they had conceived of General Burgoyne's expedition, began gradually to abate. They received successively such accounts, as foreboded no favourable issue to his operations. The fatal catastrophe that befel him, was not, however, apprehended. A total discomfiture of an army of European veterans, never entered into the conception even of those who thought most favourably of the Americans: especially after hearing with what facility they had been overpowered in the beginning of the campaign.

While the minds of the people were suspended between hope and apprehension, the session of Parliament was opened on the twentieth of November. The principal intent of the Royal speech, was to assure the House, that the powers entrusted to the Crown for the suppression of the troubles in America, had been faithfully exerted; but that the contingency of war would render further exertions necessary.

The members who supported the ministry in the House of Commons were very warm in urging the necessity of continuing the measures now employed in America for its reduction; they expressed the fullest confidence that the ability, prudence, and spirit of the commanders, with the valour and discipline of the British troops, would shortly triumph over all resistance: they asserted, that none born in this country, and bred in due attachment to its excellent constitution, could be justified in hesi-

in that House to express a dissent from the line of action now respecting the Colonies, and firmness alone could disapprove of them. An address was moved, in approbation of the

members in the opposition, less strenuous in representing our effects, of the unnatural war between Great Britain and her colonies, and the fatal consequences were on the point of following

was observed, that the people of this country had been tried vigorously, and yet inefficiently, in order to obtain peace without the sword. The merit of British General and officers, the bravery of their soldiers, were undeniable; but the nature of the contest, such as to defeat all their efforts, the obstacles they meet with augmented: they were in the wrong country, and would in the end prove insurmountable, and we, therefore, to abandon the use of coercion, and try an opposite method. The grandeur, the independence, the preservation of what should be dear to the people of Britain, depended upon a cessation of this fatal quarrel. After having previously employed the sword it was the duty of ministers "to have recourse to bonds of amity for the colonies, instead of forging chains for the colonies of the Americans."

For this purpose an amendment to the resolution was moved; the substance of which was, a request for the cessation of hostilities, and the adoption of necessary measures to terminate the war with America.

In support of this amendment it was alleged, that after carrying on an expensive war during the space of six years: notwithstanding a force of sixty thousand men by land, and a fleet of a hundred ships of war, we had not further advanced, than we began. Our armies, with

all the courage of the soldiers, and all the abilities of the commanders, had done nothing decisive.

In the idea of obtaining a revenue from America, we had already expended much more than it could have amounted to in the course of many years, on a supposition that America would have assented to our utmost demands. Were a pacification to take place, it would be found, at the final conclusion of all that related to the war, that the charges attending it or resulting from it, would produce an addition of more than thirty millions to the national debt.

The losses and distresses of the public were daily increasing; interest rose, and stocks fell in a very alarming proportion; the value of estates diminished; facts that could not be combated. The circumstances of the mercantile and trading classes had received no less a shock; failures and bankruptcies beyond all former precedents, shewed to what a degree the nation was injured by this unfortunate contest. The loss of our commerce with the continent of America, the damages sustained in the West India islands, the vast diminution of our fishery at Newfoundland, of our trade in the Levant, the Mediterranean, and on the coast of Africa, were necessary consequences of this fatal quarrel. All these were grievous considerations; but they would be followed with still greater causes of sorrow, unless the quarrel was terminated before the House of Bourbon entered into it. This, it were an insult to the commonest understanding, to make a doubt of at this juncture. If, therefore, this country found it so difficult to maintain the contest against the Colonies alone, how could it be expected that the powerful enemies that were preparing to assail us on every side, could possibly, in conjunction with them, be resisted?

The reply of ministry was, that

peace, however desirable, was neither to be obtained nor wished for upon humiliating conditions. To propose it at any other season than that of victory, would be to prostitute the honour of the nation to no purpose.

A cessation of arms was condemned, as the worst of all policy. By temporizing, we gave the Americans further leisure to prepare for a continuation of their resistance, and if they were to be assisted from abroad in the manner prognosticated by opposition, such a measure would afford time to the enemy to come to their assistances.

There was strong reason to believe, that affairs would soon be settled to the satisfaction of this country. The expence of resisting the power of Britain was such, that Congress was now sinking under the burthen: the bounties given for the procurement of soldiers, were excessive, and alone would weigh them to the ground.

In the course of this debate, the employing of the Indians was animadverted upon in the severest terms. It was infamous in a civilized people to admit of such merciless savages for allies. Nothing had given more provocation to the Americans.

It was replied, that it was unjust to represent the employing of the Indians in so opprobrious a light. The emissaries of Congress had strongly urged them to take up arms for the Americans, before we had applied to them. If, therefore, any infamy could arise from such a measure, it fell equally on both parties.

It was in reality a point of false honour for which the nation was now contending. Which ever of the two parties obtained the advantage in this dispute, nothing besides imaginary satisfaction would accrue from it: profit was entirely out of prospect. *Johnson* would be shed, and money would be profused to no other end, ~~than~~ to leave both combatants in a

state of debility, from which would be many years in lag.

Such were the ideas of those who were esteemed the part of the House. But the party continued still the. The address was carried by 1 of two hundred and forty-eighty-six.

In the House of Lords, to which was moved in answer to the speech, was opposed with vehemence. Lord Chatham again on this occasion; and worn down with infirmities himself in such a manner, that his great abilities had no avail to him. He condemned the motion upon the same principles that he had done in the House of Commons, and recommended a measure of the same nature.

But his arguments and were lost. The pre-determined majority rejected all such proposals, and against all that could be urged in favour; and he now expected the truth of what he had long foretold would come to pass,—that the divisions would decide a matter of momentary questions, and end in a nation to undue influence.

Such was the complaint of the public which adhered to these opinions. They expressed indignation at the slight which was shewn to the judgment of such a body; it was hard, said they, that to whom the British nation was so deeply indebted for the prospect of grandeur to which it had been raised, should be soon after the wit decline: but it was harder still, that he should live to see the day when the great services he had rendered to his country should be undervalued and forgotten; when his advice received with a neglect, and his person treated with indifference, and his reputation with disrespect.

warmth they felt and expressed
behalf of this illustrious noble-
was the greater, as the discourse
le on this occasion, was, in their
sion, equally judicious and ani-
; and founded upon truths,
none but the venal, the unin-
l, or the weak-minded, would
question.

er indeed was Lord Chatham
to express himself with more
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suffer themselves to be led in
graceful manner to which they
abmitted. They once thought
ives entitled to guide, instead
adding implicitly to the direc-
f-ministers. The House of
in particular, ought to re-
-t that it had been usual to ask
advice: they were hereditary
council of the nation, and it ill
e any individual to assume the
ce of dictating to them. But
of this proper and constitu-
method of proceeding, they
ow informed of measures pre-
ted without their participation;
which, nevertheless, their con-
ce was requested. Ministry
upon events, the uncertainty of
was notorious, and called upon
o assist in the plans erected on
ecarious ground, in a stile that
dictatorial, and precluded all
ation. This was not the lan-
with which the ministers of
e country should presume to
ch its guardians and represen-
. Mean must these be to en-
ich treatment, after having been
; and so invariably deceived, and
o such a complication of dis-
s, through the repeated errors
acurable presumption of these
rs. Disappointments and mis-
es of every kind had constantly
ed all their measures, and yet
ad the confidence to relay upon
pport of a public which they
grievously offended, and of

which they had sacrificed the evident
interest to a system, which reason and
argument had fully demonstrated and
fatal experience had completely pro-
ved to be pregnant with certain ruin
to this country.

The noble empire of Britain was
now doomed to ruin by the unskil-
fulness and incapacity of those who
were unhappily entrusted with the
management of its concerns, and the
pride and haughtiness of the councils
by which they were influenced. After
advancing step by step in a track
which they were continually admonish-
ed, not merely by their opponents in
this country, but by the united voice
of all the politicians in Europe, would
infallibly conduct them to perdition,
they still persisted in it, even in spite
of the severe chastisement they had
met with in those calamities they had
brought upon their country. If such
men could be supposed capable of
listening to advice after having so long
despised it, they ought now to be told,
that unless they immediately receded
from the measures they were pursuing,
they would next have to account for
the entire downfall of this kingdom.
It was absolutely inevitable in the
natural course of causes and effects.
Did ministers flatter themselves that
the united strength of the House of
Bourbon, added to that of America
and of such powers as would abet
them, would not outweigh that of
Britain, forsaken as she appeared man-
ifestly to be, and left alone to face
such numerous and potent ene-
mies?

An opening however still remained
for accommodation. France and
Spain, though sufficiently inimical to
Britian, had not gone those lengths
in their assistance which had been re-
quired by the Americans. The dis-
satisfaction they felt was an opportu-
nity not to be neglected. Now,
therefore, was the season to wean them
from the connection they had formed
with those two courts, by making

such overtures, as from their reasonableness would not be rejected.

Lord Chatham was ably seconded by the Lords in opposition. Their arguments were chiefly grounded on the danger to which the nation would infallibly be exposed, in encountering such a multitude of enemies as threatened to arise from all parts, in case of a further prosecution of the war. The intentions of the House of Bourbon were so plain, that it would be an affront to the common sense of the public, to affect security from that quarter. However fair the language of those courts might continue to be, their deeds bespoke nothing but the most hostile designs; and their enmity was of so radical and hereditary a nature, that it was not to be expected they would refrain from indulging it on the most tempting occasion that ever had been, or could be offered, of humbling that enemy who had so often, and so lately humbled them.

An appeal was made by the Lords in opposition to the bench of Bishops. They were conjured, as men whose profession enjoined them particularly an abhorrence of blood, to interest themselves in a manner becoming their function and character, in the cause of peace.

To the various allegations urged against ministry, replies were made much in the same strain as those employed in their favour in the Lower House.

Among other remarks on this subject, it was observed, that ministry could in no wise be blamed for endeavouring to strengthen the hands of their adherents in the Colonies, and of those who were fighting the battles of the nation there, by every method that policy suggested; and therefore were justly entitled to employ, for the obtaining of this end, those means which God and nature had put in their power.

This latter expression was vehemently reprehended by the opposition. It was taken up with peculiar severity by Lord Chatham, and represented

in the most criminal and striking light. He lamented the times had made such an alteration in maxims and feelings of honour which had hitherto distinguished the people of this country in so honourable a manner from all others, that with equal shame and grief he considered the character of his countrymen with so much baseness and baseness. Those who avowed such principles in the House of Peers, ought to regret that what fell from their lips should fall to the ground; it was circulated throughout the nation, and made an indelible impression on the minds of those who heard it whenever they reflected on the excellence, the singularity, or the glorious and evil tendency of what was spoken, made it any ways remarkable. He would venture to say that what he had heard upon this occasion would equally astonish and offend every humane and liberal mind, and disgrace upon every individual, ever exalted, that would dare to countenance it.

After a most violent and stormy debate, the motion in favour of the address was carried, by a majority of ninety-seven votes, more than twenty-eight.

A motion being made in the House of Supply, 'that sixty thousand seamen should be voted for the ensuing year,' it occasioned loud complaints that a prolongation of the American war was plainly in view by the making of such a request. It showed, too, said they, how the ministry had deceived the people, or had been deceived themselves in asserting, session after session, that nothing was to be apprehended from the Americans abroad, and that we might pursue what measures we thought proper respecting America, without any possibility of interruption or molestation from that account.

Such, however, was the consciousness of the imminent danger to the kingdom, that the opposition

was agreed to without a division. The bill passed during the last or suspending, in some cases, the *Corpus Act*, was now, the continuation of it was for the same reasons alledged it passing.

A variety of arguments, much the same effect, a continuance of which was voted by a majority of three hundred and sixteen, to sixty.

Next subject wherein America again an object of discussion, the land-tax. Here the discussion either side renewed that variety of argumentation which had for years been repeated to the same purpose. The inutility of

in America for the purposes of the war, was enforced from the incapability of raising a revenue in a country that had no money. Britain to obtain the point intended, and reduce the Colonies to submission, the wounds she had received in this contest must first be healed, ere she could carry her revenge into execution.

As further observed on this subject, that matters were now come to a woeful extremity, that were to take place that instant, and a consent to the most immoderate subjection to this country, it required a length of years for a settlement of affairs upon their footing. It had been calculated, that greater sums had been expended in consequence of this unhappy alliance, than would have sufficed to secure, and bring to the country improvement, all the uncultivated lands in the kingdom.

From a variety of observations of nature, it was concluded, that in order to arrive at a precise and well-grounded knowledge of the question so agitated,—the propriety of continuing the American war, an extension of the means by which it should be supported, seemed indis-

pensibly necessary. It was a direct and obvious method; it led straight to the point, and would at once enable men to come to a clear decision.

Such were the sentiments delivered on this occasion by Mr. Fox, whose extraordinary abilities had already been oftentimes exercised in the many debates concerning American affairs.

He moved for a Committee of the whole House, to take into consideration the state of the nation.

The motion being complied with, Mr. Fox followed it with another to request that the papers relating to the transactions of the Commissioners in America, should be laid before the House. But this was refused by the ministry.

On the following day, which was the third of December, the disaster of the army under General Burgoyne, was notified to the House. Great was the grief and concern which it excited; but the reproaches which it drew on the ministry, were not less. Their imprudence, their obstinacy, their presumption, were the source of this, and of all the calamities that had befallen, and were still awaiting this country. A fatality attended all their proceedings.

On the fourth of December, the Committee of Supply reported, that the sum of six hundred and eighty-three thousand pounds would be wanted for the expenses of the office of Ordnance, in the ensuing year. The immensity of the demand roused all the fire of opposition. It was asked, whether the ministry did seriously believe that the resources of this country were adequate to the charges of a war, of which only one single department called for such a consumption of money? The sum demanded, exceeded by one hundred and forty thousand pounds, that which was expended in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine; the most active, important, and successful year of the late glorious war. We then

maintained near three hundred thousand fighting men, and our operations were extended to every quarter of the globe. It was incomprehensible, therefore, how so vast a sum as that which was at present required, could be wanted, when the number of men employed amounted to no more than eighty thousand, and our Colonies were the only theatre of hostility.

Mr. Burke, in particular, was very pressing on this subject, and displayed much knowledge, as well as eloquence in the manner in which he treated it. Receiving no answer to the several interrogations he had made relating to the business in debate, and the Speaker preparing to put the question, he declared with great firmness and

resolution, that the question not be put, till ministry had some satisfactory explanation weighty a subject.

In answer to these questions were reiterated with great effect was replied on the side of that the extraordinary expense department, was owing to extremely hostile disposition of the country where the war was waged supplies of any kind could be had there, and every article for this branch of the service transported thither from home.

It was also observed, that last war the foreign troops in the service of Great Britain, provided their own ammunition.

Parliamentary Debates relating to America.

1777.

twentieth of November, the House of Commons were opened, to receive the Business of the Session. The Treasury supplies had been voted with such expedition, that the service of the ensuing year of nine millions were granted. The House was so much startled at the readiness with which the national income was granted for the support of measures, that by no means univer-

sally of December, it was adjourned to the 1st of January. The reasons for this motion were, that the business of the year concluded, and measures could be re-considered at the issue of the last year.

On the other hand, considering the present terms, the idea of a recess from business at a time when the atmosphere was so seriously affected by the dangerous situation of the nation had often occurred, but none to be attended with which it was attended on every side. We were a civil, unnatural, un-derwhelmed we had hitherto met with an disappointment and we were conscious, in the present situation to the

contrary, that the whole House of Bourbon was preparing to assail us with all its power: we knew all this, and yet at a season when the collective wisdom of the nation should be pondering on the means of warding off the blows that were so visibly aimed at this country, the meeting of Parliament had been deferred to the latter days of December, suspended to the close of January. Was this paying a due attention to the business of the state? Was it manifesting a true sense of the circumstances of this country?—It was the reverse of all this. It betrayed indolence, or incapacity. It was a proof that either the danger was not fully comprehended, or that motives too shameful to be acknowledged prevented men from exerting themselves in the manner its greatness and proximity so evidently required. Ministry foresaw the storm that was coming upon them from all quarters; they knew themselves unable to face the difficulties to which they had exposed the kingdom from abroad, and they dreaded the account that would be demanded from them at home. In this dilemma their perplexity was such, that they seized every pretext to put off the evil hour; but it would arrive, and would even gather double strength from this imprudent delay. The sooner it was faced, the easier it would be met.

The ministerial answer was, that a longer continuance of the session would be of no utility in the main point proposed at present, which was the preparations requisite for the defence

force of the nation against any foreign attacks. Measures respecting America could not be taken till the situation of affairs in that country was laid before them, in a clear and explicit manner. It would be time when mature intelligence was arrived, to proceed to those concessions and arrangements regarding the Colonies, that might be found proper and suitable.

To this reply, opposition rejoined with great vehemence, that whatever treaties might be entered into with America, the present ministry had no right to imagine the Colonies, would consent to treat with men who had used them with so much duplicity. Ministry stood respecting America in the worst of all political situations; they were neither feared nor esteemed. It was not, therefore, for such men to talk of negotiating with those who would not trust them.

In the eagerness of their pursuits, ministry had thrown away all those considerations which other politicians had thought necessary to keep in view. It had been usual with former ministries, in compliance with the general dictates of prudence, to form such connections as might co-operate in their schemes, and prove a support, in case of need. But Britain, through the incapacity and self-sufficiency of its present rulers, was destitute of any allies that could deserve such a name. The ministry would not surely have the confidence to bestow that appellation on those Princes whose troops we had hired. We were absolutely an abandoned and forlorn people, surrounded by open and secret enemies, had hardly possessed the good wishes of any state in Europe.

With these, and many other allegations of the same kind, did the opposers of ministry combat the motion of adjournment; but it was carried, upon a division, by one hundred and fifty-five votes against sixty-eight.

the House of Peers, besides some, as by the Lords in opposition

conformable to those made in the same party in the House of Commons. Lord Chatham moved, that the orders and instructions to Lord Burgoyne should be laid before the House. In the speech with which he opposed this motion, he represented the conduct of ministry in the most glaring light. He arraigned, in a particular manner the meanness and avarice prevailing among those from the eminence of their station ought to be above all influence. This base and selfish disposition, he ascribed the disunion of this country, the distrust of all men for each the dissolving of all connection, the enmity now brought about by those who were formerly bound together by the same views. Lastly, that open, manly rule of acting, rendered individuals respectable to each other, however they might differ in their political principles, a certain, insidious spirit of intrigue gone forth, destructive of every principle of integrity, and which ultimately to eradicate all the pretensions upon which alone men value themselves.

This degeneracy of mind, he said, infected all parts of the community; it was found among the nobles as well as the highest orders. These stood nearest that mine, fountain of corruption, which had infected almost all those who approached it, they were accordingly the most guilty. To these he attributed calamities that were afflicting the British empire. Owing to their passive acquiescence, individuals unworthy of trust and confidence, were precipitating it to ruin.

Ministry answered the charges against them with equal warmth. Of improper influence was denied with much vehemence. They were induced by no other motive than the conviction of the propriety of their conduct. It was an easy and idle talk to accuse men of being

views ; but proofs were not so produced. They had done every thing to the utmost of their power, they had stood up for the rights of the crown and kingdom of Great Britain ; they still continued to stand beneath the majesty of the legislature, to be forced into measures of which it did not approve. In the struggle between this country and France, it was the part of a nation to espouse its cause, and to support it to the death. But the maxims of the French were quite of a contrary nature, and inculcated the sacrifice of the country's interest to that of the individual.

A violent contest, wherein every variety of language had been used on either side, the question being

put, Lord Chatham's motion was rejected by a majority of forty votes to nineteen.

Not discouraged by this rejection, he made a second motion for an address to lay before the House, the orders and directions relating to the employment of the Indians. This motion was negatived in the same manner as the preceding.

When the question of adjournment came to be agitated, it occasioned no less heat and altercation than in the House of Commons.

After a long and acrimonious debate, attended alternately with several taunts, the motion for the adjournment passed by a majority of forty-seven to seventeen.

CHAP. XXI.

Transactions in Great Britain relating to America.

1777—1778.

DURING the long unexpected recesses that divided this memorable session, many domestic events happened of a nature to claim the attention, and exercise the animosities of both parties.

The misfortune that had attended under General Burgoyne, was become an object of very serious consideration. Though it was to return to England, yet it was to remain unless for the purpose for which it had been intended. Until another army of equal force could be provided, one of the most important objects of the American war was of necessity to be neglected.

But it was not only the mortification of being deprived of the service of this army in America, that perplexed the ministry: it was almost equally chagrined at the little progress made even by the victories obtained in other parts, towards the objects proposed.

This was a situation highly embarrassing.—It shewed that there was a radical chain of difficulties in the enterprise before them, which threatened to be indissoluble, as soon as one was overcome, another started up.

Another obstacle began at this period to shew itself. This was the difficulty of recruiting the troops in America. Exclusive of the enormous expence of sending armies across the ocean to another hemisphere, the question now was, where to provide a sufficiency of men to replace those multitudes that fell in battle, or were lost

through the many other casualties that concurred to their destruction.

Occurrences of various kinds contributed to show with what heat the French espoused the cause of the Americans. These were respected, and feasted by individuals of all degrees, in the harbours which they conducted their voyage; they were treated on the footing of most cordial friends and allies, considered as men embarked in the same quarrel against one common enemy.

These various objects made a great impression in the councils of this kingdom.

The plan of conquering America was still continued in equal force.

To pursue effectually the enterprise proposed, a considerable force was raised within the kingdom in addition to those supplies of men and arms which were furnished from foreign countries. The pressure of circumstances rendered such an attempt inevitable; but an obstacle which appeared of magnitude, was now to compass the execution with attention, without applying to Parliament, and without offending the public.

It was suggested upon this occasion that an application might be made to the king, without impropriety, to that party which had in so many instances shewn themselves strenuous abettors and supporters of those councils that had pursued coercive measures.

Were such an application to be made, it would open the most favourable prospects. It would create

for the military list. It gave the martial spirit of the rich, though naturally bold and id, was in general averse to any profession.

Expectations formed by ministers answered beyond what the king had dared to presage. Connections that had taken between France and the Colonies, considerable alteration in the minds of people. Many who had been their zealous friends, became their foes from that time alone.

At those places that seconded the ministry, Liverpool and Bristol stood the foremost. They had a zeal that gave spirit to the whole undertaking, its wellwishers with the most hope of carrying it through most of the extent proposed. They engaged to raise a complete of a thousand men. The activity was displayed in various ways; and numerous subscriptions opened almost every where, everying and embodying of men for public service.

It had afforded great satisfaction to the ministry, could the city have been prevailed on to lead in a measure of this kind. The differences that had arisen between the Court and the people to America had alienated from each other.

They were not however wanting the ministry to make a trial

ends of government in the armed themselves into a body, they gave the name of the White Livery; but they were known by that of the White Association, from the tavern where their meetings were held.— At this period very numbers exercised great sway in the power they had of ob-

liging or detrimmenting individuals in trade.

The heads of this powerful body were carefully applied to on this important occasion, and much stress was placed on their exertions. They themselves doubted not their sufficiency to carry the point proposed. Full of this confidence, they advertised a meeting of their associates.

But the misfortunes that had lately befallen the British arms in America had made such an impression on the public, that an averseness to the American war had taken possession of the minds of far the greater majority of those on whom they had so confidently relied.

In consequence of this disposition, the meeting, contrary to their expectation, was but thinly attended; and such as were present, manifested so little inclination to correspond with their intentions that they did not judge proper to lay the real intent of the meeting before those who composed it, and it separated without the least transaction or any business.

The proposal intended by ministry was, that the city of London should raise and maintain five thousand men, who were to serve three years, or till the conclusion of the war. But the manner in which their agents were disappointed at this meeting, discouraged these so much, that at a Court which was called by the Lord Mayor upon this occasion, no mention was made of this tendency, and it was only moved, that a bounty should be granted by the city to those who enlisted into the service, either by sea or land.

In the Court of Aldermen, eleven members supported this motion against nine, who rejected it.—But in the Common Council, it was thrown out by a majority of one hundred and eighty to no more than thirty.

Notwithstanding this heavy disappointment, the ministerial party continued firm to their determination not to give up the point. The want of loyalty

loyalty in the Corporation of London, should not, they said, prevent individuals from testifying it in their private capacity. While subscriptions were encouraged for the Americans taken with arms in their hands against this country, it was but just that those who were well affected to government should also subscribe to its support.

In consequence of this determination, a subscription was opened at the London Tavern, and a Committee chosen to manage the business. As the whole of this affair was conducted by persons in adverse circumstances a large sum was soon subscribed.

The adherents to ministry at Bristol imitated those at London, and were foiled precisely in the same manner. They acted also with no less zeal after their public failure. They opened subscriptions, and filled them with a liberality exceeding that of London, when the proportions of wealth between those two cities are taken into consideration.

Similar attempts were made for the service of government in different countries, with no better success.

In Scotland, a remarkable readiness was shown in concurring with the designs of government. The martial spirit of the Scotch nation prompted it to very vigorous exertions upon this occasion. The cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, besides large subscriptions, furnished each a regiment of a thousand men. Several regiments were also raised in the Highlands.

This measure was the very first object that met with the censure of opposition on the meeting of Parliament after the recess. Sir Philip Jennings Clerk began the inquiry into this business, by observing that as the people of this country had been told that the American war was the war of Parliament, they could not fail being greatly alarmed at hearing that a large body of men had been raised during the recess, not only without the knowledge or advice of Parliament, but without

intimation being given on the ministry that any such design was in agitation.

Parliament had, on the 6th, been informed, that terms of submission to be proposed to the C. would be laid before them at the meeting.

The object of Parliamentary action at present, was to know in whose hands the sword was entrusted; ever necessary it might be to raise troops, it was the duty of Parliament to see that the sword should be in those only upon whose fidelity could rely.

He moved, in consequence, that an account should be laid before the House of the number of troops ordered to be raised during the present journeyment, specifying the regiments, with the names of their officers and commanders, the length of time these had served, and the rank which they had obtained in the army.

The motion was acceded to by a part of ministry, and the House adjourned at the same time, the intention of the long adjournment which had taken place, had been answered, by the activity that had been exerted in the various parts of the public service, and the zeal and readiness with which numbers in the nation had come forward to forward it in their private capacity.

It was with particular satisfaction that ministers now saw, that the accidents had not affected the opinion of the public respecting the rectitude of their measures; the crosses and disappointments were seen in their true light, as continuing independent on human sagacity; every man who felt for the reputation of this country, must rejoice to see the courage of the people augment in proportion with their difficulties and dangers. Such a disposition of the issue, render them, in the

Opposition contended, &c.

it however flattering a reason ministry might think make of the measure in question, a direct attack upon the crown, and was replete with impropriety. Were it otherwise, why so industriously have been from Parliament?

The executive power in this authorized in raising such a force of troops without the concurrence of Parliament, the fences of propriety would immediately be broken. It was an easy matter to find pretexts for levying or increasing the number of forces; but were this kind once admitted, there would be raised, as would be the case, that arbitrary government in this country, which had been known in so many parts of Europe by the same means.

It had, in this instance, been a manifest notorious breach of constitution: they had assumed what belonged to Parliament, — that of granting the money.

As to these objections, it was by ministry, that the present times were so great, that captious and unreasonable men condemn a measure evident and beneficial.

A transaction, instead of meeting with opposition, ought to be treated with civility. Warmth in the cause of Britain against the pretensions of the Colonies, had a spirit of multitudes throughout to uncommon exertions, and in the maintenance of our just claims; was there any sensibility in a case of this kind? Was not such a transaction conducive to the reputation of the crown?

Was it not a proof of unanimity in the hour of their attachment to government and of their strongest approval of those who directed its

Precedents militated powerfully in support of the measure: — In the rebellion of seventeen hundred and forty five, several Noblemen and Commoners raised troops at their own expence; subscriptions were openly set on foot, and persons went from house to house collecting money for the use of the public. No compulsion was employed, but such was the temper of the times, that whoever refused to contribute according to his circumstances, was reputed a disloyal subject.

Neither the Bill of Rights, nor the Mutiny Act itself, it was asserted by several lawyers of great eminence, were contrary to this measure. Contributions, while voluntary, could not be deemed unconstitutional. They were given to quell a rebellion, which was the greatest of all calamities, and in the suppression of which all means were justifiable.

It was answered by opposition, that the precedents alledged in justification of the measure, were not apposite to the present case. When the public was in manifest and imminent danger, necessity might excuse a deviation from formalities.

The Bill of Rights did by no means allow money to be raised for the use of the Crown, otherwise than by grant from Parliament.

The express intention of the Mutiny Act, was to prevent the crown from maintaining an army without the assistance of Parliament; but if the means of maintaining it were permitted to be furnished through any other than a parliamentary channel, the act might soon be invalidated, and its intention wholly frustrated.

Gifts to the crown, from whatever source they flowed, could not be considered in any other light than that of aids, when given for public uses; they were therefore a manifest breach of the rights of Parliament, which had reserved to itself exclusively, the sole privilege

privilege of supplying the wants of the crown.

The plan observed in levying these new regiments, was at the same time complained of as expensive, injudicious and inequitable. Instead of forming additional regiments, those already subsisting ought to have been recruiting to their full complement, according to the manner that had been practised in the last and former wars: this would have proved an effectual supply, and rendered an essential and much wanted service to the army. Fresh levies incorporated with veteran soldiers, soon acquired that military spirit, and those habits of regularity and discipline, which they had continually before their eyes; but a new raised body of men, totally unacquainted with the use of arms, were long in forming themselves to quickness and precision in the various duties of their profession, for want of that assistance and incitement which are derived from constant example.

This method of conducting the business was attended with another glaring impropriety. The rule of promotion, according to seniority, had been set aside in a manner that could not be justified:—Officers who had spent their lives in the service, saw their juniors lifted over them without the least pretence for such a preference.

A variety of other arguments was produced by opposition, to invalidate and expose the impropriety, the inequiteness, and the danger of this measure. They made a considerable impression, and induced many members, who voted usually for ministry, to side against them on this occasion. On a motion that a sum of money should be granted for cloathing the new forces, it was carried on a division by a majority of two hundred and twenty three, to one hundred and thirty; so much was the minority en-

creased through the disapprobation of the business in agitation.

On the seventeenth of February the minister opened his conciliatory address to America.

After some preparatory observations, he proposed by the minister the plan proposed by the minister to enable the Crown to appoint commissioners to treat with the Colonies concerning the means of putting an end to the present contest between them and Great Britain. Intention was to name five persons to this commission, and to invest them with ample powers. They were authorized to treat with Congress as a lawful assembly, representing the Colonies; with any Provincial Assemblies, upon the same conditions they had assumed with any individuals, in their civil or military capacities; were empowered to order a supply of arms; to suspend the operation of all laws; to grant pardons, amnesties, and rewards; to all, or any of the Colonies, to reform their constitutions; to settle the present troubles, and to nominate the governors, and a council of officers, in those places where the Crown had exercised that power.

Should the Americans decline the title of Independent States, in negotiating with the Commissioners, to be allowed them until they had been ratified by the British Parliament. The Commissioners were to negotiate, upon a basis of the empire, for a reasonable contribution to its common expenses on the part of the Colonies; this demand was not to be insisted on, and to be given up rather than to terminate the quarrel.

The minister accompanied his proposal with a long and able discourse upon the subject, concluded by asserting, that the concession did not proceed from

priority. Great Britain was by no means disabled from continuing the war; there was no deficiency of money, many more might still be raised, and the navy was in full power. The revenue to support all these operations was very little impaired, and the means for the service of the year would shortly be provided, at a small expense to the interest.

The proposals of the minister met with no opposition: but it was late, at the same time, that they began to produce any real hope of their answering the purpose. The Americans had staked their independency upon a weak and solid foundation, that they could not be expected they would stand upon to part with it for any terms that Britain could make. Negotiations would not prove successful than its arms, and would now shake the resolution of the people who had suffered so much from such exertions to accomplish the object. Their situation was no longer uncertain and precarious; it stood upon firm ground; they were supported not only by their own arms, but also by that of the ablest allies they could possibly find.

The Americans were too full of resentment for the treatment they had received, to harbour those sentiments of moderation that were necessary to induce them to such a reconciliation as was proposed.—They would not easily accept of peace upon terms of equality and independence; and perhaps, when the remembrance of injuries they had received was fresh, form amicable engagements,

with this country; but no more could be looked for at present, than a simple pacification. A return to obedience ought not to enter into our ideas, if we seriously meant to put an end to hostilities.

Much indignation was expressed upon this occasion, by a great number of members, at the infallible disgrace which a conciliatory proposition of such a nature as the present would bring on the councils and character of this nation. Sooner than submit to such an indignity, the resources of this country ought, they said, to be tried to their utmost bearing: with prudence and management they would be found sufficient to reduce America to the duty it owed to Great Britain. Nothing would degrade us more, than after lavishing so much treasure, and sacrificing so many thousands of our bravest men, to acknowledge the independence of subjects who had so insultingly bid us defiance, and refused all terms but those of their own prescribing. Such a proposal would only serve to render the Americans totally untractable. It would add fresh spirit to their councils, and courage to their people, while it would, on the other hand, depress the resolution of our armies, and relax the vigour with which they had hitherto exerted themselves for the cause and the honour of their country.

After undergoing various alterations, the Conciliatory Bill was passed with the unanimous consent of all parties, on the second of March.

C H A P. XXII.

Declaration of France in favour of America.

1778.

WHILE these disputes and fermentations were taking place in England, France was preparing to throw off that appearance of peace, which still remained between the two countries.

Notwithstanding the Americans maintained their ground with great courage and vigour, the Court of France was not wholly unapprehensive, that if left much longer to themselves, the difficulties that were accumulating upon them, might be productive of impatience, and incline them to such a reconciliation with the parent state, as might frustrate those expectations of a total dismemberment of the British empire, which were the sanguine and ultimate views which they had proposed by espousing the cause of the Colonies.

They had now experienced three years of such calamities, as they had never known since their foundation. From a life of tranquillity and ease, they had been suddenly launched into the midst of perplexities of every denomination. Though numbers of them encountered the hardships and dangers of this direful quarrel, with unshaken patience and resolution, a still greater number began to grow uneasy at its duration, and earnestly to wish for an accommodation upon any terms that might secure their independence. This was an object which they were universally resolved to maintain at all perils; but they were no less disposed to reconciliation, upon conditions in any

other respect advantageous to Great Britain.

Impelled by these considerations, the Court of France had immediately, on intelligence of the convention at Saratoga, taken the resolution to act an open and decisive part in this quarrel. It was the universal desire of the French nation.

Towards the close of the year seventy-seven, preliminaries of a treaty of alliance between France and America, were agreed upon, and a copy of them dispatched to Congress, with advice that the articles were digesting, and would speedily be settled. This was done to anticipate any overture by the British ministry, and to prevent them, if made, from producing any effect, by convincing the Congress that they might depend upon the fullest assistance.

On the sixth of February, seventy-eight, the treaty was finally concluded and signed by the contracting parties, to the great satisfaction of the whole French nation. It now saw the completion of those wishes, it had so long cherished,—a dismemberment of the British empire, and the commercial advantages arising from the possession of its Colonies, transferred to themselves.

It was stipulated by this celebrated treaty, that should Great Britain, in resentment of the connection formed between the French and the Americans, proceed to hostilities against France, or intercept its naviga-

commerce with America, they make it a common cause, and hostilities against Great Britain in the midst of their respective

declared that the direct and end of this treaty of alliance, maintain effectually the liberty, safety, and independence of the States of America.

These States to reduce those North America still possessed in, they were to be confederated, or dependent upon them. If France take possession of the islands in the West Indies given to Great Britain, they were to be her property.

France nor the United States were to conclude any peace or treaty with Great Britain without the consent of the other, and they engaged not to lay down arms until the Independence of America should have been formally and securely secured, by the treaty that ended the war.

The contracting parties agreed to and admit those powers that had injured from Great Britain to make a common cause with and to accede to the present against it.

The United States guaranteed to preserve her present possessions in the Indies, together with those she acquire by treaty at the end of the war, and France guaranteed to the United States, their independence, sovereignty, absolute and entire the countries and dominion possessed, and those they might acquire in America from Britain, during the present war.

This was the substance of a treaty completed one of the most astonishing revolutions ever mentioned in history—the separation of a people, though divided by the ocean, descended from the same origin, and the same language, laws, religion, politics, religion, customs,

habits, manners, inclinations, and character. United by these many powerful ties, they had continued during a space verging towards two centuries, on a footing of such close friendship and union of interest, as raised them to the highest summit of prosperity. This public connection was still further cemented by the numerous benefits and endearments arising from consanguinity, and the remarkable affection and intimacy that subsisted between individuals. In whatever part of the world they met, they reciprocally considered each other as Englishmen, and behaved with a cordiality and warmth for their mutual welfare, that showed how truly they were united in sentiments, and how sincerely attached to each other. What was still more surprising, this separation was succeeded by the strictest alliance and adherence of one part of them, to the ancient and inveterate enemy of both, whom they had a few years before jointly contributed to humble, and who now was happy to find an occasion of making himself amends for former losses, by sowing the seeds of implacability between them, and by rendering the one an instrument of his vengeance upon the other.

It was not difficult to foresee that this treaty would defeat all attempts to any accommodation between Great Britain and the Americans, that did not correspond with the utmost of their demands; they would now consider all offers from hence as resulting from necessity, and by no means from good-will, and a sincere desire to be reconciled: they would interpret them as the mere effect of fear and weakness, and reject them with scorn and haughtiness.

The first step taken by the Court of France, immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, was to notify it in due form to the Court of Great Britain. The terms of the

notification

notification were highly mortifying and gave great offence.

Such a notification was, in fact, a declaration of war. It could not be expected that Great Britain would tamely put up with such an insult, as declaring her revolted subjects a free and independent nation, and acknowledging a determination to support them in their pretensions.

The reception of this paper was notified by the minister to the House of Commons on the sixteenth of March.—This notice was accompanied by a message from the King giving them to understand that he should be under the necessity of resisting so unprovoked and unjust an aggression on the honour of his Crown, and the interests of his kingdoms, contrary to solemn and reiterated assurances, subversive of the law of nations, and highly injurious to the rights of every sovereign power. Relying with proper confidence on the zeal and support of the nation, he was resolved to exert all the force and resources of this country, which, he doubted not, its enemies would find fully sufficient to maintain its reputation and power against all their attacks.

An address was moved by the minister, in answer to this message, to assure the King of the readiness of his people to stand by him in asserting the dignity of his Crown, and the honour of the nation, and to submit with cheerfulness and spirit to the expences that would be requisite for this necessary purpose.

The propriety of the substance and intent of the address was not controverted; but it was warmly contended by opposition that the present ministry ought no longer to be entrusted with the conduct of public affairs. Their incapacity and imprudence had involved the realm into the height of calamity and inability to acquiesce in the continuance

of their power. If they had showed themselves inadequate to the management of the nation's concerns in the transactions that had preceded, was it reasonable to imagine that they would acquit themselves with more ability and success in the much more arduous business that would now devolve upon the hands of those who were to be at the helm in the tempestuous season that was approaching?

After a debate that lasted till near three in the morning, the address, without the clause proposed for the removal of ministry, was carried on a division, by a majority of two hundred and sixty three to one hundred and thirteen.

In the House of Lords, the debates were still more violent, and accompanied with an acrimony of language and a freedom of thought, that seemed to scorn all restraint.

The Duke of Manchester led the way, and insisted in the most resolute and decisive terms, on the dismissal of the present ministry, as a condition of approving of any address that recommended a prosecution of war. He recalled upon this occasion all the arguments so often adduced in proof of their incapacity, especially the continual warnings and predictions of what would happen in consequence of their obstinacy, all which were at the present moment literally verified.

He was warmly seconded by the Lords in opposition. They explicitly complained of an occult, but irresistible influence, that governed unseen, and directed all those unhappy operations that had brought this country to the distressful situation it now experienced. To this hidden power, ministry had for years submitted with an acquiescence and servility unknown to former days, and unworthy of the character of Englishmen. This was the grievance loved all parties to contribute

Offensible alterations of men effected a change of measures, continued under the same guidance; and whoever courage to oppose it, was sure discarded.

ry denied the charge of yielding secret influence, with great and strength of expression, signed all impulse in their conduct of their own persuasion attitude: they were ready to examination of their conduct; id erred, it was from mistake own judgment, but by no rough an implicit, or venal nce, as it had been insinuated, judgment and dictates of

resent time required unanimity mon defence. The address to the House, recommended, o more. It was utterly un-, at this critical hour, to h an object a point of dis-

Without unanimity the af- ne kingdom, greatly as they arrasted, would be thrown in- onfusion, as to endanger its ence. It would be time en- er providing for the general institute an inquiry into the of ministers; but it would ore personal pique than pub- to call them to an account when all the abilities of men rties, would be wanted for diate service of the state.

who professed impartiality distinguish between miscon- misfortune. True it was, as had miscarried; but that roof they were imprudently

Many causes independent of l vigilance and sagacity, our in defeating the best con- signs. It was rash and in- in opposition, to condemn rs of public measures, mere: y nt of their failure. The s well acquainted with the

difficulty of the task imposed upon them; but the national honour was so deeply concerned in it, that unbiassed people were equally convinced of the necessity of not shrinking from it; and would readily forgive them, if, after having acted the part of men, they had not executed what was found impracticable

It was replied by opposition, that it was principally at such critical times as the present, that it became the duty of Parliament to insist upon the removal of obnoxious ministers. Facts were stronger than all argumentation, and they proved, beyond the power of denial, that ministers were unfortunate in all their enterprizes. This was a sufficient reason for the public to withdraw its confidence from them. The times were too pressing to enquire into the causes of their miscarriages; these were so perpetual and unvarying that the patience of the nation was exhausted. They showed there must be a radical source of impropriety at the bottom of all their projects, that rendered them impracticable. It was indispensable, therefore, to commit the management of affairs into other hands. They could not be worse administered than at present: and a change of men was the only chance left to produce an alteration for the better.

It was observed at the same time, that notwithstanding the provocation given by France, by this public declaration in favour of the Colonies, there was no apparent and immediate necessity for plunging into a war with so formidable a power, in the embarrassed situation of this Kingdom. The treatment we had received from France was very mortifying; but if we were wise, we should suppress our resentment at the present hour, and reserve it for a more convenient opportunity. In the continual vicissitude of political events on the continent of Europe, we need not wait long for a favourable occasion of returning the blow given

us by France in the present instance.

Nor should we forget, that we had ourselves, on former occasions, acted a part similar to that of which we now so grievously complained. When the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands threw off the yoke of Spain, England befriended them in the same manner France did now the United States of America. When France itself was torn by civil dissensions, we made it our business to interfere, and to espouse the cause of one of the parties. The frequency of the practice had rendered it a common rule of European politics. Every ministry was watched, what part it took among its neighbours, to the great and open intent of profiting by their dissensions. It was by a strict and constant observance of this maxim, that some of the greatest princes and ministers had made so splendid a figure. Queen Elizabeth in England, and Cardinal Richelieu in France, had ruled with so much prosperity, and risen to such fame, by never losing sight of it. The safest way of revenging ourselves would be by following their example.

Instead of a vain and fruitless reprobation of the conduct of France, which it was highly probable this country would have adopted, had this ancient rival afforded the like opportunity of doing her injury, we ought rather to turn our indignation upon that ministry, whose imbecillity had brought so many calamities upon the nation; and to use, at the same time, the surest and most obvious means of extricating ourselves. Perleance pointed at a recognition of American independency, as the most effectual. Whatever system we now proposed for our conduct abroad, unless we took this previous step, we should still continue in a track of error and difficulty. There was much more of danger in rejecting than of dishonour in adopting it: by the first we laid ourselves open to a combination of enemies, too power-

ful to encounter successfully in our present situation; by the second, we showed our discretion in yielding to necessity, which was a duty incumbent on all sound politicians, and which the wisest and bravest of men had often times, by their practice, clearly proved they accounted no disgrace.

This was one of the severest altercations that ever fell out in the House of Lords; it was attended with particular virulence and personality. On putting the question, the address was carried, divested of any censure on ministry, by a majority, upon the division, of one hundred, against thirty-six.

The declaration of France in favour of America though it exasperated the nation did not in the least surprise it. The preparations that had so long been making in all the ports of that kingdom, were no secret, and it was impossible to mistake their intentions.

The public was, upon this occasion, no less divided in its opinions respecting that event, than the Parliament had shewn itself, in the debates that were carried on with so much vehemence in both Houses. It revived the antipathy to a power, of which the ambition was so well known, and had cost this nation such immense treasures, and so much blood to repress. The prospect of the further sacrifices of men and money, that would now be required to oppose its hostile views, kindled afresh the resentment of old injuries, and in some measure prepared the people to unite with zeal and cheerfulness, in the efforts that now became immediately necessary to face this ancient and natural enemy.

The people of France imagined that on declaring themselves the friends and protectors of America, the government in England would have been obliged to induce the minister to accelerate an accommodation with America upon the spirit of

I have been so depressed, as sink at once into despair, and government, from its constant general despondency, to ribed to any conditions that and America should have rated.

as the opinion entertained agated by the French and erous partisans throughout

But there were also many ated from them; and who re strict and impartial into the character of the Bri- fore saw and foretold that ion of France to the cause of of bringing about a world, on the contrary, id prolong the war, and in uences extend it perhaps to of the globe.

on, it was said, so long ac- to give laws on the ocean, yield, without a severe con- periority to any other on nt. Some there were, who ac decline of the dominion l on the sea; and predicted t Britain would in its turn the same reverse. But these that the difference between tain and the Seven Pro- such as precluded all kinds son. Three kingdoms in- he British islands, compo- nse tract of land, inhabited e who lived on the produce which was known in most ie in fertility, and to exceed ion, the most plentiful re- urope. Its commerce with untries was founded on its nodities. Its natural pro- vere so valuable, as to excei nd those of all other places; rications were so esteemed, ery where in particular re- situation as an island, as- ultitude of advantages for ng on of naval business, other part of Europe pos-

essed in equal proportion. Its nar- bours were more numerous and con- venient, and the adjoining seas afford- ed greater profit by their fisheries, than any others in Europe. Add to this, the number and courage of the natives, their strength and expertness at sea, their high spirit, their pro- digious riches, the excellence of their government, the resources they pos- sessed within themselves, the activity and perseverance of their disposition. All these were objects of consideration; that ought to be duly weighed, before people ventured to pronounce that their fate would be similar to that of the Dutch, and that after having as- tonished the world by their transient greatness at sea, they would, like them lose it, and no longer remain that for- midable power, which had rendered them so long conspicuous.

The Dutch were undoubtedly a brave and illustrious people. Their struggles against Spain for the es- tablishment of their liberty, and their resistance of the invasions of France, would always be remembered highly to their honour. But their country was neither extensive nor fertile. It drew its subsistence entirely from abroad. Its commerce was precarious, as it did not arise from the produce of its own soil, and depended on the want of in- dustry in other nations. The pro- gress made by these in the improve- ment of their own country, and in manufacturing the materials of their own growth, had proportionally lessened the commerce of Holland. It would in time revert to its primitive inconsiderableness, should Europe con- tinue the cultivation of trade and agri- culture with the same attention and care it had done for many years.

Such were the discussions that took place about this time in various parts of Europe, in those especially where people were solicitous to find reasons to hope that Great Britain would sink.

under the heavy trial that was preparing for her.

The French, pursuant to the precedent in the late war, resolved to perplex the councils of this country with the terror of an invasion. Multitudes of regiments were assembled from all parts of that kingdom, and marched down to the sea-side, where they formed large encampments opposite to the shores of Britain.

Though an invasion was by no means apprehended at the present hour, as it could not, in good policy, take place, till a superiority was obtained at sea; yet to quiet the apprehensions of the people, and to show all Europe, as well as the French, that Britain was well prepared to meet them, orders were issued to draw out and embody the militia, which, happily for this country, was now composed of men in every respect as well exercised and disciplined as any regular troops.

Great complaints, however, were made, that a squadron of twelve ships of the line, under command of the Count d'Estaing, had sailed from Toulon unobstructed. America was undoubtedly the object of its destination; but no squadron had been employed either to dispute its passage through the Straits of Gibraltar, or to follow and watch its motions,

This matter was taken up with great warmth in Parliament; and much censure passed on ministry for not acting with more vigilance in a case of such importance.

In the mean time, the reality and imminence of the dangers with which the kingdom was surrounded, engaged the attention of both Houses in the most serious manner. The Commons unanimously passed a vote of credit, to enable the King to put the nation in a state of immediate defence; and in the House of Lords a motion was made by the Duke of Richmond to recall the fleet and army from America, and to station both where they might protect

those parts of the British dominions that lay most exposed to the enemy.

This motion occasioned a severe debate. Those Lords who espoused the Duke's opinion, supported it with many strong arguments, drawn from the necessity of contending the preservation of the realm, which was now threatened itself so evidently, that unless it was placed in a posture of vigorous resistance, it would be most certainly the first object, against which a foreign attack would be directed.

Those who disapproved of the motion, contended that the remaining strength of regular forces, added to the militia, which in its present state was little, if at all inferior to them, would compose so numerous and formidable an army, as need not apprehend any invasion whatever; and that the fleet was in a condition to meet that of France with every reasonable hope of success.

While secured in this manner from any hostile attempt at home, there was no occasion despairingly to throw up all hopes of succeeding abroad. The relinquishment of our Colonies would lower us in the estimation of all Europe. It was expected that the least we could do, was nobly to struggle for a dominion so long our own. Were we to lose it, we might still preserve our reputation. But this would certainly be lost by the abandonment of our American dependencies in the manner proposed; it would be like retreating from the field of battle on the very appearance of the foe.

Such were the reasons offered by those who disapproved of the proposal to abandon America. The majority sided with them, and it was determined to support the contest with the utmost perseverance.

In the mean time the inquiry into the state of the nation continued with unabated assiduity in both Houses. In the House of Peers, the Duke of Richmond, its principal cond

what related to the naval strength of the Duke of Bolton, Earl of Lillingham and, brought all matters relating to a clear and perspicuous not, as afforded satisfaction. Though it had proved useless respects to military, information it afforded was useful and requisite at the time, particulars that greatly wanted, and placed the general the nation in their proper

put an end to that laborious and inquiry. By one of the late and animated speeches had been pronounced in that

Its professed intent was to state the throne the real undivision of the kingdom, as from that inquiry; the pro-

the administration of the defective state of the navy, competence to the exigencies at this perilous season, and thing accumulation of the public three years war. Such, he were the consequences of the ce and incapacity of the pre- ters. They had missed the missed the lustre of the Bri- ta, dismembered the empire, the public treasures, impaired and commerce of the nation, its arms, and weakened its wer. After exciting a civil een the two principal parts ritish empire, they had, by finite refusal, of professed tion, driven the one part, in to ce with the greatest enemy of unity, and involved it in the dangers it had ever experienc-

a variety of other expressions sinter and severe, he insisted done before, that the only of safety was to recall the reses from the Colonies, and de an accommodation with the most advantageous terms

that could be obtained. For these reasons he moved an address to that purpose.

In this opinion, however, opposition was not unanimous. The Earl of Chatham resisted it with a strength of determination, and a vehemence of speech, that were peculiar on this occasion. The Earl of Shelburn, whose eloquence and abilities had long rendered him conspicuous, embraced similar sentiments. They jointly considered the independency of America as the termination of British grandeur. The latter emphatically styled it the "letting for ever of the British yoke." All dangers and all trials were to be encountered sooner than submit to such a dismemberment. Great Britain was in possession of ample resources to prevent such a disaster. The numbers and spirit of her people, their riches and their strength were greater than her foes suspected, and even than she herself could well ascertain till they had been justly tried. The greatness which she had risen was the effect of her bold and daring genius. It was by soaring above timid rules and venturing out of the ordinary track of common politicians, that the noble and stupendous fabric of British power had been erected, and her dominions extended to every quarter of the globe. The same councils that had raised her so high, would still preserve her glory unimpaired, if they were followed with the same spirit that first dictated them.

The majority was against the address as before. A protest was signed, however, upon this occasion, by twenty Peers; wherein they condemned with the utmost freedom and asperity of language, the design to persist in the measures carried on in the Colonies.

It was during the debate of this day that the Earl of Chatham, while engaged in a warm speech against the acknowledgment of American independency, was seized with a fainting fit that

that put an end to his discourse. It was the last that he ever spoke in that House. He died about a month after on the eleventh of May, in his seventieth year, leaving behind him the character of one of the greatest orators and statesmen, this or any other country had ever produced. The greatest honours were paid to his memory. His eminent services to this country, and the high degree of splendour and power to which it arose under his administration, were gratefully and earnestly commemorated in both Houses of Parliament, especially in that of the Commons. His remains

were interred, and a magnificent monument erected to his remembrance in Westminster Abby, at the public expence. Nor did the gratitude of the nation rest here. As from the excessive disinterestedness of his character, he had left his family in circumstances unequal to the dignity to which he had been raised, provision was made for the payment of his debts and an honourable income was settled upon his posterity.

On the third of June a period was put to this memorable session; not however without the loud complaints of the opposition.

C H A P. XXIII.

Transactions and Military Operations in America.

1778.

the Parliament of Great Britain was taken up in the sessions that employed the abilities of its members. In an important session, the addresses were no less busily making connections with friends of this country, and pressing to those designs at which, from the perfection of its character, they would labour to force

the success of his attack at German town was not forgotten, and the fertility of his mind in the invention of plans and means to harass and attack, were experimentally known. The Americans too, were no longer new and inexperienced in military matters. In the course of three years, they had so well profited by continual experience, that they were well inured to the service, and displayed, occasionally, equal courage and skill.

the declaration of Independence Congress had determined for this purpose the most able individuals it could command were accordingly sent to different courts and states where they acquitted themselves of the business committed to them, with great acuteness.

These transactions were of great attention to the politicians of the British and Americans, who were confined to their quarters. Valley Forge, where Mifflin was posted in a weak position, had nothing to recommend its position. From thence he could not serve all the motions, and was apprized of every design of the British commander. Notwithstanding his actual inferiority in point of numbers, he lay in a country, where, in an emergency, he could be of great strength sufficient to enterprize that he might be able to project. The sud-

Against such a General, and such men, it was necessary to keep a perpetual guard, especially as it was in these unexpected onsets they were most dexterous and to be apprehended. To obviate all dangers of this kind, the British General directed redoubts and lines to be constructed around the city of Philadelphia, by which it was effectually secured against any surprize.

The army that had been under the command of General Burgoyne was now at Boston; from whence, on his arrival thither, it had expected, according to the articles of capitulation, to have been shortly transported to England; but difficulties totally unforeseen and unexpected, now stood in its way.

It had been requested by the British commander, that the embarkation of this army should take place either at New York, or at Rhode Island, for the greater convenience of the shipping instead of Boston, from whence, according to the letter of the Convention, they were to take their departure.—As it was not doubted that this

this proposal would be complied with, the ships were now arrived in the harbour of Rhode Island, and waiting there for the arrival of the troops; but to their great surprise, the Congress positively refused them the permission to embark, under pretence of its suspecting that sinister designs were intended on their part. The departure of General Burgoyne, and the army under him, was suspended till the Court of Great Britain had notified to Congress in explicit and formal terms, its ratification of the Convention at Saratoga. In this manner a body of near six thousand veterans were detained prisoners, and the apprehensions of the British army's being reinforced with a like number completely removed.

On the return of the spring, the British troops in Philadelphia made several successful excursions, in order to procure forage, and open the communications necessary for the conveyance of supplies. In the mean time, the Congress was indefatigable in recurring to every method which it could devise, to encourage the people resolutely to prepare for the next campaign. It was confidently circulated throughout the Colonies, that, in all probability, this would be the last.

General Washington was fully convinced that the following campaign, if not entirely decisive, would bring matters to such an issue, as would essentially influence the remainder of the war. In order to avail himself of every advantage that fortune or good conduct could procure, he determined to effect such a reformation in the discipline of his army, as might at once remove all impediments to its quickest motions.

In order to increase, at the same time, a martial spirit among the upper classes, it was recommended by a public resolution of Congress, to all the young gentlemen of the different Colonies, to form themselves into companies of cavalry, to serve at their own

expence during the campaign, and to receive such treatment and attention as were due to their rank.

While the Congress was making the arrangements necessary for its future defence, the British were equally taken up in preparing for a vigorous prosecution for the campaign. They promised a reinforcement of twenty thousand men, and entertained no doubt of such an addition of strength, complete prior to the war being ended of the year.

From the continual hostilities which they were engaged in, they now contracted an interest in the war which made them consider it their own, and rendered them eager to maintain it in the manner that first held out to them,—by a total subjection of the Colonies to the terms prescribed by Britain.

Such was the disposition of the British army, when the intelligence arrived about the middle of the year, that the conciliatory bill brought in by the minister.

The surprise and indignation expressed by the whole army on the occasion, showed how little they expected an alteration of sentiment in England, and how warmly they felt for the cause. It grieved them to see the style of superiority, which hitherto assumed with the Army was to be laid aside, and that they were to be treated on terms of equality. The aspiring hopes they had of being soon able to crush all opposition, were now to be converted into concessions to an enemy they looked upon as contemptible, and looked upon as more than half conquered.

Such were the sentiments which the British military felt. The intelligence of the concessions to both officers and soldiers excited in the warmest manner anger and resentment to take their cockades off their hats, and trampled them under their feet.

red themselves as men deprived of honour, and as if a victory unjustly snatched out of their

the natives of Britain felt such as, those of the American were inexpressibly greater now saw themselves divested of all the hopes they had formed and reinstated in their former and possessions. In firm confidence of this, they had openly taken as in the cause of Britain, dependent from their own country, abandonment by another, was said they, to be their future

tion as this bill was arrived, it refused circulated among the by the agents to the British ment; but it proved of little and met with small notice. In order to show their disaffection, it, ordered it to be publickly in the newspapers. Governor had sent several copies of it to Washington, requesting that it permit them to be circulated army. The General returned answer, inclosing a printed copy a public paper, with the resolutions of the Congress in confession of it.

The resolutions were, that who should presume to make any agreement with the Commissioners appointed by Great Britain be deemed a public enemy to us; that the United States at with any propriety hold any correspondence with the Commissioners the British fleets and armies obviously withdrawn, or the independence of the United States acknowledged. The concerned at the same time the not to suffer themselves to be lured into security by any offers, and send their most strenuous exertions to the field with all

diligence. In these resolutions Congress was unanimous.

In the beginning of June, Mr. Simon Deane arrived from France at York Town, the residence of the Congress ever since the British army had taken possession of Philadelphia. He brought with him copies of the two treaties of commerce and alliance between France and the United States, in order to receive the ratification of Congress. He laid before them all the particulars relating to the negotiation, and a variety of other interesting accounts.

The contents of these several dispatches were immediately communicated to the public, and special care was taken to represent the conduct of France in the most advantageous colours.

Besides the intelligence relating to the alliance with France, the people were informed that the independence of America was a favourite object with all the commercial powers in Europe.

In addition to this information, they were assured, that it was the opinion of all those who were conversant in the affairs of Britain, that she could not hold out more than one campaign in America; that her resources were near exhausted, as her credit was so much reduced; that the most serious dangers were impending upon her; upwards of three score thousand men were encamped on the coasts of Normandy and Brittany, ready for an immediate descent upon England: that the navy of the House of Bourbon amounted already to no less than two hundred and seventy sail, ready for sea, and was daily increasing; that in the midst of so many enemies, Britain had not a single friend; the character of those who governed that haughty people had indisposed all the world against them, and their humiliation was the universal wish of every state in Europe, without exception.

Such were the representations of Con-

gress

3.5 HISTORY OF THE LATE WAR.

gress to the people of the Colonies at large : they were received with the highest honours, and the whole continent. Adams was appointed by General Washington for the whole army to celebrate the alliance with France, and it was observed with great military magnificence and solemnity.

About the end of May, Sir William Howe took his departure for England, leaving the command of the army to Sir Henry Clinton. Previous to his quitting Philadelphia, a most splendid festival and entertainment was given him by the army, as a testimony of the high respect and affection they bore to his person and character.

In the beginning of June, the Commissioners appointed by the conciliatory bill arrived from England. They were the Earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and Governor Johnstone. Immediately on their arrival, they directed their secretary, Doctor Ferguson, to repair to Congress, in order to notify their arrival and to present their commission, with other papers, and to open the negotiations with them; but he was refused a passport, and they were obliged to send them by another conveyance.

In the letter which was addressed to the Congress by the Commissioners, they assured them of an earnest desire to re-establish the tranquility of the empire on a basis of equal freedom; they reminded them that cordial reconciliation had in others, as well as the British nation, succeeded to divisions no less violent than those which now agitated it. They acquainted them that the acts of Parliament relating to America, which were now transmitted to them, had passed unanimously, and showed the disposition of Great Britain "to come up to every wish that America had expressed, either in the hour of temperate deliberation, or of the utmost apprehension of danger to liberty."

More effectually to demonstrate their good intentions, they declared themselves ready to consent to an im-

mediate cessation of hostilities by sea and land; to restore a free intercourse; and to renew the common benefits of naturalization throughout the several parts of the empire; to extend every freedom to trade that the respective interests of both parties could require; to agree that no military force should be kept up in the different states of North America, without the consent of the General Congress, or of the particular assemblies; to concur in such measures as would be requisite to discharge the debts of America, and raise the credit and value of the paper circulation; to perpetuate the common union by a reciprocal deputation of agents from the different states, who should have the privilege of a seat and voice in the Parliament of Great Britain; or if sent from Britain, in the Assembly of the different States to which they might be deputed respectively, in order to attend to the several interests of those by whom they were deputed; to establish the right and power of the respective legislatures in each particular state, or settling its revenue, and its civil and military establishment, and of exercising a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government, so that the British states throughout North America, acting with us in peace and war, under one common sovereign, might have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege that was short of a total separation of interest, or consistent with that union of force on which the common safety of their religion and liberty depended.

After making these offers, they proceeded to take notice "of the insidious interposition of a power, which had, from the first settlement of the Colonies, been actuated with equal enmity to them and to Britain. The assistance and alliance now professed by France, were, it was well known, framed by that power in consequence of the plans of accommodation previously concerted in Great B.

in a view to prevent a reconciliation and prolong the war between

trusting, however, "That the states of North America, connected with those of Britain by the ties of consanguinity, speaking the same language, interested in the abolition of similar institutions, deriving the former happy influence of good offices, and forgetting animosities, would shrink from the thought of becoming an auxiliary force to the late common enemy both; and would prefer a free coalition with the parent state, an insincere and unnatural alliance."

expressed, at the same time, to meet the Congress, either in person, or by deputation, at Philadelphia, New York, or any other place that might be agreed upon.

In that part of the letter which was first mentioned the insidiousness of France, the reading was interrupted, and a motion made to proceed to the next order. The debates on this motion lasted three days; when, after a long and tedious reading of it, and those papers also which accompanied it.

were referred to a committee, who, after a short deliberation, drew up an answer to them, which was passed by the unanimous approbation of the Congress.

The letter informed the commissioners that "Nothing but an earnest desire to spare the effusion of human blood could have induced them to publish a paper containing expressions so disrespectful to the King of France, so great and good ally; or to propose propositions so derogatory to the honour of an independent nation."

He acts of the British Parliament commission from the King of Britain; and the letter from the commissioners, supposed, it was the people of the United

States of North America to be subjects of the British Crown, and were founded on the idea of dependence, which was utterly inadmissible."

"Congress was nevertheless inclined to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which the war originated, and the savage manner in which it had been conducted. They would therefore be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with the treaties already subsisting, whenever the King of Great Britain should demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose. The only solid proof of such a disposition, would be an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of the United States of America or the withdrawing his fleets and armies."

This answer terminated the correspondence between the Congress and the Commissioners; and put, at once, an end to all ideas of bringing about an accommodation.

That event, which more than any other contributed to set the commission in a disadvantageous light, was the evacuation of Philadelphia. Before an answer from Congress could reach the commissioners, General Clinton evacuated that city, after the British forces had remained in possession of it about nine months.

This evacuation was looked upon by the Americans as the first decisive step to the relinquishment of America. They boasted, that notwithstanding the superiority of military advantages on the side of the British army, it found itself inadequate to the task of a second campaign in Pennsylvania.

They considered her strength as broken upon the American continent, and inferred from the British army's retreating from the principal scene of action, that expecting no further reinforcements to arrive, it withdrew to a place of security, in order to be at hand to quit America, in case the exigencies of Britain should require its immediate departure.

The evacuation of Philadelphia took place on the evening of June 26. After the evacuation, the army was preparing to move on, but was much out of the countenance in the morning, and crossed the Delaware before noon, with all its baggage and provisions, and with the guns and equipments of the army, to a secure place of refuge, and to secure its passage.

At this place, a place called Red Bank, the army was posted to defend the passage of the river, and to prevent the British from crossing it. The army was posted in a line of battle, and the British were not able to cross the river.

Before Sir Henry Clinton had quit Philadelphia, the American General had followed him, and had, in a long and desperate fight, defeated the British, and had taken all the force of the army, and had taken the British troops, and every thing, and threw every thing into their way.

General Mifflin, with a large detachment of American regulars, crossed the Delaware, and joined the Jersey militia, to this point. They broke down the bridge, and raised a multiplicity of impediments to retard the march of the British army; but from its superiority, they did not dare to make a stand at Mount Holly, as they had at first intended.

In the mean time, General Washington occupied the Delaware, with the main body of the Continental army, and was to be joined by the regular forces and militia that could be gathered from all parts. General Gates, at the head of the northern troops, was advancing with all speed to join him.

Upon his arrival at Allan's Town, Sir Henry Clinton received intelligence, that the enemy were directing their route towards the Raritan in great force. As to attempt the passage of that river with so many incumbrances attending him, and so many impediments to oppose him, would prove an enterprise of great danger,

he determined to pursue his march, and to cross that part of the coast, led to Sandy Hook, from which a passage to New York might be effected.

Having taken this resolution, the army struck into the road leading to the Neck, a river that fell into the ocean, near a town called Sandy Hook, in the neighbourhood of Sandy Hook. General Clinton, on being apprized of this, followed the British army with all possible speed, in order to intercept it, before it had gained the coast, in the line of it where it would be impossible to intercept it with any prospect of success.

To this intent the Marquis was detached with some troops to harass the rear of the British, and to prevent its moving with celerity which was requisite to an adventurous ground. Lee, at the head of a large detachment, followed close to support him, and General Washington, with the main body, a great order, and circumspectly, followed the whole.

On the twenty-seventh of June, Clinton arrived near the Neck. From the ground of the enemy's light troops hovered on his rear, judging the army was approaching, he occupied the strong grounds in the neighbourhood, where it would be difficult for the enemy to surprize him.

General Washington, on considering his situation, resolved to move as soon as he had quit the Neck. He did not night in making the necessary preparations; his troops lay up arms; and he ordered General Clinton to be ready with the division of his command, to begin the attack at break of day.

Sir Henry Clinton foresaw that his march would be interrupted, and that he would be obliged to disengage himself, and to retreat.

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This enabled a body of cra-

goons in the British army, to act to
advantage. They charged a party of
horse under Marquis Fayette, and
drove them back in confusion upon
their own infantry.

As all things seemed to tend to-
wards a general action, a reinforcement
was ordered from General Knyphausen's
division; and the army was formed in
order of battle on the plain. Sir
Henry Clinton's intention was to make
a resolute onset on that part of the
American army that had ventured in-
to the plain, before it could be joined
by the remainder. This was yet at
some distance, and had two defiles to
pass before it could come up. The
whole of the American army consisted
of more than twenty thousand men;
but no more had passed these defiles
than what the British forces in the
front line under Lord Cornwallis were
able to cope with.

When the American division in
the plain, saw the British troops form-
ed, and advancing upon them, they
re-ascended the hill, and took a strong
position towards its summit; but the
British troops followed them with so
much speed, and attacked them so
vigorously, that their first line was
broken immediately. The second stood
with more firmness; but was also put
to the rout. They both rallied, how-
ever, and posted themselves with a
morass in their front. The necessity
of obtaining decisive success, obliged
the British General to make a third
charge, upon a large body of the en-
emy that had taken possession of a post,
where if they had been suffered to re-
main, the British army would have
been greatly annoyed. This body
was accordingly charged and dispersed
and the ground cleared on all sides
for the army's motions.

The end proposed by Sir Henry
Clinton in attacking the enemy, was
now completely obtained. The two
detachments that in the morning pass-
ed on both his flanks, had, as he ex-
pected, made an attempt on the
baggage

baggage; but the division that guarded it, received them with so much firmness, that they could make no impression; and the spirited attack and repulse of that part of the American army which was opposed to General Clinton's division, compelled them to return with all speed to support it.

After gaining these advantages, Sir Henry Clinton found it absolutely necessary to give his troops some repose. The intense heat of the weather and season, added to the excessive fatigue of the day, had proved so fatal, that more than fifty-nine men fell dead in the ranks, without receiving a wound. He took for this purpose the position from whence the Americans had been first dislodged, after their quitting the plain. Here he remained till ten at night; at which time, in order to avoid the insupportable fatigues of the climate during the day, he resumed his march by moonlight, in order to rejoin the full complement of his army, which was now at a considerable distance, and in perfect security, by the means of that part of the army under his own command.

Thus ended the action of the twenty-eighth of June; in which the bravery of the British troops and their patience in enduring the most dreadful excesses of toil were equally manifested. They had forced an enemy, comparatively superior in numbers, from two strong positions. Had not General Washington joined them on their retreating to the ground behind the marshes, they would probably have been dislodged a third time. The junction of their main body prevented even the defeat; and General Washington made immediately such a disposition, as rendered it unsafe to recommence the attack.

It was this position, and the measures he had taken, together with the vast superiority of his numbers, that induced the British General to move

from the ground where he had rallied his troops. He continued his march leisurely the whole of the next day, in hope that the Americans might follow him. He proceeded in this manner, till he had reached the borders of the Navesink. Here he waited two days, intending, if General Washington had advanced at a considerable distance from the place where he had left him, to have turned suddenly back, and attacked him.

But the American General did think it prudent to risk an engagement with the whole British collected. His retreat in presence of the American army, was indeed considered as a very signal success, equal to a victory in the present state of the contest. General Washington on this occasion, gained great applause, by the diligence which he brought up the main body. He had preserved the rest of his force being entirely cut off; and his subsequent movements, had put it off advantageously, as to security from any attack. He had even solved, on the very morning, for the loss of his army, to have acted offensively and was greatly disappointed in the morning, on finding the British had resumed their march.

Sir Henry Clinton, on perceiving that the enemy did not follow, continued his march to the sea. The fleet under Lord Howe, was arrived from the Delaware, and at anchor off Sandy Hook. Several ships of this name had, during the preceding winter, through a severe storm and inundation, been disjoined from the main land. By the direction of the Admiral, a bridge of boats was constructed with the utmost expedition; and on the fifth of July, the whole army passed over a channel into Sandy Hook island, whence it was conveyed to York.

The slain and wounded

le in this action, did not exceed hundred, of whom fifty-
l, as already mentioned,
excess of heat and fatigue;
ose who fell, Colonel Monk-
chiefly regretted. He was
of remarkable intrepidity.
was peculiar. He had been
sly wounded in various en-
s, and once had been left for
he field. The loss of the en-
reputed much more con-

l Washington, after detach-
ight troops to follow the
ny, and observe its motions,
is march towards the North
ere a great force had been
in order to join him, and
was now expected, that some
of importance would shortly

ion at Freehold occasioned
breach between General
n and General Lee. This
charged with disobedience
duct, in retreating from be-
ritish division, which he had
the morning on the plain.
artial was held upon him,
sentenced to a temporary
from his command.

mean time, the squadron
unt D'Estaing, which had
on on the fourteenth of
lel the Straits of Gibraltar
h of May, and arrived on
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while the British fleet was
n conveying the army over
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rk.

French squadron steered
claware, or Sandy Hook,
tion of both the British
rmy would have been in-
ie fleet was in no condition
ce, consisting only of the
with two ships of the line,
rigates. The army would
een inclosed by the Ame-

ricans at land, and the French at sea.
Hemmed in by mountains, and an im-
passable tract of country, it would
have found it impossible to force its
way to New York. Destitute of pro-
visions, and cut off from all communi-
cation, it must undoubtedly have been
compelled at last to surrender. Had
this proved the case, the fate of the
war would have been completely
decided; and Britain would have re-
ceived such a blow, as she has not felt
for a long course of ages, and might
not for a length of years have recover-
ed.

Notwithstanding this signal escape
from so great a disaster, dangers of
every kind yet remained to be encoun-
tered. On the eleventh of July the
French squadron came in sight of the
British fleet off Sandy Hook. It con-
sisted of one ship of ninety guns, one
of eighty, six of seventy-four, and four
of sixty-four, besides several large
frigates. Exclusive of its comple-
ment of seamen, it had six thousand
marines and soldiers on board.

To oppose this formidable squadron,
there were at present at New York, no
more than six ships of sixty-four guns,
three of fifty, and two of forty, with
some frigates and sloops. They were
not in good condition, having long
been absent from England, and their
crews were very deficient in number.
They had, however, a material superi-
ority over the enemy, in that of their
commander and his officers.

The British fleet was happily station-
ed as to command the entrance of the
harbour of Sandy Hook, which is
covered by a bar, and affords but a nar-
row inlet. The intention of the
French Admiral, was to force his way
through: but when he drew near the
British squadron, and had observed its
position, and aparent determination to
stand his utmost efforts, notwithstand-
ing its manifest inferiority in every re-
spect, the consciousness of the great
capacity and courage of its commander,

the sight of the dispositions he had made, the knowledge of the desperate exertions of valour he would have to encounter, and the uncertainty whether the passage through the gut was practicable for ships of the size of those that composed his squadron; all these motives engaged him to decline a trial, which, if unsuccessful, might endanger the safety of his squadron, and bring disgrace and ruin upon the arms of France, on their very first outset.

Never did the intrepidity of the British nation display itself with more lustre than upon this memorable occasion. The people belonging to the fleet of transports, and merchantmen, lying at New York, vied with each other who should be foremost in his offers of service. A thousand of the best and stoutest seamen were selected to do duty on board the men of war. Those to whom they had been preferred, invited upon accompanying them; and numbers, in spite of all endeavours to restrain them, found means to join their companions. The masters and seamen of the trading vessels, acted with equal zeal and readiness; and there was no species of service, which was not courted as a favour by individuals of all classes and denominations. One seafaring man particularly, offered to convert his vessel into a fireship, without pay or reward, and to conduct her himself into the midst of the enemy.

The courage of the officers and soldiers of the army was not less conspicuous. Wounds, and the consequences of the extreme fatigue and hardships they had recently undergone, were forgotten. The strife was universal, who should repair on board the men of war to serve as marines; the contest was so eager, that no other method could be contrived to decide it, than by calling lots among the common men, as well as among the officers.

When the extraordinary spirit excited upon this memorable emergency

is taken into due consideration the arrival of the French Squadron coast of North America at this time, may be accounted one most fortunate circumstances war. It gave the British nation of the most industrious opposition that it has had for a few, of sign that intrepid character for which has at all times been renowned greatness of the danger was such it was an act of high courage a brave nation, to face it with coolness and deliberation which so unanimously exhibited. It what great resources true valour find, and how difficult it is to come men who are determined to nothing undone for their defense.

While these measures were on at New York, the French Squadron lay at about four miles off Hook. Here it continued a fortnight, in expectation of meeting with some opportunity of being serviceable to the common cause France and America, than hitherto been able to prove. It did no more than capture some vessels which fell into its possession through their ignorance of a French fleet in those seas.

The hopes of relief at New York were founded on the expectation of seeing the arrival of Admiral Boscawen's Squadron, consisting of eleven seventy-four guns, and one of eighty. It had left Portsmouth on the tenth of May; but the minister being fully apprized of Count d'Orville's destination, dispatched post to recall it to Plymouth, whence it did not sail till the end of June; after advice had been received of the French Squadron's fleet in North America.

The voyage of this Squadron was extremely unfortunate. It met with a continuance of bad weather, and shattered by storms, as to be unfit for action. It arrived, after a

scattered and detached on the parts of the coast of America

On the twenty-second of July, the fleet under Count D'Estaing sailed. The wind blowing from the sea, the water rose thirty feet in the bar, and no doubt was made of the French fleet's seizing so favourable an opportunity of trying the passage in the harbour. Every preparation was made to receive him, and all people were agitated with anxiety for an event which so much would have been expected; but contrary to expectation, they did not think it advisable to make any attempt, and without approaching or reconnoitring any further, he stood off to sea.

The departure of the French fleet was a second deliverance of the consequences to the affairs of Britain in that quarter. In the following week two ships of the line, one of sixty-four, and another of seventy-four, successively arrived at Sandy Hook, all which must have unavoidably fallen into the hands of the enemy had he remained on that

coast, fortunately for this country, the plan entirely frustrated on the part of France had placed her in a state of dependence. The capture of the British fleet in the Delaware, the consequent loss of the army, looked upon at Paris as next to certain. Doubtless the measures were well concerted, that such an event was highly probable, and it was merely to accidents that it did not take place in the fullest extent which was expected.

The sailing in the principal intent of the expedition, it now behoved the Admiralty to exert himself, in order to make amends for the little that had hitherto attended him. The first object at which he now proposed in his operations was Rhode Island. While he lay at Sandy Hook,

an attack was projected upon that place between him and the Congress, and it was in execution of that intent he departed so unexpectedly.

As he had a body of six thousand marines and soldiers on board, it was proposed that he should make a descent some where on the southern extremity of that island, while a body of the Americans made another towards the North. The squadron meanwhile, was to enter the harbour of Newport, destroy the shipping there, and assault the works and batteries along the shore.

On the twenty-ninth of July, the French squadron anchored without the bar, fronting Newport, and blocked up the passage between the several isles that lie around Rhode Island, the principal one. Sir Robert Pigot, who commanded the British troops there, had made every requisite preparation for a brave defence. The several vessels that were necessarily destroyed, to prevent their being taken by the enemy, furnished him with an excellent supply of men for the service of the artillery, and the vessels themselves were sunk in those inlets and channels which would have afforded the enemy a convenient station for attacking the works.

The charge of attacking Rhode Island on the side of the continent, was committed to General Sullivan, an officer whose conduct since the beginning of the war had obtained him great reputation. The troops were chiefly composed of people from the New England Provinces.

On the eighth of August the French squadron entered the harbour of Newport, and coasting the town, discharged their broadsides into it, and received the fire of the batteries on shore; but little execution was done on either side. They anchored a little way above the town, in order to be ready to co-operate with the New England forces, which were preparing to land on the north side of the island.

R R:

island.

In the mean time, Lord Howe, on receiving intelligence of the attack upon Rhode Island, resolved to make the utmost efforts he was able for its preservation. His naval force now consisted of one seventy-four, seven sixty-four, and five fifty gun ships. The great superiority of the French in weight of metal, rendered any attempt against them very hazardous, but the pressings of the occasion, together with his intrepidity, determined him to undertake it.

At the head of this Squadron he sailed from New York; but from contrary winds could not reach Rhode Island till the ninth of August, the day after the French Squadron had entered the harbour of Newport.

On the appearance of the British fleet, the French Admiral resolved immediately to sail out of the harbour and attack it. To this purpose the wind proving fair the next morning, the tenth of August, he put to sea. Having the weather-gage, and Lord Howe being unwilling to leave him in possession of that advantage, a contest ensued for it, which lasted the whole day; the French Admiral, notwithstanding his superiority, striving for it with no less eagerness. The wind still continuing unfavourable, on the eleventh, the British Admiral finding it impracticable to gain the weather-gage, resolved forth-with to attack the enemy, without contending for it any longer. Having formed his Squadron with that great professional skill and judgment which was so much applauded on this occasion, he bravely prepared to engage. But the wind, which already blew with considerable force, increased suddenly to such a degree, as entirely to frustrate his design. It gradually augmented to a violent storm, which lasted two days and nights. It separated both fleets, and did them so much damage, that

most of the ships were rendered unfit for action.

The violence of this tempest chiefly upon the French Squadron. Several of its ships were disabled. The *La Guedoc*, of ninety guns, the Admiral's ship, had none fit when she was met in that condition the *Renown* of fifty guns, commanded by Captain Dawson. He attacked her immediately with so much courage and dexterity, that had not darkness interposed, together with the darkness which had not yet sufficiently abated, no doubt was entertained she would have struck: her rudder was carried away, and she had suffered other essential damage. Captain Dawson stood close to her during the night, posing to renew the attack by day; but as soon as it returned he discovered six French ships in line bearing down upon him, and was necessarily obliged to retire.

The very same day, Commodore Hotham, in the *Preton*, also of eighty guns, fell in with the *Tonson*, an eighty gun ship, with only her masts remaining. He attacked her and was compelled by the coming of night, to discontinue the engagement till next morning, when the appearance of several French ships obliged him to withdraw.

But the engagement that happened between the *His of fifty guns*, and a French ship of seventy-four, was perhaps the most remarkable action that took place during the war. None of them had suffered through the storm, but notwithstanding the prodigious inequality between them, the *His* sustained so resolute a fight, that a close engagement within pistol shot lasted an hour and a half. The French ship was obliged to put to the wind, and crowd away with a fair breeze. The commander of the *His* was Captain Raynor, whose heroic behaviour in this brilliant action, did but

country the highest honour acknowledged by the French, with unfeigned astonishment.

The French squadron returned to and on the twentieth of June, in such a shattered condition, that an attack from Lord Pigot did not think it safe to repeat. They failed on the twenty-first of Boston, in order to repair in a place of security.

The British squadron had suffered in the storm than the French. Obligated, however, to make at New York for the pursuing. As soon as this was Lord Howe failed immediately of the French fleet but he in Boston harbour. Resolved to attack it, if it were there, he carefully reconnoitred it but it was so powerfully protected by batteries and defences raised on the side, that any attempt was entirely useless.

Count D'Estaing was sailing from Newport harbour to attack the British under Lord Howe, General Pigot on the northern point of Rhode Island.

The force he had consisted of about ten thousand. On the seventeenth of August they began their operations by attacking the British batteries, and making their way to the British lines. General Sullivan was no less attentive in taking measures to frustrate their designs.

His garrison was sufficient, and in excellent order; and the situation of the place, together with the works that were constructed for its defence, rendered it very capable of making an effective resistance.

The northern part of Rhode Island, where the town of Newport stands, is separated from the northern by a narrow neck of land, which forms a kind of isthmus. Along this ridge, which runs from the eastern to the western end of the island, the British troops had fort-

med lines and redoubts that entirely secured the southern division of the island from any apprehension of an enemy that could only carry on his attacks by land.

Had Count D'Estaing, as it had been proposed co-operated with General Sullivan and landed a body of men on the southern shore, while he was making a diversion on the north, the position of General Pigot would have been extremely critical. The Americans complained bitterly of his conduct upon this occasion. He was at the time when Lord Howe arrived with his squadron, completely master of the harbour; the British shipping there had been either sunk or burnt, to prevent their being captured by the enemy. It would have been impracticable for the British squadron to force a passage into the harbour against so great a superiority. Every advantage was manifestly on his side, and the success of the enterprise seemed clearly within his reach. His motive for relinquishing it, was the uncertain honour of defeating the British fleet. But it would have been time enough to have encountered Lord Howe after having obliged General Pigot to surrender Rhode Island. Such were the ideas of the Americans on this occasion.

The conduct of Count D'Estaing gave such offence to the people of New England that were with General Sullivan, that they abandoned the enterprise, and returned home highly disgusted at their disappointment. This desertion reduced him to an inferiority in point of number to the garrison he was besieging; and compelled him to think seriously of making a retreat.

He broke up his encampment accordingly on the twenty-sixth of August. But on perceiving his intentions, the garrison sallied out upon him, and assailed him with so much vigour, that he was constrained to make several resolute stands before he could retreat.

could bring off his troops. With much difficulty he made good his retreat to some advantageous ground on the north of the island, where he posted himself so securely as to remain out of all danger. He then passed his troops over to the continent, and put an end to an expedition, which, though it procured him great personal honour, was attended with much fruitless trouble and danger, and brought Count D'Eslaign and his countrymen into much disreputation.

It was fortunate for General Sullivan to have effected his retreat in this manner. Immediately on his departure, Sir Henry Clinton arrived in Rhode Island with a body of four thousand men. Such a reinforcement to the garrison would have enabled him to obtain the completest success over that officer: his retreat would have been cut off, and the town of Providence destroyed, a place of which the neighbourhood occasioned perpetual alarms at Block Island, from the armaments and enterprises that were continually projected and carried on from that quarter.

This was the design intended by Sir Henry Clinton, and which he would, in all probability, have executed, had not contrary winds delayed his arrival. It was however no small success to the British arms at this critical juncture to have defeated the attempts of the Americans by land, and those of the French at sea, notwithstanding their immense superiority and the vast expectations it had created all over the continent.

No commander had ever set forth with greater views, and with greater prospects of fulfilling them; and perhaps none was ever more completely disappointed. In France it was thought, that if he were not able to surprize the British fleet and army, still he would unquestionably have it in his power to distress the former in such a manner, as would disable and dispirit the latter so effectually, as to put an en-

to all its operations, and open such a field of action to the Americans, as to render them totally masters of the sea every where, and at liberty to prosecute what measure they pleased without interruption.

Such were the hopes with which Count D'Eslaign quitted France; nor did he, when he first arrived on the coast of America, find any motive to alter them. Though the prime object of his destination had not been answered, which was to come unwarmed on the British fleet and army, yet his strength was such, that in all appearance, no naval force that could be brought against him would be able to withstand it.

Elate with this prospect, he confidently entered the scene of action; but he met with an adversary who stopped his progress in the very outset, and convinced him, that if he met with success, it must be purchased at the dearest rate. He beheld an enemy whom at first, he thought unable to defend himself, acquiring gradually through dint of superior abilities and indefatigable exertions, the power of acting on the offensive. Inferior in size of ships, in weight of metal, in number of men, this enemy boldly came forth to encounter him in the open sea, trusting solely to his courage and capacity for the issue of so unequal a contest. Instead of a broken and disheartened foe, flying before him, and glad to abscond wherever a shelter could be found, he saw himself, through the diligence, the sagacity, and the daringness of his rival's motions, under a necessity of avoiding him for his own preservation. After being so successively disappointed and defeated in every attempt he had formed, to complete his mortification, he was compelled to seek refuge among those whom he had been sent to assist, in order to escape the pursuit of this active and resolute foe.

Thus terminated the project which were to have been executed.

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Estaing; who, though a brave and experienced officer, was certainly unable to enter the field of combat with so great a naval commander as Lord Howe.—Instead of triumphantly at New York, as had been expected, the Americans were obliged to protect them in the road of Boston, where the French squadron now remained, utterly incapable of service.

C H A P. XXIV.

Arrival of a Minister from France to the Congress.—Transactions of the Commissioners in America.—Military Operations in America.

1778.

A Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America, was sent over by the Court of France in Count D'Estaing's fleet; his name was Monsieur Gerard, one of the Secretaries to the King's Council of State. He was received with great solemnity by the Congress, to whom he delivered a letter from the King of France.

The direction to this letter was, "To our very dear great Friends, the President and members of the General Congress of North America."

The arrival and reception of the minister from France, made a remarkable impression on the minds of the Americans. They now felt the weight and importance to which they had arisen among the European nations. "Thus," said they, "in one of their publications at that time, "has a new and noble sight been exhibited in this new world; the Representatives of the United States of America, solemnly giving public audience to a Minister Plenipotentiary from the most powerful Prince in Europe. Four years ago, such an event, at so near a day, was not in the view even of imagination. It is the Almighty who raiseth up: He has stationed America among the powers of the earth, and clothed her in robes of sovereignty."

The presence of this minister, the strong assurances of support which he brought, the arrival of the fleet under Count D'Estaing, the evacuation of

Philadelphia, and the retreat of the army, were events which happening altogether, elevated the spirit of the Americans to such a degree, that they no longer considered their destiny as any ways precarious: they looked upon their independence as thoroughly established, and viewed the sending of the Commissioners from England as an insult.

It was from these motives that they continued to insist with such firmness on the immediate acknowledgement of their independence, or the withdrawing of the fleet and army from their country, as the preliminary step to any treaty.

Governor Johnston whose abilities had recommended him to the place of one of the Commissioners, was extensively connected among the principal personages on the American continent, where he had been some years before promoted to the government of a province. He had always acted a strenuous part in defence of the claims of America, no man in Parliament having espoused their cause with more warmth and decision.

He had, on his arrival in America, opened a correspondence with some of the principal Members of Congress on a footing of private friendship from which he hoped to derive effectual utility to the public commission which he was invested. His letters contained the warmest eulogium on the character and behaviour of the Americans, and were entirely

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of October, a proclamation,

which was addressed, in specific terms,
to the Congress, to the Provincial
Assemblies, and to the inhabitants of
the Colonies at large.

Herein they took a retrospect of the
transactions and conduct of Congress,
charging them with an obstinate re-
jection of the proffers of reconciliation
on the part of Britain, and represent-
ing them as authorised to exercise the
powers they had assumed. They re-
capitulated their own endeavours to
bring about a restoration of peace and
happiness to America, and gave notice
of their intent to return to England,
as their stay in a country where their
commission had been treated with so
little notice and respect, was incon-
sistent with the dignity of the power
which they represented. They pro-
fessed, however, the same readiness as
ever, to promote the objects of their
mission, and to continue the concilia-
tory offers that were its principal mo-
tive.

After several earnest admonitions
directed to the public bodies, and
different orders of men, civil, military,
and religious in general, and to all the
individuals throughout the Colonies in
particular, they proceeded to inform
them of the alteration they should be
under the necessity of making, in the
future method of carrying on the war,
should the Colonies persist in their re-
sistance to Great Britain, and in the
unnatural connection they had formed
with France.

“ The policy, as well as the bene-
volence of Great Britain,” said they,
“ has hitherto checked the extremes
of war, when they tended to distress a
people, still considered as fellow sub-
jects, and to desolate a country shortly
to become again a source of mutual
advantage ; but when that country
professes the unnatural design, not on-
ly of estranging herself from us, but of
mortgaging herself and her resources
to our enemies, the whole contest is
changed ; and the question is, how
far Great Britain may, by every means
in

in her power, destroy or render useless, a connection contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandisement of France?"

"Under such circumstances, the laws of self-preservation must direct the conduct of Great Britain: and if the British Colonies are to become an accession of power to France, will direct her to render that accession of as little avail as possible to her enemy."

"It will now become the Colonies," added they, "to call in mind their own solemn appeals to Heaven, in the beginning of this contest, that they took up arms only for the redress of grievances; and that it would be their wish, as well as their interest, to remain for ever connected with Great Britain. We again ask them, whether all their grievances, real or supposed, have not been amply and fully redressed? And we insist that the offers we have made, leave nothing to be wished in point either of immediate liberty, or of permanent security. If these offers are now rejected, we withdraw from the exercise of a commission, with which we have in vain been honoured. The same liberty will no longer be due from Great Britain; nor can it either in justice or policy be expected from her."

In order to mitigate the severity of this and the foregoing declaration, they next proceeded to grant and proclaim a general pardon for all treasonable offences committed during the present contest, from its commencement to the present time, without any exception whatsoever; and they offered to the Colonies at large, or separately, a general or separate peace, with the revival of their ancient governments, secured against any future infringements, and protected for ever from taxation by Great Britain.

The publishing of this proclamation produced an immediate warning from Congress, to all the inhabitants of the Colonies, who lived in places exposed to assaults and ravages, to remove on

the appearance of danger, to a distance of at least thirty miles with their cattle and all the property.

In addition to this war issued a manifesto, conceived in the strongest and most pointed manner, and most pointedly applicable to the object in view.

This manifesto was addressed to a variety of public and private individuals, all of great strength of mind, and of thought. Their general impression was the most full belief, that an attempt to secure a return of obedience to Britain on the part of the Colonies was totally fruitless and impossible.

The inability of the Colonies from which so much had been expected in England, became evident. It was with difficulty Congress could bring the Colonies to treat it with any remnant of respect, or even decorum. Shortly after the retreat of the British army from York, the commissioners wrote to Congress, in answer to the notice they had given them, in which they notified their resolution to admit of no treaty, without the acknowledgment of the independence of America: but Congress refused to answer should be given, and by way of slight, published their resolution.

Nor could they, in this capacity, escape the animosity of the Colonies. As they had no public declarations reflected on the conduct of France with great expressions, the Marquis de Lafayette considered it as an insult, which bound personally to resent. Accordingly, a letter to the President, as the principal of the commission, where he collected the reflections cast on the country, demanding reparation, challenging that nobleman to meet him in the field, with General Mifflin for his second.

in the unreasonableness and impropriety of such a challenge, it was rejected with no consequence; and served to shew the spirit and that young nobleman for the good of his country. It was, however, a mortification to persons in- with a public character, to find themselves called to account in a manner seemed to diminish their im- portance.

The expedition was projected by the Americans, and partly carried into execution, in the spring of this year. Its intent was to establish a communication with the Spanish go- vernment at New Orleans, and to pave the way for a reduction of the British posts in West Florida.

A person entrusted with this ex- pedition, was Captain Wilkes, a re- spected enterprising man. At the head of a very numerous party, but consisting of men chosen by himself, he sailed down the Mississippi, and came unawares upon the British posts on the east of that river, a country that made a part of West Florida; but was situated at too great a distance to receive any protection, on occasion from the forces that garrisoned there.

An American officer treated them with great generosity. Upon submitting the government of the United States, their property remained un- touched, and they were placed upon the footing of all those who paid allegiance to Congress.

The conquest, though of little im- portance in itself, awakened the atten- tion of the people at New York to the affairs of America. As the war was now approaching, during which it would be unadvisable to formu- late against the northern Provinces those in the south became, of the most eligible objects.

Among these, Georgia seemed to be the least difficult, and to pro- duce the same time, great advan- tage by a reduction. It abounded

in a production of the utmost utility. This was rice, which, in the present circumstances of the British army, was a principal necessary of life, and an effectual substitute for a variety of those provisions which they could only receive from Europe.

The command of this expedition was given to Colonel Campbell, an officer of known courage and ability. He embarked at New York, with a competent force under the convoy of some ships of war, commanded by Commodore Hyde Parker.

In order to give additional strength to this enterprise, it was determined that an attack upon Georgia should be made from another quarter. To this intent, General Prevost was directed to advance from the side of East Florida, where he commanded, with all the troops that he could collect, leav- ing no more than were absolutely re- quired for the immediate protection of that Colony. Happily, his situation was such, as exposed it to very little apprehension of any attack from the Americans, at this time.

The forces that sailed from New York, arrived at the entrance of the river Savannah, about the end of December. In order to obtain infor- mation of the condition and circumstances of the place, and the strength and situation of the enemy a party of light infantry and sailors were sent up a creek in flat-bottomed boats; they luckily seized and brought off two men, by whom they were informed, that the batteries that had been erected to guard the river, were, from being out of re- pair, become unserviceable; that the garrison was very weak; but that troops were hourly expected.

Upon this intelligence, preparations were immediately made for an attack. The armed vessels led the way, fol- lowed by the transports; the water was so shallow, that a number of them grounded; but through the judicious exertions of Captain Sturges of the navy, who served as a volunteer upon this service.

this occasion, this obstruction was quickly surmounted. The transports were got off the flats, and the troops were embarked in the flat boats, in which they moved up the river, and took their station off the landing place. It being dark at their arrival, and the enemy appearing by the fires on the shore to be prepared for defence, it was found necessary to wait for the return of day.

The place at which it was intended to land, was of great natural strength. Its access was extremely difficult: and had it been properly fortified, would have proved impracticable: but it was the only place at which a landing could be attempted: the whole extent of land that lay between it and the isle of Tybee, at the entrance of the river, consisting of swamps and marshes, intersected by deep and large creeks, impassable at the lowest water.

The division that lay off the landing place during the night, made good its landing at break of day. It was commanded by Colonel Maitland. A narrow causeway, six hundred yards long, and flanked with a ditch on each side, led from this spot to a house seated upon a high and ridgy ground.

This house Colonel Maitland resolved instantly to secure: to this purpose a body of light infantry formed directly, as soon as landed, and moved forwards with all speed along the causeway. On their approach to the house, they received a heavy fire from a party of the enemy, stationed on their way, by which Captain Cameron, who headed the light infantry, was killed. But his men, provoked at the loss of their commander, rushed upon them so quickly, that they had no time to charge again, and were forced to betake themselves to a neighbouring wood.

Having secured the landing place, the remainder of the troops came ashore, and took post on the ground near the house, at the head of the causeway. From hence they commanded an extensive view of the coun-

try, and could observe all the movements of the enemy. A large reinforcement was just arrived, and was at this time forming in order of battle between the town and the troops.

Colonel Campbell, who descended from the height where posted, resolved to advance first, and attack them without delay, they had time either to take an advantageous position, or to that which they had taken.

Having secured his communication to the landing place, the Colonel led his troops up the main road to the town. On his left, he was guarded by a thick wood in a low ground; on his right stood plantations, which were occupied by the light infantry whom he attached for that purpose.

From the many ditches and fures, and other impediments of nature in the way of the British notwithstanding they began movements early in the morning, was three in the afternoon before they could clear these obstructions and gain the open grounds.

On their approaching the town they found them posted upon a hill, which afforded them much advantage. They had a situation, wherein if they were attacked, it would have been difficult to force them.—They were drawn up in exceeding good order, covered by swamps on their right and left; across the road, in the centre of their front, between two marshes a deep trench was cut, and a rivulet ran in the same direction under the bridge over which they had passed: several pieces of cannon were planted on their flank and centre.

This disposition of the enemy seemed an oblique dispute, but could be dislodged.—While Colonel Campbell was making the arrangements for this good fortune threw a re-

hom he received such a decided at once the day.

upon examination, was acquainted with a private swampy forest on the

It happened fortunately to this path lay through which the march unobserved by

intelligence, Sir James was notified by the Colonel to take this path with the intention to turn the enemy's flank and assail them in the

movement was performed with great success, and followed, in such a position, at a proper warning, up the rising ground whence it would command the enemy, and pass in the wood.

Colonel Campbell judged that his infantry had cleared the path, and being upon the rear, he directed them to move up to the front, and the whole line of the enemy with all arms was so brisk and they were quickly broken.

Sir James Baird, at the head of the light infantry, had been sent through the wood to execute his plan, and met with a body of men, drawn up on an open ground, to secure the rear of their army from any quarter: he charged them with great vigour, that they were quickly broken, with the loss of

their main body, they were in great disorder and confusion, many of the infantry fell upon them with great execu-

tion, and entirely completed the victory.

The success of the day was remarkable in every respect. Before evening, the enemy was defeated in battle besides those that were slain, amounting to about one hundred and twenty, near five hundred were made prisoners, of whom thirty-eight were commissioned officers; the capital of the Province, its fort, with all its artillery, ammunition, and stores, a large quantity of provisions, and all the shipping in the river, fell into the possession of the victorious army.

The conduct of Colonel Campbell upon this occasion did him the highest honour; not only on account of the military skill he had displayed, but the care he took that no irregularities should be committed by the soldiery. Notwithstanding the American troops retreated through the town of Savannah, and many of the inhabitants were in the streets, none suffered in the pursuit but such as had arms in their hands and were found in actual resistance, and every care was taken to prevent the houses from being plundered.

It had been determined by the enemy, that if the town could not be preserved, it should, after the example of New York, be set on fire, to prevent its being of utility to the British troops; but upon information of this design, the British commander took such effectual precautions that nothing of that kind was attempted.

The spirit and activity with which both officers and soldiers exerted themselves in this expedition, was truly conspicuous. Without horses to draw their artillery, or waggons to carry their provisions, they still found means to pursue the broken remains of the enemy's forces, and to compel them to retire into Carolina.

On this success of the British army, many of the inhabitants joined the Colonel, and declared in favour of Britain. They resorted to him in such numbers, that he was enabled

to form them into companies of horse and foot: they were employed in patrolling the country, and in watching the enemy's motions in the neighbouring provinces of Carolina.

After thus defeating the united forces of the rebel party in Carolina and Georgia, Colonel Campbell, and Commodore Tucker, were of opinion that this would prove a favourable opportunity to issue a proclamation, inviting the inhabitants to return to their allegiance to the British government, on the terms offered by the Commissioners, and to assist in the suppression of those who resisted it.

Their persuasion was justified by the event: the inhabitants, as soon as it was freed, flocked from all parts of the province to the King's standard, and solemnly took the oath, and embraced the professions to them.

Further to confirm the public security, and check every attempt to disturb the peace of individuals, pecuniary rewards were offered for apprehending, or committing and assisting men, and others who came into the province with an intent to interrupt its tranquility by raising insurrections, or molesting the inhabitants.

Such was the diligence used upon this occasion by the British commanders, that in the space of ten days from the landing of the troops, the whole province of Georgia was entirely recovered out of the hands of the enemy, no frontier secured from invasion, and such a disposition of the forces formed, as effectually shut up all the avenues leading from South Carolina: his internal government was settled at the same time on a footing that secured to all general satisfaction to all parties concerned.

In the mean time, Count D'Estaing had exerted himself so diligently at Boston, that his squadron was now completely refitted, and in a condition to put to sea.

He had employed the leisure he had in that city, to ingratiate him-

self with the people of that Colony, by those arts and methods in which the French are such compleat masters. He had flattered them with complimentary discourses, and lavished every possible commendation on their character, and conduct in the present contest, and especially on the measure renouncing their political connection with Great Britain, and forming an alliance with France. He gave them frequent treats and entertainments, wherein nothing was omitted to impress them with advantageous notions of French taste and magnificence. In one of these particularly, which was given on board the *Languedoc*; in order to recommend himself the more powerfully to his new allies, and to show how highly he respected their alliance, he fixed the picture of General Washington in the most conspicuous part of the place of entertainment, in a superb frame, decorated with laurels.

By these and the like methods, he obtained the favour and benevolence of the ruling people, and the grater classes, and not a little accelerated the alliance he wanted in a variety of respects.

Nor was he unmindful, at the same time, of a very essential part of the commission with which he was charged, and which was a material object in his expedition to America; this was to revive the interest of France in her ancient Colony of Canada, and to excite the people to detach themselves from the obedience to Great Britain, and to return to that of France, or join themselves to the United States of America.

In pursuance of this design, a declaration was published dated the twenty third of October, addressed in the name of the King of France to the French inhabitants of Canada and of every other part of America formerly subject to that Crown.

Great hopes were conceived of its declaration; nor were they ill fu-

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Had Count D'Estaing suc-
his original design, a recovery
la by France would pro-
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otwithstanding the failure of
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htstanding the endeavours of
D'Estaing to render himself
ation acceptable to the New
people, the inveteracy to the
raditionally inherent in the
les, could not be restrained
aking out in Boston, in a
at might have been attended
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ests of both France and A-
nd not the prudence of the
y interposed, on the one
nd the sagacity of Count
g co-operated on the other.

perate fray happened in that
even the populace and the
adlors. in which these were
ghly handled, and had much
. A number of them were
wounded, and some, it was
were killed.

Precisely at the same time, a distur-
bance of the like nature happened at
Charlestown, in South Carolina, be-
tween the French and American sea-
men; but it was carried to much
greater extremities: they engaged on
both sides with small arms, and even
with cannon. A number of people
were killed and wounded.

These disturbances were the un-
avoidable effects of an antipathy a-
gainst the French, which could not
easily be eradicated from the breast of
a people who originated from Eng-
land, and had from their infancy been
bred in a strong aversion to the
ancient and inveterate enemy of a
country which they had so long been
taught to consider as their own.

Whatever necessity they were un-
der to affect amity and attachment
to the French, this inimical dispo-
sition to them, had taken such pro-
found root, that it was only on
public occurrences, where the united
powers of France and America were
in question, that they could prevail
upon themselves to dissemble it. The
French themselves were too penetrat-
ing not to perceive it; but the objects
they had in view, induced them to
pass over in silence many transactions
highly mortifying to their national
vanity.

C H A P. XXV.

Military Operations in the West Indies.

1778.

THE squadron under the command of Admiral Byron, after meeting with a most tempestuous passage from England, had put into Halifax, from whence it arrived at New York about the middle of September.

His first care, on hearing of the French fleet under Count D'Estaing being at Boston, was to put his own into such a condition, as might enable him to watch his motions; but it was so terribly shattered by the storms he had endured, that a full month was consumed in repairing it.

The same ill fortune that had attended him ever since his departure from England, still awaited him on the coast of America. As soon as he was arrived in Boston Bay, he was assailed by a storm, in which his squadron suffered again so much, that it was obliged to take shelter at Rhode Island.

While the British Admiral was detained by the necessity of repairing the damages his ships had sustained, Count D'Estaing embraced that opportunity of quitting the harbour of Boston unmolested, and sailing for the West Indies.

As the object of this expedition was obvious, it was incumbent on the British commander at New York, to send such reinforcements to the West Indies as might counteract it, and put the islands belonging to Great Britain in those parts, into such a posture of defence, as might effectually protect them from the attempts of the enemy.

A selection was accordingly made of some of the best troops in the service, to the number of about five thousand men, who embarked at New York, in a fleet of sixty transports; they were commanded by General Grant, and escorted by Commodore Hotham, with five men of war of the line, and some frigates.

The protection of the British West India islands, was indeed, a business that admitted of no longer delay. Frequent representations had been made to the ministry by the merchants in England, and the possessors of estates in those islands, of their defenceless situation.

This anxiety was further increased by the continual preparations that were carrying forwards in the neighbouring French and Spanish islands. Martinico, the principal of the French Caribbee islands, was at this period under the government of one of the most active and enterprising men that France had ever sent to the West Indies. He was constantly employed in forming projects against the possessions of Britain in those seas, and longed to signalize himself by reducing them to the power of France.

Among those isles that had been ceded to Great Britain by the late treaty of peace, was Dominica. Its situation between Guadaloupe and Martinico, and commanding a view of both, rendered it an acquisition of great importance in time of war. It had for that reason, been carefully fortified, and provided with artillery; but from some unaccountable neglect

nothing that could be called a son.

his defenceless state of the island well known to the Marquis De Bouille, the Governor of Martinico mentioned. He embarked at Martinico at the head of two thousand forces, about the beginning of November, and made a descent at Martinico, where he found no more than one hundred regulars, and a few companies of militia to oppose him. He endeavours to preserve the place evidently useless, it only remains to procure as favourable a capitulation as could be obtained.

The Marquis De Bouille acted upon occasion with a moderation that did much honour to his character. The garrison were treated with all the lenity of war, and the inhabitants remained in the possession of all their property of every denomination. They were allowed to retain their independent government in all its forms. The only alteration they experienced, was the transferring their obedience from Great Britain to France.

The Marquis De Bouille observed strict discipline with the strictest fidelity. No kind of plunder or irregularity was permitted. As a recompence for services upon this occasion, he distributed a pecuniary gratification among the soldiers and volunteers, and accompanied him upon this expedition.

Admiral Barrington lay at this time no further off than Barbadoes, with two ships of the line and some frigates. His orders were to remain at that station till he received further directions. He waited accordingly several months without receiving any, or being apprized that hostilities had commenced between Great Britain and France.

As soon as he was informed of the capture of Martinico, he thought he was no longer bound to remain passive for want of instructions, and sailed with all possible speed to its assistance.

The force he had was fully sufficient to have frustrated the attempt, had it been practicable for the garrison to have prevented the French troops from making a descent; but that being effected, the Marquis De Bouille had nothing to apprehend from Admiral Barrington's superiority in shipping, as he could, on hearing of this approach, retire in a few hours to Martinico, and the Admiral had no troops to attack those that now were masters of the island.

Notwithstanding, the arrival of Admiral Barrington deterred the French commander from making any further enterprises at the present, the success he had met with, was an ample reward for his activity.

On receiving intelligence of the capture of Martinico, by the French, Sir Henry Clinton was convinced of the immediate necessity of sending the speediest succours, to prevent any further disasters.

The dangers to which the armament destined for the West Indies would be exposed, was obvious. The French squadron was hourly expected to sail from Boston, and its track being the same as of that which prepared to sail from New York, it was much to be apprehended the former might fall in with the latter. The occasion, however, was so pressing, that it was determined to dispatch it at all hazards.

But the good fortune of this fleet was singular. It sailed from Sandy Hook the very day on which the French squadron, under Count D'Estaing, took its departure from Boston. As their destination was the same they sailed in a parallel during great part of the voyage, very near each other; but happily for the British fleet, without knowing any thing of their proximity. To complete this good fortune, a violent storm arose, which dispersed the French squadron, and drove it to such a distance, as prevented its falling in with

with the fleet under Commodore Hotham. He arrived at Barbadoes, and joined Admiral Barrington, before the Count D'Estaing had reached any of the islands.

It was immediately determined to seize this critical opportunity, and to attack, before his arrival, the isle of St. Lucia, lying to the north west of Barbadoes, and in sight of Martinico. To this purpose, General Meadows, with a body of light infantry and grenadiers, was dispatched to make a descent to a bay called Cul de Sac; where he landed accordingly on the thirteenth of December. The heights on the north side of this bay, were occupied by the Chevalier De Micond, the French commandant of the island, with a body of regulars and the militia. Notwithstanding the advantages of the ground where he was posted, the General quickly forced him to retire with the loss of his artillery, and seized upon a battery at the entrance of the harbour.

The way being thus cleared for the remainder of the forces, they landed under General Prescott, and joining with those under General Meadows, they advanced together towards the chief place in the island. The French commandant made the best defence he was able; but was obliged to retreat before the superiority of force that attacked him.

As fast as the enemy retired from their posts, they were occupied and put in a state of defence with the utmost expedition, as if the immediate necessity of taking these precautions had been foreseen.

General Meadows had, by this time, taken possession of a post of great importance, called Vigie, commanding the north side of Carenage Harbour. General Sir Henry Calder, with a strong body was stationed at the landing place, to preserve the communication with the fleet. From thence he sent several detachments to seize the posts on the adjacent mountains

that commanded the south side of de Sac Bay.

The utility of these measures appeared much sooner than it had imagined. Scarcely had they been completed, when a large fleet was covered, steering towards the island. It consisted of one squadron commanded by Count D'Estaing, attended great number of frigates, privateers, and transports; on board of which was embarked a force of not less than nine thousand men. They chiefly regulars, drawn from the sons of the French islands, or brought from France in his own ships. They had been waiting for him at Martinico, where they had been collected by the Marquis De Bouille, after the capture of Dominica, in hopes of being able, in conjunction with them under Count D'Estaing, to make conquest of all, or most of the British islands, before any succours could arrive for their protection.

The French Admiral was on his way to the Grenades, when he meant to begin his operations; he received information of the capture of St. Lucia by the squadron of Admiral Barrington. This he considered as a welcome intelligence he doubted not, from his great decisive superiority of naval and military strength, to defeat with ease the British force at that island. It was the whole of what they in the West Indies, it afforded him higher satisfaction that it was carried in our place, as he flattered himself should have it in his power to take such measures as would secure a sure capture of both the troops and shipping.

In this expectation he hastened all diligence in order to come on shore before they had notice of his approach, and could have time to prepare for his reception.

Fortunately for the British, he drew towards evening as he approached the island; and he found

e, from his ignorance of its , and the general situation of ish forces on shore, to put off ick till next day.

afforded leisure to Admiral ton to make the necessary ona to encounter the enemy. hole night was employed in ; the transports into the bottom e Sac Bay, where they would of all danger ; and in forming s of war into a line at its . His Squadron was composed ip of seventy-four guns, one ity, two of sixty-four, two of id three frigates. On the two t land, at the entrance of the tteries were planted.

ie north of Cul de Sac Bay, her called Carenage, a place ore convenient and secure than ner. Hither it was, upon ount, the British Admiral l to have moved with his whole d he not been prevented by den appearance of the French. t D'Estaing, who knew the ges of this bay, resolved to ssession of it, in order to his being anticipated. To pose, on the next morning, he for it with his whole fleet : his approach, he received so fire from the batteries which e seized by the British troops, was compelled to sheer off. ship, the Languedoc, suffered i this occasion. This unex- estitance at a place which they ight their own, threw the quadron into much confusion ; away, and remained some five. After recovering from rize, Count D'Estaing bore a line of battle on the British i in Cul de Sac Bay. Here a ngagement ensued ; but he so firm and determined a e, that he was compelled to

irst attack was made at eleven urning : it was renewed at

four in the afternoon, when it lasted longer, and the French made a heavier fire than in the morning ; but with no better success : they were obliged to withdraw in great disorder, and with no little damage.

This was a severe disappointment to a man of Count E'taing's high spirit ; and who looked upon a total defeat and capture of the British squadron as a certainty. On the next morning, he stood in again towards the bay, apparently with an intention to make a third attack ; but after forming his line, and seemingly preparing to engage, he suddenly stood off again, and came to an anchor that evening in Gros Ilet Bay, to the north of that at Carenage.

Between this latter and the former, lies another called Choc Bay. Here the French Admiral, during the night, and in the course of the next morning, landed all his troops ; resolving to make a vigorous attack upon the British Squadron from the heights in the neighbourhood of Cul de Sac Bay. He had proposed a bombardment of the whole fleet from these heights, and was advancing with all speed to occupy them for that purpose, when he found them already possessed by the detachments under Sir Henry Calder.

Disappointed in this expectation, he then determined to make an attempt upon the corps stationed under General Meadows, on the peninsula called Vigie, which forms the northern side of Carenage Bay. This corps had thrown up an intrenchment across the isthmus joining that peninsula to the main island. Count D'Estaing divided his army in two parts ; the one to attack this intrenchment, the other to observe the motions of the detachments under Generals Grant, Prescott, and Calder, and to prevent them from giving succour to General Meadows.

The Body with which he intended to assault the troops on the Peninsula.

T t.

was composed of the best soldiers in his army, about five thousand in number. They marched to the attack in three columns: the right, commanded by the Count D'Eslaing; the center, by an officer of the celebrated name of Lavendal; and the left, by the Marquis De Boufflers. The corps under General Meadows did not exceed thirteen hundred men; but they were a party of the best troops that had for many years distinguished themselves in America.

As the French advanced to the attack, their ranks lay exposed to the fire of several batteries, which had been erected on that side of Carenge Bay which is opposite to the peninsula. They pushed forward with great spirit and impetuosity. The British troops, according to orders, formed a line in front of the very intrenchments without firing; when they made a brave and well-directed discharge that did most dreadful execution. They then received them at the point of the bayonets. Notwithstanding the French continued the assault with the most undaunted resolution, they were repulsed every where with terrible slaughter, and obliged to retire at some distance to recover themselves.

They then returned to the charge with no less intrepidity than before; and were again received with the same cool and determined courage; the slaughter was renewed, and they were again thrown into disorder, and compelled to withdraw.

Encouraged by this second repulse, they rallied, and made a third charge; but the destruction made in the first attack, had so weakened them, that they were soon broken, and thrown into such confusion, that they could not hold their ground no longer, and were forced to make a retreat with the utmost precipitation.

They were so completely defeated, that they left their dead and wounded in the field of battle, and were obliged to ask permission to enter the fort, and

carry off the last, which was granted them, on condition these should be considered as prisoners.

The conduct of General Meadows on this memorable day, displayed such personal ability, as obtained him the highest commendation both of his friends and enemies. It was acknowledged by the French officers, that they had never seen witnesses of a more able and valiant defence. Nor was his personal bravery less conspicuous: he received a wound in the very commencement of the action; but would neither withdraw, nor suffer it to be dressed, till it was entirely over.

The loss of the French, in killed and wounded, amounted to no less than fifteen hundred men, by their own account. This exceeded the number of those they attacked by two hundred. It shews that though they were repulsed, it was not till they had made every effort or which valiant soldiers are capable. A proof of the eagerness and determination with which they made their attack, was, that twenty of their grenadiers were killed within the intrenchments in the first charge.

Some of the very best troops in the British and French service were engaged on this day. It is no exaggeration to say, that those who came from America had not their superiors in the world. Those whom Count D'Eslaing brought from France, were chosen men. They both sustained the military reputation of their respective countries, in a manner that reflected equal honour upon both. The attack and defence were conducted with magnanimity and contempt of danger worthy of the high-spirited character of both nations.

The expectations of the French and Americans had been raised so high upon this occasion, that they entertained no doubt of the total destruction of the British military power, and the consequent

the island they possessed in the Indies.

With these hopes, a crowd of French and American privateers had followed Count D'Estaing from various ports, and were hourly increasing, with the view of partaking in the spoil and the spoil.

But it is, that notwithstanding the loss he had sustained in the action; he had a formidable force remaining. Besides his squadron of five ships of the line; he had now frigates, and several other ships of war, and his land forces were much more numerous than the British troops on the island.

With these advantages, he made no attempt for its recovery, though he remained ashore during the space of several days after the engagement. From this action, the British commanders began to imagine that his intention was to form a blockade, with a view to cut off supplies, and compel them to surrender for want of provisions; but to their great astonishment, he embarked his troops in the night of the eight of December, and sailed for Martinico on the following day. Upon this, as Count D'Estaing had been on the island, the commandant, and the inhabitants, desired to capi-

tulate. The favourable terms granted to the inhabitants of Dominico, induced the British commanders to act with the same spirit of indulgence and moderation. The conditions were such as the inhabitants had every motive to be satisfied with, considering they were entirely at the discretion of the enemy; but they were dictated by that spirit of emulation not to be outdone in courtesy and generosity, which has of late years so honourably characterized the reciprocal conduct of the British and French nations in the midst of their hostilities.

This was the second disappointment the French Admiral had met with, contrary to his own and the general expectation, which was certainly well-founded. But those who had formed such sanguine hopes from his enterprising disposition, and the force he carried out with him, did not sufficiently consider the men he would have to contend with by sea and land. They were such as seemed peculiarly fitted to the arduous tasks which the difficulty of the times imposed upon them, and happily for their country, were completely qualified to face those many trials in which its unpropitious destiny had now involved it so universally.

C H A P. XXVI.

Proceedings in England—Transactions at Sea

1778.

GREAT Britain was now placed in such a situation as she had not experienced during the course of many centuries: she was now alone, and unassisted, to contend with the greatest power in Europe, while on the other side of the Atlantic, she had to combat with the united strength of her Colonies. In this perilous contest, she had not only these avowed and open enemies to resist, but the secret enmity of almost all Europe to counteract.

But what chiefly aggravated the calamity of her situation, was the domestic disunion under which she laboured more than at any other period since the civil wars during the last century. The kingdom was full of discontent, and the parties that opposed each other, did it with a virulence and acrimony that seemed to threaten it would at last terminate in actual violence.

In this embarrassed and distracted state was the British nation when the French ministry took up arms in favour of America. The eyes of all Europe were now turned upon this island; some with an anxious curiosity to behold by what means she would extricate herself out of such a complication of difficulties, but most with a secret desire to see her crushed beneath the weight of the burthens and hardships that fate seemed to have assigned to this period of her existence.

The war she had been waging with her Colonies, had, in the ideas of her numerous enemies, nearly exhausted her resources. To the enormous debt

which the prosecution of the preceding war had so largely contributed to accumulate, she had in the course of no more than three years hostilities on the continent of North America, added the immense sum of between thirty and forty millions. In what manner she would be able to continue such ruinous expences, on the accession of the formidable enemy she would have to encounter, was a matter not easy to conceive. It was looked upon as impracticable by her enemies, and it was from that persuasion they were forming those clandestine confederacies, through which they flattered themselves to overwhelm her at once, and put a final and decisive period to that power of which their jealousy had so long envied her the possession.

What induced numbers throughout the European nations to look upon her ruin as inevitable, was the very greatness of her spirit, and the inflexibility with which it was apprehended she would persist in maintaining her ground against all her foes. It was impossible in their opinion, thus assaulted from so many quarters that she would be able to bear, much less to repel the blow that would be given her by such powerful adversaries. They concluded, of course, that after a valiant but fruitless resistance, she would sink under the repeated efforts of such combination, and be reduced of humility and weakened in her history, & diminution of her various power.

The means of facing this multiplicity of trials, were not, however, so much wanting as it was generally apprehended abroad. The commerce of the nation still continued to flourish, in spite of all obstructions; the continuation of business at home retained nearly its usual activity, and the revenue was but little impaired.

The great deficiency was that of unanimity. The nation abounded in men of the most eminent abilities, but they differed in almost every opinion that was brought into discussion. Without inquiring into the motives that led them to oppose each other with such inflexible violence, it was certainly to his unhappy disposition of the times he may safely attribute the readiness with which all the enemies of Britain confederated against her.

The very greatness and diffusion of the enmity professed against this country, instead of depressing the spirit of its inhabitants, seemed on the contrary, to have raised it to a higher pitch than usual. The naval clanks, especially, were animated with the firmest hopes of rising superior to all the endeavours of the foe to overcome them on their own element.

It was during some time, in contemplation to devise some expedient to induce France to abandon the Colonies, and observe a strict neutrality; but this soon appeared a forlorn hope. Great Britain had no inducement of sufficient weight to prevail upon France to relinquish the system she had pursued with so much steadiness ever since the breaking out of hostilities in America. No inducement, indeed, could in the nature of things, prove an equivalent to the dismemberment of her British empire.

In this season of danger, the City of London approached the throne with an address upon the uncertain and alarming situation of public affairs: the style of it was equally elegant and pathetic. It recapitulated with great force, the *unhappy measures* by which

the nation had been gradually brought to its present difficulties; it expressed strong apprehensions of the inefficacy of the concessions that were intended to be transmitted to America, but still recommended the most earnest attention and endeavours to put as speedy an end as possible to so calamitous a contest.

It was not only the desire of the City of London, but of all the realm, to see the termination of this unfortunate quarrel. But all expectations of this kind were becoming daily more fruitless.

An event which decided at once the necessity of embracing the most vigorous measures, was the determination taken at the Court of France, to recognise in due form, and in the face of all Europe, the sovereignty of the United States of America. This was done by giving a public audience at Versailles to the three American Deputies who had negotiated and signed about a month before, the treaties of alliance and commerce between France and the British Colonies: these were Doctor Franklin, whose name, long before well known in Europe, was now become more celebrated than ever. The second in this commission was Mr. Silas Deane, a gentleman of acknowledged abilities; and the third was Mr. Arthur Lee who had so amply supported the cause of his countrymen in England, under the signature of *Junius Americanus*.

They were received by the King of France in quality of Ambassadors from the United States of America. They were introduced to his presence with all the formalities usual on such occasions, and they were treated with the same respect and honours that are paid to the Ambassadors of crowned heads.

This memorable event took place on the twenty-first day of March, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight.

In England, war now evidently appeared the only object in universal

contemplation. The conduct of France left no alternative. Her coasts were lined with troops, and her harbours were filled with ships of war, and the wishes of the whole French nation seemed unanimous for a trial with Britain which of the two countries should enjoy the sovereignty of the sea.

The militia were now drawn out and embodied through all the counties in England. Encampments were formed, where equal proportions of the regular troops were intermixed with them; the utmost care and assiduity were exerted to inure them to the strictest discipline; they were kept in constant exercise and practice of all that could be learned of the science of war, short of real action. The proficiency they made was astonishing; expert judges were of opinion, that these officers and soldiers among the regulars excepted, who had been actual service, the militia were in no wise inferior to them.

Still, however, the nation placed its principal reliance on its ancient and natural defence, its navy and sea-army. It was with much concern they beheld that great bulwark of the kingdom in a far less flourishing state than the circumstances of the times demanded. The indispensable necessity of providing for the immediate preservation of the army in America, and the distant possessions of Britain, had occasioned a diminution of its naval force at home, which enabled the enemy to appear in the Channel with a confidence to which they were little used.

Happily, the commanders to which the fleet was to be trusted, were men of acknowledged bravery and experience. The chief in command was Admiral Keppel, an officer who had served with great distinction, and acquired uncommon reputation during the last war. Admirals Sir Robert Harland, and Sir Hugh Palliser, served under him, both of them officers of undoubted courage and capacity.

Arriving at Portsmouth towards end of March, Admiral Keppel exerted himself with so much industry and diligence, that exclusive of ships which it was found necessary to dispatch to the coast of North America under Admiral Byron, a fleet of fifty of the line was got in complete readiness by the beginning of April, and ten more in a forward state of preparation.

At the head of this fleet, Admiral Keppel sailed from Portsmouth on the thirteenth of June, in order to prevent the return home of the vast number of commercial shipping expected from parts of the world, and at the same time to watch the motions of the French fleet at Brest.

France had been at an immense expence in its naval preparations at this port. They were such as no doubt that she had some great object in immediate contemplation. The province of Brittany, in which this port is situated, was full of troops, a large quantity of transports were ready in the several harbours and its coast.

On the arrival of the British fleet the coast of France, two French frigates approached it, in order to make observations. Notwithstanding no formal declaration of war had taken place yet the hostile circumstances of the kingdoms were in towards each other suspended all considerations of nature, and the necessity of obtaining intelligence of the strength and disposition of the enemy, rendered it impossible to stop them.

These two frigates were the *Lionne*, of thirty-two guns, and the *Le Poule*, of twenty-six. In consequence of a signal to give chase, the *Mil* frigate overtook the *Licorne* towards the close of the day, and requested the French Captain to come under the British Admirals Stern; upon his refusal, a ship of the line came and compelled him to come into

Next morning the *Licorne*

tions to be altering her course, is fired across the way, as a keeping it. Hereupon, she fired a broadside, and a volley of shot into the *America*, of sixty guns, that lay close to her, and tely struck. The behaviour of the French Captain was the more ing, as Lord Longford, Captain the *America*, was at that engaged in conversation with terms of such civility, as excluded ideas of such treatment. The effects of their behaviour was not returned, though it certainly a severe chastisement.

The *Arethusa* frigate, of twenty-six guns, commanded by Captain [name], with the *Alert* cutter, was sent in pursuit of the *Belle Poule*, which was also accompanied by her. He pursued the French frigate till they were both out of sight of each other. On his coming up, he told the French Captain of his bringing him to the Admiral, tested his compliance.—This refused, the *Arethusa* fired a shot at the *Belle Poule*, which she did with a discharge of her broadside. The engagement thus begun, lasted more than two hours with great warmth and fury. It beheld the first action of a war, which the parties looked upon as the most important and decisive that had ever engaged between the two nations. They were equally excited all their valour, in order to obtain the glory of being victorious in this first

The *Belle Poule* was greatly superior in number, (a superiority which always have) but in the quality of her metal: her guns were twelve-pounders; those of the *Alert* only six. Notwithstanding her inferiority, she maintained so despatch, that the Frigate suffered much greater loss of men than the

The slain and wounded on

board the former, amounted, by their own account, to near one hundred; on board the latter, they were not half that proportion.

Captain Fairfax, in the *Alert*, during the engagement between the two frigates, attacked the French schooner which being of much the same force, the dispute continued two hours with great bravery on both sides, when she was struck to the English cutter.

The *Arethusa* received so much damage, that she became almost unmanageable: the Captain endeavoured to put her into such a position, as to continue the engagement; but was unable to do it. Being at the same time upon the enemy's coast, and close on the shore, the danger of grounding in such a situation, obliged him to act with the more caution, as it was midnight. The *Belle Poule*, in the mean time, stood into a small bay, surrounded with rocks, where she was protected from all attacks: she had suffered so much, that the Captain apprehending that she could not stand another engagement, had resolved, in case he found himself in danger of one, to run her aground; but her situation prevented any such attempt; and as soon as it was daylight, a number of boats came out from shore, and towed her into a place of safety.

Such was the issue of the first engagement of this war. It took place on the seventeenth of June. Notwithstanding evident and great superiority on the side of the French, this action was extolled by them as a proof of singular bravery, and the account of it received with as much triumph; as if it had been a victory. All France resounded with the praises of the officers and company of the *Belle Poule*, and represented them as men who had retrieved the honour of France, so much impaired at sea by the defeats of the last war.

The Court of France was too prudent

dent not to countenance this general enthusiasm. Rewards and promotions were bestowed on the commander and officers of the *Belle Poule*; the widows and families of those who had fallen in that action, were liberally pensioned, as well as the wounded, and pecuniary gratifications were distributed among the seamen.

On the eighteenth of June, the day following the engagement with the *Belle Poule*, another frigate fell in with the British fleet; and was captured by the Admiral's orders on account of the behaviour of the *Lucerne*. Yet he did not think himself authorized to detain their merchantmen. Several of them passed through his fleet unmolested, notwithstanding a report was prevalent, and generally credited as not being ill founded, that the frigates he had seized, were, together with the *Belle Poule*, sent out to cruise in order to intercept the trade from the Straits, with that from Spain and Portugal, amounting to near eighty sail, and which were at that time hourly expected in those latitudes on their return homewards.

The capture of these French frigates produced such intelligence to the Admiral, as proved of the utmost importance, at the same time that it was highly alarming. He was informed that the fleet at Breit consisted of thirty-two ships of the line, and twelve frigates. This was in every respect a most fortunate discovery, as he had no more with him than twenty ships of the line, and three frigates. The superiority of the enemy being such, as neither skill nor courage could oppose in its present circumstances, and as the consequences of a defeat must have been fatal to this country, he thought himself bound in prudence, to return to Portsmouth for a reinforcement.

He arrived at this port on the twenty-seventh of June, and remained there till the ships from the Mediterranean, and the Spanish and Portuguese trade, and the summer fleet from the

West Indies coming home, he him a supply of seamen, and he him to put to sea again, with a division of ten ships of the line. Still there was a great deficiency of frigates, owing to the great number that were on the American coast, and the necessity of manning the rest of the line preferably to all others.

The court of France did not regret the engagement with the *Belle Poule* and the *Archambault*, the seizure of the other frigates, breach of the peace on the part of Great Britain. Orders were accordingly issued out for making reparation to Great Britain; encourage the learning of sailing, regulations in regard to the distribution of prize money was published that France more favourable than those that had formerly observed.

France having thus proceeded every length that could be done, judged necessary to England to her example, by making the arrangements as usual in the captures, and issuing letters of marque.

In the mean time, the preparation at Breit being fully completed, the French fleet put to sea on the eighth of July. It consisted of thirty-two ships of the line, besides a large number of frigates. Count D'Orvilliers commanded in chief. The other principal officers in this fleet, were C. Duchaffault, De Guichen, and Grasse; Monsieur Rochechoart, Monsieur De la Motte Piquet, order to animate the fleet, and to the greatness of the objects proposed by the war, and how much it relied on the courage and exertions of its officers and people, the Court had the Prince of the blood royal to serve aboard of the fleet; this was the Duke of Chartres, son and heir to the Duke of Orleans, first Prince of the blood royal of France in the collateral line. He commanded one of the ships of this fleet in quality of Admi-

the ninth day of July, the British sailed out of Portsmouth in divisions; the first commanded Robert Harland, the third by Hugh Palliser, and the center by Lord Keppel, accompanied by Admiral Campbell, an officer of great merit.

French had been informed that the British fleet was greatly inferior to their own; which was but too true at the time when they received this intelligence. Being yet unapprized of the reinforcement it was returned with, the British Admiral sailed at first in a weak condition it had been intended to him.

The British Admiral was equally unwilling to come to action as soon as possible; they were not long before they met in fight. But the appearance of the British ships soon convinced the French Admiral of his mistake, and he immediately determined to attack them no less cautiously, than he had eagerly fought it before. As he was favoured by the appearance of night, all the British Admiral could do on his side, was to form a line of battle in expectation the French would do the same. During the night, the wind changed so favourable to the French, as to give them the advantage. This putting the French in the way of coming to action, or of defeating them, entirely in their own power, convinced the British Admiral of the necessity of forcing them to engage, and he proposed.

There still remained some hopes of accomplishing this purpose. A gale had sprung during the night, which blew so as partly to disperse the French. Two of their capital ships were so far to leeward, that they could not come up with the main body. The British Admiral, who now plainly perceived that the enemy was studiously avoiding him, resolved to avail himself

of the situation of these two ships, to bring on a general engagement.

To this intent, he made his utmost efforts to cut off, and capture these ships, not doubting the French Admiral would give him battle sooner than submit to so great a loss, without endeavouring to prevent it; but such was the fixed determination not to risk a general action, that the two French ships were left wholly to exterminate themselves by their own exertions. They had the good fortune to escape; but they were not able to effect a re-union with the French fleet; which, by the separation of these two, was reduced to an equality in point of number, to the ships of the line in the British fleet.

During the space of four days, the French had the option of coming to action; but constantly exerted their utmost care and industry to avoid it. The British fleet continued the whole time beating up against the wind, evidently with a resolution to attack them. But notwithstanding the vigour and skill manifested in this pursuit, the British Admiral had the mortification to see his endeavours continually eluded by the vigilance and precaution of the enemy not to lose the least advantage that wind and weather could afford.

The motives which influenced the French to decline coming to action, were the daily expectation of a strong reinforcement, both of ships of the line and frigates, and the hope of intercepting, by means of these latter, the commercial fleets which must pass through the track they were stationed in, on their way to the British ports. A defeat would have frustrated all these hopes, and put an end at once to all endeavours of this kind by obliging the French to recall those frigates, as they would no longer retain the power of protecting them.

The British Admiral was thoroughly aware of these motives, and laboured

of course with all his might, to compel them to an engagement; wherein, if unsuccessful, they would be deprived of those advantages, of which they must unavoidably remain in possession, at any rate, till that could be brought about.

The position of the French fleet was, at this time, so critical, that no time was to be lost in forcing them to alter it. From the multitude of their frigates, they occupied an immense track of sea, and formed a chain that guarded, as it were, all the avenues to the coast of Britain.

In the mean time, the periodical return of two fleets from the West India islands, and of as many from the East Indies was now looked for. The loss of these, or a part of them, would have proved a grievous blow from their immense value, and the number of seamen they had on board.

All these were powerful reasons to urge the British Admiral, to the most unremitting pursuit of the French fleet. But being to windward, and cautiously maintaining the weather gage, the French still continued to defeat all his endeavours, and to keep at such a distance, as made it impracticable to pursue them to any effect, while the wind continued in the present quarter, and they remained as unwilling to be approached.

The chase lasted in this manner, till the twenty-seventh of July. Between ten and eleven in the morning, an alteration of wind and weather occasioned several motions in both fleets, that brought them, unintentionally on the part of the French, and chiefly through the dexterous management of the British Admiral, so near each other, that it was no longer in their power to decline an engagement.

This was so repugnant to the intent of the French, that they neglected nothing to disappoint the hopes now entertained, of bringing them unavoidably to action. As they could not defeat this hope intirely, they

resolved, however, to frustrate it in part, by engaging in such a manner, as should leave the contest undecided.

Both fleets were now on the same tack: had they so remained, the British fleet on coming up with the French, would have had an opportunity of a fair engagement, ship to ship; which would hardly have failed of proving very decisive. But this was a manner of combating quite contrary to the wishes of the French Admiral. Instead of receiving the British fleet in this position, as soon as he found that an action must ensue, he directly put his ships on the contrary tack, thus sailing in opposite directions, they might only fire at, as they passed by each other. By this means a close and side-long action would be effectually evaded.

Having taken this resolution, which it was utterly out of the British Admiral's power to defeat, as soon as the van of the British fleet, consisting of Sir Robert Harland's division, came up, they directed their fire upon it; but at too great a distance to make any impression: the fire was not returned by the British ships, on the other hand, till they came close up to the enemy, and were sure of doing execution. In this manner they all passed close along-side of each other in opposite directions, making a very heavy and destructive fire.

The center division of the British line, having passed the rearmost ships of the enemy, the first care of the Admiral was to effect a renewal of the engagement, as soon as the ships of the different fleets, yet in action, had got clear of each other respectively. Sir Robert Harland, with some of the ships of his division, had already tacked, and stood towards the French; but the remaining part of the fleet had not yet tacked, and some dropped to leeward, and repaired damages they had received in action. His own ship, the 1 had suffered too much to tuck

ly; and had he done it, he have thrown the ships astern of to disorder.

soon as it was practicable, how- the Victory, wore, and steered upon the enemy, before any o- of the center division; of not above three or four were do the same. The other ships wing recovered their stations, nough to support each other, renewal of action, in order to them more readily for that e, he made the signal for the battle a-head.

was now three in the afternoon; e ships of the British fleet had efficiently regained their stations age. The Victory lay nearest emy, with the four ships above- oned, and seven more of Sir nd's division. These twelve he only ships in any condition mediate service; of the others ing to the center, and to Sir t Harland's division, three a great way a-stern, and five at derable distance to leeward, disabled in their rigging.

Hugh Palliser, who command- rear division during the time on, in which he behaved with bravery, came of course the last it; and in consequence of the ral's signal for the line, was to led the van on renewing the ; but his division was upon a ry tack, and was entirely out of e.

e French, on the other hand, ing directly to be re-attacked. losed together in tacking, and now spreading themselves into a of battle. On discovering the on of the British ships that were to leeward, they immediately towards them, in order to cut off. This obliged the Admiral ar and to steer athwart the ene- foremost division, in order to e them; directing, at the same Sir Robert Harland to form

his division in a line a-stern, in order to face the enemy, till Sir Hugh Palliser could come up, and enable him to act more effectually.

The Admiral, in moving to the protection of the leeward ships, was now drawing near the enemy. As Sir Hugh Palliser still continued to windward, he made a signal for all the ships in that position to come into his wake: Sir Hugh Palliser repeated this signal; but it was unluckily mis- taken by the ships of his division, as an order to come into his own wake, which they did accordingly; but as he still remained in his position, they retained theirs of course.

This non-compliance with the Ad- miral's signals, was unfortunately oc- casioned by the disabled condition of some of the ships in Sir Hugh Pal- liser's division. His own ship, the Formidable, had suffered so severely in the engagement, as to be at the present time absolutely unfit for action and almost unmanageable.

In the mean time, the Admiral having effectually secured the ships to leeward, and the French having formed their line, it was necessary that he should exert himself with all speed for the formation of his own. Sir Robert Harland was directed to take his station a head, and the signal repeated for Sir Hugh Palliser's di- vision to come into his wake; but e this signal was not complied with, any more than a verbal message to that purpose, and other subsequent signal's for that division's coming into its station in the line, before it was too late to re-commence any operations against the enemy.

The French continued drawn up in order of battle, but did not show any inclination to renew the attack themselves, meaning no more than to act upon the defensive, though they had it in their power to engage when- ever they thought proper during the whole course of the day. In the night they took the determination to put

it wholly out of the power of the British fleet to attack them a second time. To this purpose, three of their swiftest sailing vessels were fixed in the stations occupied during the day by the three Admiral ships of the respective divisions, with lights at the mast-heads, to deceive the British fleet into the belief that the French fleet kept its position, with an intent to fight next morning. Protected by this stratagem, the remainder of the French fleet drew off unperceived and unsuspected during the night, and retired with all speed towards Brest. They continued this retreat the whole course of the following day, and entered that port in the evening.

The discovery of this departure was not made till break of day; but it was too late to pursue them, as they were only discernible from the masts-heads of the largest ships in the British fleet. The three ships that had remained with the lights, were pursued, but the vessels that chased them were so unable to overtake them from the damages they had received in the preceding day's engagement, that they were quickly recalled from the pursuit.

In the mean time, the situation of the British fleet did not allow it to keep its present station, with any reasonable hope of making an impression on the enemy, whose ships, though considerably damaged in their hulls and masts, and much less in their sails and rigging, and consequently could move with much greater speed.

This consideration induced the Admiral to make the best of his way to Plymouth, as being the nearest port, in order to put his fleet into a proper condition to return in quest of the enemy.

The killed and wounded on board the British fleet in this memorable action, amounted to somewhat more than five hundred: but the French, *it has been asserted*, on grounds of *great credibilty*, lost near three thousand;

and; this appears the less improbable, from the consideration that the French, in all their naval engagements, aim principally at the masts and rigging, and the English chiefly at the body of the ships.

Such was the issue of the fight between the British and the French fleet, on the twenty-seventh of July, seventy-eight. Admiral Keppel hoped to have made it "a proud day to England"; such were his own words but from a variety of causes, equally needless and odious to mention, it proved the source of a most fatal contention, which filled the nation with complaints and jealousies, and excited animosities that are not even extinct at this day.

The skill and valour displayed on the side of the British officers and seamen in this engagement, was remarkable. They sought the enemy, and attacked them under many disadvantages. The French fleet was close and compact, and drawn up in such a manner, as to enable every ship to be well supported; the British fleet, on the contrary, from the determination of the enemy not to engage without compulsion, was obliged to bear down upon them in detached and unconnected parts, exposed to a great superiority of fire. Under such circumstances, nothing but an uncommon degree of professional abilities, and extraordinary exertions of courage, could have overcome the difficulties under which they laboured, and obtained those advantages of which the French were but too conscious. Their seizing the very first opportunity that offered to make a retreat, together with the solicitude and speed with which they effected it, made it manifest how much they dreaded these advantages, would, at a second engagement, have been improved into a complete victory.

Admiral Keppel having taken determination to return home, for the purpose of repairing the damage

it, left a sufficient strength to the entrance of the Channel, to prevent the French frigates that were cruising there previous to the battle. Most of them left their stations in consequence of it.

soon as the British fleet was re-
it put to sea with the same in-
deavour as before, to seek
the enemy. To this
it took its station off Brest,
the French an opportunity of
good their boast of having
the English in the preceding

But the French fleet kept the distance as before, and as studiously shunned a meeting. Instead of coming in the Channel, or on its coast, it proceeded to the latitude

Finisterre, where it plied to and fro during the remainder of the year, carrying the Bay of Biscay, and to the French ports, open to the depredations of the British and privateers.

ment of its marine was, that France was subjected to such losses, as excited universal clamour and indignation throughout the kingdom. Its trade from every quarter of the world suffered in a degree unprecedented in any former war. The number of captures made upon the French was prodigious; and what was an additional aggravation, they chiefly consisted of the most rich and valuable part of their shipping.

The trade of England, on the other hand, was protected in so extensive and effectual a manner, that no loss of any consequence was sustained. The seas in the neighbourhood of Great Britain enjoyed a security much beyond the expectations that had been formed at the beginning of the campaign, and totally different from what the enemies of this country had promised themselves, on the opening of the hostilities between France and Great Britain.

C H A P. XXVII.

*Transactions in the East Indies.---Losses and Disappointments,
French.*

1778.

THE notification given by the Court of France of its acknowledgment of American independence, was justly considered as a declaration of war. In consequence of a well grounded persuasion that a quarrel would now ensue between the two kingdoms, as extensive in its operations as their respective power could make it, it was determined in the councils of the English East India Company, as essentially concerned in such a dispute, to put its possessions into a state of security with all possible speed, and at the same time to attack those of France, without waiting for any farther formalities.

A resolution was accordingly taken to act vigorously and decisively in India, and to pursue immediate measures for the reduction of the principal settlements of the French in that country, before they could receive notice in France of the designs that were adopted for that purpose in England.

The instructions dispatched to this intent, were conveyed to their destination with such rapidity, and at the same time with so much secrecy, that a competent force was prepared at Madras under General Monro, and took possession of a post within four miles of Pondichery, towards the beginning of August, without the French East India Company having

received the least intimation of design, or their officers in the Indies being apprized of it, before it was begun to be carried into execution.

As soon as the reinforcements arrived intended for the prosecution of the siege, the place was closely invested. On the twenty-first of August, British troops advanced within cannon shot of the town, and seized a planted hedge, that served as an aide fence to the fortifications, and it surrounded on every side: this forced the garrison to the town, deprived it of all inland communication.

In the beginning of September, besiegers received a complete supply of artillery, and of other stores. A resolution was then taken to attack the place both on the northern and southern side, and the trenches were opened each accordingly.

Before the commencement of the siege of Pondichery, a squadron had been sent from Madras to block it by sea. It consisted of a ship of 60 guns, one of twenty-eight and one of twenty, a sloop and an armed Indian man: it was commanded by Edward Vernon. On his arrival at that place, he fell in with a French squadron under Monsieur de T. It was composed of a ship of 60 guns, one of thirty-two, and

men. Both squadrons in a warm engagement during two hours; but notwithstanding their superiority, the French and made the best of their pondicherry, in order to re-engagement took place on August.

winds and currents obliged the French squadron to leave that same day. Upon recovering the twentieth, the French was discovered standing out to sea, apparently with a design. Sir Edward Vernon accordingly for action, not without the preservation of such pondicherry, would induce the French commander to exert himself to the utmost in its defence. He was as near as he could to Pondicherry, but in the morning the French squadron had disappeared. The French commander had opportunity of night to detach a body of three thousand men, that he was totally out of sight.

capture of the French enabled Sir Edward Vernon to Pondicherry by sea, and supplies of provisions, and any kind from that quarter. He, though left to themselves never to make as long and defence as their circumstances would possibly enable them. He used a body of three thousand men, of which a third consisted of

They were commanded by M. de Bellecombe, an officer of every

twenty-eight of September, he began to fire upon the French batteries were mounted with pieces of heavy cannon, and seven mortars. They were vigorously answered by the French, who were possessed of numerous artillery, amount-

ing to no less than three hundred pieces.

The approaches of the besiegers, and the works they were carrying on, met with great obstruction from the heavy and frequent rains which fall at this season of the year in that climate. They proceeded, however, with so much industry and spirit, that about the middle of October, they began to prepare for an attack on the body of the place.—They conducted both their attacks on the north and the south side of the town with such success that they were meditating a general assault, to assist wherein, a large body of seamen and marines were sent on shore from the British squadron in the road.

But they were prevented from carrying this design into execution by a violent fall of rain on the day before the intended attack: it filled the ditches, and greatly damaged the floats that had been constructed to pass them. These damages, however, were soon repaired, and every preparation renewed for a general storming of the town.

By this time the garrison was greatly reduced: the vigorous resistance they had made, had cost them near a third of their number, in killed and wounded; and the remainder did not appear, upon calculation, sufficiently numerous to withstand the assault of near ten thousand men, of which the army of the besiegers still consisted, after deducting what they had lost on their side since the commencement of the siege.

These considerations induced the French Governor, on the sixteenth of October, the eve of the projected assault, to offer to surrender the town on terms of capitulation. His proposal was readily complied with, and he obtained the most generous and favourable conditions that could be granted consistently with the interest and safety of the British settlements in the East Indies. It was agreed that

delivered up, but every individual was allowed to keep his private property.

In this manner were the French dispossessed of their principal settlement in the East Indies. The loss of the besiegers did not amount to one thousand men.

When the intelligence of this, and various other losses in that part of the world, was brought to Europe, it created great dissatisfaction in France, and struck all its well-wishers with astonishment.—They saw her power totally annihilated in India, and all those vast projects which had been forming in respect to that country entirely frustrated.

Both the French and their abettors began now to abate of those sanguine expectations they had indulged a few months before. Instead of that high-hand with which France had promised itself to act in every quarter of the globe, it had been uniformly disappointed every where : instead of bringing ruin upon Great Britain, its own subjects were reduced to the utmost distress, by the daily and prodigious losses attending every branch of their commerce.

The case of Great Britain was the

liance that France had formed in America. The very different that filled the minds of men first formation, from those with they were now occupied, served to embitter and aggravate every evil that was felt by the people of F

The situation of Great Britain now became an object of universal prize and admiration. At the commencement of the year, she was apparently in a state of general depression. Her enemies were daily increasing stronger in the new world, storm was gathering in the old, it was not thought she would be able to weather. The hopes of the few friends she had were decreasing, and the hand of Fate seemed, as it were, to lie heavy upon

But at the expiration of the year all was reversed. She had stood firm on every ground every where with the unshaken fortitude : she had triumphed in every part of the globe, and her reputation in none. She had produced the vast wealth produced by her immense trade, from the depredations of her enemies ; and had enriched herself with the spoils of her proud foes. Her credit remained as firm

ry was convinced that Great n would require more powerful than France was able to make, er to compass the ends proposed sitting with America. Neither r nor profit had accrued from ents of the first campaign; and cond promised still less, from the er state of preparation, and the ous exertions that were making hout England, to ascertain her y at home, and to meet her ene- with all the naval strength that uld collect.

his conviction, France began to er thoughts to that branch of yal family that sat on the throne in. The compact between the ers of that potent family, was it a sufficient motive to induce with ministry to co-operate with

the French, in reducing the power of the common enemy of the House of Bourbon, and they applied to it accordingly.

Never, in the mean time, did the power and importance of Great Britain appear with greater splendour, than upon the close of this memorable period of the war. Though labouring under most violent divisions at home, and without the intervention of a single friend from abroad, she still was able to carry on a vigorous and extensive war on the distant and vast continent of North America; and not only to bid defiance to the navies of France, but to ruin the principal branches of her trade in both extremities of the globe, and to seize the major part of her commercial fleets on her own coast.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Proceedings in Parliament.—Trial of Admiral Keppel.

1778

THE meeting of Parliament, which took place on the twentieth of November at the close of the season of action, was attended with anxious expectation, in what manner it would proceed in the midst of the new scenes that had opened.

The substance of the speech from the Throne, was a representation of the injurious conduct of France, a reliance on the spirit and exertions of the nation in its own defence, the vigour and success with which the commerce of the enemy had been annoyed, and the safety and prosperity which had accompanied their own. The necessity of employing the most resolute efforts equally by land and sea.

Opposition still continued inimical to the ministry, and expressed the highest dissatisfaction at the prospect of its being entrusted with the conduct of so important a war as the present, after having managed the affairs of the nation with such ill success.

There was one measure, however, in which opposition concurred with an unanimity peculiarly characteristic of the invariable disposition of the English towards the French. The most vigorous prosecution of hostilities was recommended against that power.

In the mean time, the issue of the engagement between the British and French fleets, on the twenty-seventh of July, had become a subject of frequent and severe discussion among all ranks and classes. Great complaints

were made throughout the fleet by the impropriety of conduct. Blue division, the opportunity of obtaining a complete victory on the French fleet had been lost.

The discussions on this matter came gradually the principal of the public papers, and were on with a warmth and vehemence that set the whole nation into ferment of the most violent and rageous nature. The friends of the Vice Admiral of the Blue were less hot and positive in their opinion of his conduct, than his opponents were in its condemnation. In the censorious manner with which it was treated, they laboured to represent it as brave and judicious, reprehension, and even supercilious to that of the command chief.

This altercation in the fleet became a source of the most violent and unguarded provocations on sides of the question. The Vice Admiral espoused the cause of the Blue division, manifested no less determination in contradicting the repeated reports of superior merit in his opponent, accusing him in the most explicit manner, of being the cause of the escape of the French fleet through his disobedience to the orders of his command, by remaining at a distance from the French division, instead of co-operating with the rest of the fleet.

s, which were made with unusual boldness and confidence, excited a desire of a further elucidation of the matter.

accusation of so weighty a nature was very grievous and alarming to Sir Hugh Palliser. He applied to Admiral Keppel for a justification of his conduct, and a clearance from those imputations which were so hurtful to his professional character. He required him to sign and publish a paper, containing particulars relative to the conduct of the twenty-seventh of July, one of which was to specify as to what he did not intend by his conduct on the evening of that day, to the battle at that time, but he declined for it the next morning.

the rejection of this demand by Admiral Keppel, Sir Hugh Palliser published in one of the daily papers a variety of circumstances concerning that engagement, which were published by a letter, to which he subscribed his name. This publication reflected severely on the conduct of the Admiral.

an attack so public, and so detrimental to his character, induced Admiral Keppel to declare to the Admiralty, that unless Sir Hugh Palliser explained this matter to his satisfaction, he could not, consistently with his duty, ever act conjointly with

an altercation happening before the meeting of Parliament, was of course taken notice of when it met. In the House of Peers, the Earl of Sandwich demanded of the first Lord of the Admiralty, an inquiry into the conduct of the commanders of the fleet on the twenty-seventh of July, assigning as a reason for this demand, the refusal of Admiral Keppel, that he would not resume the command, unless an inquiry had taken place. In answer to this requisition was, that the circumstances did not require it. The consequences of the engagement on the twenty-seventh of July, had

answered every purpose that could have been expected. The French fleet, though neither taken nor destroyed, had been so effectually disabled and disheartened, that after flying away from the English fleet in the night, to avoid a pursuit, it had not dared to face it during the whole remainder of the campaign. All the benefits of the completest victory had thereby been produced; the trade of this country had received the most extensive protection, while that of France had been ruined.

The institution of an inquiry would be productive of the most fatal effects. It would breed dissensions, and occasion enmity and faction among the naval classes. This would lead to the most pernicious consequences, especially at a time when unanimity was so much needed. Such an inquiry would not only injure the service, by depriving it of a number of officers, whose attendance would be requisite on a trial of such importance, and who must be absent from their duty, while their presence was so much wanted in their different stations.—Thus the success of the preceding year would in a great measure be defeated by such a measure.

This inquiry would not only wound the public peace of the kingdom: parties would be formed on each side, with all that heat and violence characteristic of this nation. Which ever way the matter was decided, they would still remain, and fill the public with suspicions and animosities, that would continue for a long time to disturb both public and private tranquility.

In the House of Commons this subject was taken up in the same manner. It was urged, that as Admiral Keppel had expressed a public refusal to serve in conjunction with Sir Hugh Palliser, the cause of such a declaration ought to be made known, by a thorough investigation of the conduct that had occasioned it.

The nation had a right to be fully informed.

informed of the nature of the contest between two officers in such high trust. Whoever of the two was in fault, ought unquestionably to undergo condign punishment. If the dispute proceeded from slight causes they ought to be removed with all speed, and no difference be suffered to subsist between the principal commanders in the navy, among whom unanimity was peculiarly necessary in the discharge of their respective duties.

Admiral Keppel, and Sir Hugh Palliser, who were both present in the House on this occasion, spoke severally to the point in question in support of their respective conduct. The issue of the contest between them was, that a motion was made for an address to the Crown to bring Sir Hugh Palliser to a trial, for his behaviour in the late engagement with the French fleet.

In answer to this motion, Sir Hugh Palliser replied in a speech of great warmth and vehemence, that he had already demanded and obtained a court-martial to sit on Admiral Keppel, whom he charged with having through his misconduct caused the failure of success in that engagement.

This communication occasioned great astonishment in the House. It had been, and still continued to be the general desire of individuals of all parties, to heal this breach between these two officers, and to prevent it from going any further, at a time when the services of both were so much needed. The feuds that would arise in the navy from such a litigation were fully foreseen, and the mischievous influence they would have upon the affairs of the nation. From those weighty motives, it was the cordial wish of the House to put an end to this altercation with all speed.

It was therefore with universal concern the House was informed of the determination that had been taken to bring Admiral Keppel to a trial; the foresight of what would be the result of

such a step, struck them with the greatest anxiety.

Admiral Keppel conducted himself on this occasion with remarkable temper and coolness of expression. He acquiesced without reluctance in the orders that had been laid upon him to prepare for a trial of his conduct, which he hoped would not, upon inquiry, appear to have been dishonourable or injurious to his country, any more than disgraceful to himself.

Much discontent was created by the Board of Admiralty's admitting the charges against Admiral Keppel, and appointing a trial. It was condemned in the House in terms of the greatest severity. It was asserted to have been their duty to have laboured with the utmost earnestness, and exerted their whole official influence to settle this unhappy disagreement between two brave and valuable men, the consequence of which they well knew, and ought to have obviated, by interposing as reconciliators, instead of promoting the dispute, by consenting to bring it to a judicial and public hearing. Imputations of a heavier kind were made on this occasion, and expressed with great explicitness and freedom of sentiments and language.

The answer made by those who undertook to justify the conduct of the Lords of the Admiralty was, that they could not consistently with the impartiality which they owed to every officer of the navy, refuse to receive matters of complaint relating to subjects of their department. They had no right to decide on the merits of the case laid before them; they were bound to refer it to a court composed of naval officers, who were the only proper and competent judges of each officer's conduct in professional matters.

Every man in that line was fully desirous to be tried by a court. Both military and naval cases were so complex and difficult as to require but persons below

ion had any pretence to pass a
ent upon them. In conformity
these principles, which were
d upon the clearest equity,
ft the decision of the present al-
on to the gentlemen of the navy,
honour and integrity on every oc-
and in all instances of this kind,
ver been called in question, and by
verdict alone it was but just and
able that every officer in that
service should wish to stand or

arguments upon this subject
manifold, and urged with great
nd violence on both sides. They
productive of uncommon ani-
and rancour, and opened a door
pirit of contention that diffused
hrough all classes of society.

ple of moderation and candour
ted with unfeigned sorrow, the
od fury by which both parties
governed on this unfortunate
ency. Such was the height of
that prevailed every where, that
tical circumstances of the nation
wholly forgotten, and the at-
of the public entirely absorbed
fatal dispute. Individuals of
ks, and all professions, engaged
ith as much zeal as if they had
personally concerned in the issue.
dissatisfaction that was excited
his occasion among the upper
in the navy, appeared in a me-
that was presented to the King
elive of the oldest and most dis-
fined Admirals, at the head of
was the name of that great and
ous commander Lord Hawke.

conduct of Sir Hugh Palliser
herein condemned without re-
that of the Admiralty itself
everely censured, as having ef-
ed a precedent pregnant with
ost ruinous consequences to the
service of the kingdom. By the
re it had now adopted, that
had submitted to become the
nent of any individual who might
impted by iniquitous motives to

deprive the navy of its best and highest
officers.

They represented it as a destructive
violation of all order and discipline in
the navy, to permit and countenance
long concealed, and afterwards precipi-
tately adopted charges, and recrimi-
natory accusations of subordinate
officers against their commanders in
chief. They reprobated it as highly
improper and scandalous, to suffer men
at once in high and civil offices, and in
subordinate command, previous to
their making such accusations, to at-
tempt to corrupt the judgment of the
public, by publishing libels on their
officers in a common newspaper, which
tended at once to excite dissensions
in the navy, and to prejudice the minds
of those who were to try the merits of
the accusation against the superior of-
ficer.

What added considerable weight to
this memorial, was, that the majority
of those who subscribed it, were not
only officers of the first rank and im-
portance in the navy, but unconnected
with the opposition, and attached by
various motives to the court and mi-
nistry. This evinced their conduct in
the present instance, to have been un-
influenced by considerations of party.

The minds of men of all professions
and degrees were so entirely engrossed
by the trial of Admiral Keppel, that
no business of any consequence was
agitated in either of the Houses of
Parliament while it continued. The
most active members in both were
now at Portsmouth, detained by the
interest they took in the cause of the
two contendants.

This famous trial begun upon the
seventh of January, seventy-nine, and
lasted more than a month, not ending
till the eleventh day of February en-
suing. After a long and accurate in-
vestigation of every species of evidence
that could be produced, upon a busi-
ness of such intricacy, as well as im-
portance, the court-martial acquitted
Admiral Keppel of all the charges

that had been brought against him. He was declared in the clearest and most explicit terms, to have acted the part of a judicious, brave, and experienced officer; and the accusation was condemned in the severest language. The satisfaction felt and expressed upon the acquittal of Admiral Keppel was conspicuous in the highest degree. Both Houses of Parliament voted him their thanks for the eminent services he had performed, and the whole nation resounded with his applause.

The City of London distinguished itself in the most striking manner, by the zeal with which it testified its participation in the general satisfaction of the public. It bestowed every honour and mark of respect in its power upon Admiral Keppel; who certainly had ample cause to congratulate himself, upon the many proofs of unfeigned esteem and attachment, which he experienced upon this memorable occasion.

The resentment against his accuser operated in no less striking and forcible a manner. The tide of popular rage was so strong, that it constrained him to retire wholly from public life, and to resign all his employments.

But notwithstanding the high degree of national favour and esteem, in which Admiral Keppel now stood, it was soon discovered that they would avail little in restoring him to authority and command; and he thought it prudent to withdraw from a situation wherein he found himself not acceptable.

The dissatisfaction occasioned by this treatment of Admiral Keppel, contributed powerfully to embitter the opposition against those who were considered as the authors of it. Those who presided at the Board of Admiralty underwent a severe examination of their conduct. It was represented as erroneous and faulty in the extreme; and no pains were omitted to lay it forth in such colours, as to make it appear deserving of the highest repre-

hension.

Its conduct for a series of years, was animadverted upon with the utmost censure and reprobation. A multitude of facts and particulars were cited, in proof of the assertions, and in support of the charges made against those administered in this department. The conduct the last summer especially was adverted to as greatly deficient in prudence, and as having disposed of the kingdom to the most serious danger.

Administration made a long and circumstantial reply to these charges. The debates upon this occasion were unusually animated; and repeatedly called forth the abilities of the different speakers of both sides.

A resolution had been moved the part of opposition, in consequence of these charges, tending to censure the conduct of the Admiralty during the preceding year; but it was rejected by a majority of two hundred and six to one hundred and seventy.

So inconsiderable a proportion in favour of ministry, emboldened opposition to resume its attack upon the Board; but it was again defeated, much the same majority.

The intent of opposition in the latter attempt, was to shew that the state of the navy was inadequate to vast expences incurred for its support and augmentation. The chief argument used in proof of this assertion was the superiority of the sums granted for the navy of late years, to those granted in former; from whence it was inferred that the Navy ought to have been much more numerous.

The circumstance chiefly alledged in exculpation of the Admiralty, was the larger size of the ships at present constructed, in comparison of those built in the time alluded to in the argument adduced by opposition.

These debates concerning the conduct of the Admiralty were marked by the death of Lord Howe and Admiral Boscawen, two principal officers at the sea service, that the

had to withdraw themselves from it, while it continued under the present rectification.

This resignation was shortly after followed by that of Sir Robert Harland, Sir John Lindsay, and several other officers of great reputation. So general were the discontents, that no less, it was said, than twenty Captains of the first distinction in the navy, had purposed to throw up their commissions in a body on the same day. Nothing but the sense of the very great need in which their country stood of their abilities, prevented them from executing their determination.

This readiness to relinquish the public service in so many of the ablest naval commanders, excited a general alarm throughout the nation, and occasioned a direct attack from opposition, against the principal Lord of the Admiralty. A motion was made that an address should be presented to the Crown, for the removing him from his station at that Board.

Besides the arguments already alleged, the spirit of discontent and detection now reigning in the navy, was chiefly insisted upon, and the danger of losing, at a time when most wanted, the courage and capacity of the best officers in the navy.

The reply to this charge was, that they had not been dismissed; their resignation was voluntary and unrequited. They acted out of character in assuming the freedom to require that ministers should be discharged from their respective departments. Should they continue to refuse their services to the state, others might be found to replace them.

After a violent altercation, that took up a great part of the night, the motion for the removal of Lord Sandwich from his office, was rejected by a majority of two hundred and twenty, to one hundred and eighteen.

While these transactions were occupying the attention of the House of Commons, that of the Lords was no

less busily taken up with those inquiries and examinations into the state of the navy, which had in the preceding session, occasioned so many debates among them.

What rendered the inquiry now carrying on in the House of Lords the more remarkable, was the person who exerted the most activity in bringing it forward. This was the Earl of Bristol, a nobleman whose life, through a complication of infirmities and diseases, was evidently drawing to a speedy end; but whose resolution and industry remained unbroken to the last.

He was chiefly assisted in this tedious and difficult business, by the Duke of Bolton, and the Duke of Richmond. This latter nobleman was obliged, in his absence, to supply his place, in some of the most intricate parts.

The first step that was taken, was to demand the official papers and documents necessary for such an investigation. Here again a refusal was made, on the ground so often pleaded, of the danger that would arise from disclosing, in so public a manner, the actual state of the navy in such a critical time.

The refusal was resented with the utmost vehemence by the Earl of Bristol, in whose name the demand for papers had been made. As soon as he was able, he repaired to the House; and, notwithstanding he was so weak, as to be unable to stand without crutches, he spoke with a strength and animation that struck the whole House with amazement.

The speech he made was full of the most bitter invectives against the Earl of Sandwich, whose conduct, as First Lord of the Admiralty, he depicted in the most opprobrious colours. He explicitly gave notice, that his intent was to convict that nobleman of malversation, and to effect his removal from the department wherein he now presided.

Lord Sandwich in a firm and spirit-
ed

ed speech, combated very circumstantially the various attacks upon his administration, and declared that whatever errors he might have committed, he had it amply in his power to make it manifest to all the impartial and unprejudiced world, that he had acted in every branch of the department committed to his charge, with the strictest integrity, and the clearest endeavours to benefit the public.

In the course of the debates occasioned by this subject, a most violent discussion took place on the appointment of a commander in chief over the grand fleet, intended for the Channel and Home-service.

The person appointed to this high and important station, was Sir Charles Hardy, a brave and experienced officer; but now advanced in years, and who had long retired from the active scenes of a naval life, with an intention never to return to them. He was at this time Governor of Greenwich Hospital.

It was asserted by opposition, that the consequences of the behaviour of those who presided at the Admiralty were alarming in the most serious degree. They had driven from the service of their country the most eminent officers in the navy. They were now reduced to the necessity of applying to an elderly gentleman, broken with age and infirmities, to accept of a command from which he would gladly have been excused.

But such, it was said, was the ran-
cour with which men of real merit and elevated minds were persecuted, for not bowing with meanness and servility to the caprice and presumption of people in power, that sooner than employ such men, however their abilities were wanted in these calamitous times, they would hazard the safety, and the very existence of the state, by committing its defence to persons much inferiorly qualified, and who were universally known to be past that time of life and strength which was requisite

for the great functions to which were so imprudently called.

The Earl of Bristol, according to the notice he had given, having lectured the materials on which he intended to rest his charges against the Earl of Sandwich, laid them before the House on the day which had been appointed for that purpose. He accompanied them with a speech, in which he took great pains to enforce the propriety of displacing that nobleman. Among other particulars he said that a sum of seven millions had been expended on the navy within the seven years, above the proportion allotted in any like period before yet the navy was evidently on the decline.

The Earl of Sandwich made a bold and animated speech in justification of his conduct. He represented the state of the navy as vigorous and flourishing, from the number of large capital ships it contained, much exceeding the dimensions of those constructed some years before. He positively denied the estimates and calculations made by the Earl of Bristol respecting the charges and expences of building and repairing the navy.

The debate upon this occasion was long, and accompanied with great warmth. The speakers exerted themselves on both sides in a more ordinary manner. On putting the question, the motion for the rejection of Lord Sandwich was rejected by a majority of seventy-eight, to thirty-nine.

This rejection produced a great protest, signed by twenty-five Lords. The Earl of Bristol drew up a statement in his own behalf, which he entered into a detail of the arguments that had induced him to propose the motion which had been rejected. This was the last public transaction in which that celebrated nobleman took an active and variegated life.

It was observed by the public, in regard to these repeated inquiries into the state of the navy, that whoever was in fault, one matter was clear, which was, that the truth, in all these disquisitions, was so difficult to come at, from the perplexes and endless mazes of accounts and examinations wherein it was involved, that true

wisdom would consist in cordially forgiving the various mistakes into which the most intelligent are apt to fall, while there was reason to believe they were unintentional, and proceeding only from the inherent incapableness of human nature in almost every respect.

C H A P. XXIX.

Declaration of Spain in favour of America.

1779.

DURING these disputes and contentions in Great Britain, the French ministry was sedulously employed in procuring the accession of Spain to the cause it had espoused.

Experience had shown France, that notwithstanding the hopes she had conceived from her vast preparations, they were not adequate to the design she had formed, of compassing the submission of Great Britain to the terms she had planned in conjunction with the United States of America. She saw her commerce in evident danger of being totally ruined, and the resources of her marine, of course, effectually destroyed. The danger was imminent and immediate. In the space of one twelvemonth more, she had every reason to apprehend that the fleets and privateers of Britain, were they to proceed as they had begun, would reduce her to such distress, as to compel her to relinquish the object she had so long kept in view.

In this extremity, she reminded the Court of Spain of the obligations incumbent upon it, in virtue of the Family Compact. She represented the consequences of suffering Great Britain once more to give the law to France. Were the French branch of the line of Bourbon to be thus humbled, the Spanish branch could not fail to participate in its humiliation. Thus they would both be degraded a second time in the eyes of all Europe.

At the time when the Convention at Saratoga took place, the French

ministry, which had long been waiting for such an opportunity of coming a rupture with Great Britain, immediately proposed to the Spanish Court an union of their mutual strength, in order to compel Great Britain to acknowledge the independence of America. The entire overthrow of British power was laid before the Court as the infallible consequence of such a loss as that of the vast dominions possessed by Great Britain in America. This would reduce it so low, that henceforth the House of Bourbon might look upon itself as delivered from its capital enemy.

But the solicitations of the French ministry were not successful. Spain did not at that time think it in her wise interest to co-operate in the dismemberment of the British Empire. Several of her politicians were not disposed to look forward to the contingencies, than to consult the seeming interest of the day. They were by no means inclined to prelate matters in a business that appeared to them to require mature deliberation. France was unusually impatient to draw Spain into her measures at this occasion. This they were surprized at, when they considered that its American possessions were of small importance compared with those of Spain, and that the interests of the two kingdoms differed essentially from the dominions of the Spaniards in that vast hemisphere.

In consequence of the treaty which was ratified on

Spain, to coincide with the measures of France, the negotiations with the commissioners of the United States were carried on without its participation; and the alliance with them was concluded, and notified to the Court of London, without any previous consultation with the Spanish ministry.

It was not till the greater part of the year seventy-eight was elapsed, that France resumed her solicitations at Madrid. From whatever cause it might proceed, they were more successful than before. The Spanish monarch was at last prevailed upon to make an offer of his mediation between France, North America, and Great Britain.

He acted upon this occasion with great foresight and circumspection. He waited till the military and naval forces that had been employed in the late quarrel between Spain and Portugal, were returned from Brazil, and till the rich fleets from Mexico and Peru were safely arrived in the harbours of Spain. As soon as those were secured, he assumed the character of mediator between the powers at war.

Great Britain was not averse to his attempting a pacification upon such terms as comported with her interest and dignity. A suspicion however, was not groundlessly entertained, that he would lean to the side of a prince of his family.

The terms proposed by the Spanish Monarch were, that both parties should immediately disarm, and agree to an universal cessation of hostilities in all parts of the world: That all parties should remain in possession of the places and territories they occupied at the time this suspension took place: That a meeting should be appointed, where the ministers of France and Great Britain should settle their respective differences: That France should not interfere in the settlement of the dispute between Great Britain and the *States of America, which should be*

left entirely to the decision of Spain: That in the meantime, the American States should be treated with on a footing of independency; and that in case an accommodation were not effected, hostilities should not recommence till a twelvemonth's notice had been given of such an intention.

Notwithstanding the candour and impartiality at first professed by the Spanish ministry, the conditions it held out to Britain, in behalf of France, appeared so detrimental and injurious to this country, that they were, without hesitation, declared inadmissible.

On this declaration, Spain immediately determined to join the association of France and North America against Great Britain. This resolution was taken so abruptly, on receiving the denial of the British Court to coincide with the measures proposed, that it became evident the mediation that had been proffered was not founded on a sufficient basis of impartiality to render it safe and eligible. The intention of the Court of Spain, seemed rather to dictate than to mediate. The terms of peace were such as Great Britain could not listen to, without detracting from the determination she had taken to preserve her reputation unsullied, whatever losses she might incur through the events of war, and these casualties which neither human prudence can foresee, nor valour prevent.

The rejection of the plan of pacification framed at Madrid, was an object of the utmost alarm to the political world. It was fully understood every where, that the alternative of refusing the mediation of Spain, would be an accession of that power to the confederacy against Great Britain; and it was therefore universally imagined, that sooner than expose herself to so manifest a risk, she would yield to necessity, and comply with the decisions of that Court, rather than provoke its enmity.

Such indeed was the conduct which
Y y 2 good

good policy seemed to prescribe, in the opinion of the majority of people throughout Europe. To adopt any other was generally condemned as the effect of obstinacy and presumption.

But this opinion though general, had many opponents. It was contended, that in public, as well as in private life, there were occurrences wherein states, no less than individuals, were bound by the rules of honour and magnanimity to venture their destruction sooner than forfeit the rank and reputation they had acquired. Illustrious precedents militated in favour of this idea, both in antient and modern history. When the immense armies of Persia invaded Greece of old, that brave people resolved to perish sooner than submit; though certainly every apparent chance was against them; they were but a handful in comparison of their enemies; but they marched forth with a determination to die or to conquer. Armed with this resolution they fought the battles of Marathon and Salamis, and triumphed over the greatest power on earth.

The Romans had trod in their footsteps with equal success. When nearly overwhelmed by the victorious arms of Carthage, they did not despond: they disdained to offer any conditions of peace to their haughty enemy; they continued to face him with unabated courage; and through their invincible perseverance in the midst of losses and defeats, they at length overcame him.

In latter ages examples of the same kind were not wanting. Holland, in the last century, had withstood in its just defence, the combined attacks of the two greatest powers in Europe. In the century preceding, when the power of Spain was at its highest summit, and alone almost equal to that of all the rest of Europe, England did not hesitate to go forth and oppose the vast armament she had prepared for the conquest of this

kingdom. Though incomparably inferior in strength, number of shipping, and men, and every requisite for so unequal and arduous a trial, she gave Spain a meeting on the ocean, and through her courage and conduct proved invincible.

Her situation at present, compared with her circumstances in those days, was far preferable, even proportionably to the combination of enemies she had now to encounter. The marine of Spain, it was computed, would make an actual addition of about fifty ships of the line to that of France, besides a few more that were constructing. This doubtless composed a formidable list; but though superior in number of vessels to that of Great Britain, it was not to be questioned that the latter counted a much greater number of able seamen and experienced officers.

Thus, notwithstanding the determination adopted by Great Britain, might be dictated by temerity, yet when it was duly considered, it would be found not unworthy of a wise and valiant people, who had weighed, with coolness and circumspection, the respective situation of themselves and of their enemies; and who saw good reasons, upon mature deliberation, to hope they should be able to stem the current now running so forcibly against them. They clearly perceived its violence would not be lasting; and must from a variety of causes, lose its strength in a short time; while their own, on the contrary, would increase by the discouragement their enemies would feel on finding themselves incapable of overcoming them, and the consequent disunion such a disappointment would produce.

Such were the ideas entertained by many of the soundest heads in Britain. This triple alliance of France and America, did not in the hesitations, carry that intrinsic and firmness, which is ne-

chieving of great designs. Its force was much more formidable than its reality; and it evidently sowed the seeds of a speedy dissolution, or of an ineffectual subsistence.

The contrariety of character, inherent by nature, and every cause that acted most forcibly on the passions, were marked in a particular manner in every branch of the confederacy. It was divided from motives of necessity on the one, and of ambition on the other; each party cherished its own separate interests, and paid little, if any attention to those of the other.

The formidable confederacy, before France had presumptuously insisted that Great Britain must bend to any further hesitation, had doubled her exertions, and exerted her courage: her firmness seemed to increase in proportion to her weakness, and instead of humbling herself before so many enemies, she evinced all at defiance.

No nation had ever exhibited so many proofs of magnanimity, none had at the same time taken bolder and decisive measures against its numerous foes. It seemed determined, that Fate have decreed its fall, to die nobly, and to leave a name undiminished and respectable to all future ages.

Such were the various sentiments and opinions of the many individuals of the people, whose thoughts and lucubrations were taken up with the critical situation of this country, at the time when Spain declared its accession to the alliance of France and America against Britain.

This declaration was made to the British ministry by the Spanish Ambassador at the court of London, upon the nineteenth day of June, seventy-

notwithstanding suspicions had been entertained of the hostile intentions of the Court of Spain, yet

the consideration how repugnant it was to the interest of that monarchy to act inimically to this country, kept people's minds in suspense how the joint solicitations of the French and American ministers at that Court would terminate.

The Rescript delivered to the British ministry by the Marquis of Almadovar, Ambassador from Spain, was a composition of a vague and desultory nature, wanting in clearness and precision, and attended with no accuracy or strength of reasoning: the facts stated carried no weight nor conviction, and did not afford just causes for so serious and violent a measure as a rupture between the two nations.

The spirit and magnanimity that were displayed at this perilous time, fully answered the prognostications of those politicians both at home and abroad, who had confidently predicted that the combination formed against Britain, would serve much less to intimidate it, than to shew its amazing resources; and would shortly make it evident, that the prospects in which its enemies had been so forward to indulge their imaginations, were founded on their ignorance of the real situation of this country, and the disposition of its people; of the greatness of its intrinsic wealth, and the readiness of individuals to employ it with the most boundless generosity for the common defence.

Animated with this laudable spirit, all parts of the kingdom exhibited a zeal and promptitude to concur in every measure necessary for the protection of the realm, that banished all despondency and fear. People of rank and affluence acted every where with a liberality which soon evinced that no funds would be wanting in this critical exigency. Companies were raised, and regiments were formed upon the plans that had been proposed, and every preparation made to meet the utmost efforts of the enemy.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXX.

Military Transactions in the West Indies.

1779.

THE capture of the island of St Lucia, and the defeat of the French by sea and land there, conferred great reputation on the British arms. Admiral Byron arriving shortly after with his Squadron, gave them a superiority, which caused no little alarm among the French islands.

The junction of this officer with Admiral Barrington, enabled both to sail immediately to Martinico, in order to provoke Count D'Estaing to come forth and engage them. He had lately been reinforced, and was little, if at all inferior to them; but he expected further reinforcements; and had not forgotten his reception at St. Lucia, from a much smaller force than his own.

The conquest of St. Lucia, however it was honourable, and in some respects useful, proved however a most destructive acquisition to the British troops. Accustomed to the more temperate climate of North America, they were not able to bear the relaxing unhealthy change of the West Indies. Sicknefs and mortality soon spread among them, and swept off multitudes. This was truly an irreparable loss, as it was impossible to supply the places of such troops as had been sent from America.

Reinforcements being arrived from France to the French fleet under Count De Grasse, it was now imagined that Count D'Estaing would have quitted Port Royal, and ventured a general engagement; but he continued immovably in that harbour. Ad-

miral Rowley had joined the British fleet from Europe; but there was sufficient disparity between it and French fleet, to account for a Count D'Estaing's well known declining an engagement when frequently offered him by the British Admirals.

His conduct, however, was induced by very proper motives. He seized an opportunity which he must soon arrive, of attacking British fleet at a disadvantage, by diminution of its strength, through convoys necessary for the home-bound trade from the British West India islands. It was now the middle June, the usual season of its departure for Europe, and it was assembled at St. Christopher's in readiness to sail.

The situation of Admiral Byron the commander in chief, was extremely difficult and critical. The immense value of the merchantmen now on their departure, rendered it absolutely impossible to give them a powerful convoy. A small one would have subjected, as well as them, to the utmost danger, by falling in with M. De la Piquet, who was at this time, with a strong Squadron, on his way to France to the French islands, were it to escape from this peril, it would run the greatest risk, on return to join the remainder of the British fleet, to be intercepted by the whole French fleet under Count D'Estaing. He would not catch so far an opportunity of attacking the divided parts of the

had convoyed the trade, or remained at St Lucia; and as the British fleet, would which no reason could justify. In consequence of these considerations, it was determined to convoy the trade with the whole fleet, out of danger of being followed by Count D'Estaing, or of falling into the hands of M. De la Motte.

It was this determination to execution, than Count D'Estaing had been highly apprehensive immediately to avail himself of it. He dispatched a body to attack the island of St.

They were joined, on their way, by a great multitude of the Indians who were settled in the neighbourhood, and who gladly embraced this opportunity of revenging themselves for the injuries they had received formerly, and the dispossession of the island, that took place some time before the conclusion of the last war.

The combined strength of these domestic enemies, was too much withstood by an inconspicuous force, especially, as by means of the frigates. The enemy had been dispossessed of the heights overlooking the town of the principal place in the island, and a large body of regular troops expected from Martinico.

The motives induced the Governor to capitulate. The conditions were very favourable. It was apparent to the French, to disinclination to make an obstinate resistance against them, by the most advantageous terms which they could surrender.

In the mean time, Count D'Estaing was recalled by the arrival of the fleet commanded by Mons. De la Motte. His fleet now consisted of six ships of the line, and twelve frigates, and his land force of ten thousand men.

With his powerful armament, he

set sail for the island of Grenada; the strength of which consisted of about one hundred and fifty regulars, and three or four hundred armed inhabitants. He arrived there on the second of July, and landed about three thousand men, chiefly Irish, being part of the Brigade composed of natives of Ireland in the service of France.

They were conducted by Count Dillon, who disposed his troops in such a manner, as to surround the hill that overlooks St. George's town, and commands it, together with the fort and harbour.

Lord Macartney, the Governor, though he could not avoid foreseeing that all resistance would be vain against so formidable a force, resolved however to make an honourable and gallant defence. The preparations made, and the countenance shewn by the garrison upon this occasion, were such as induced Count D'Estaing to be personally present at the attack. He headed a column, and behaved with great bravery; but his troops were repulsed on the first attempt against the intrenchments on the hill; their second onset was more successful: it lasted near two hours. The garrison, after a most courageous opposition, were obliged to yield to the prodigious superiority of number that assailed them on every side. The loss of the French in this conflict, was no less than three hundred killed and wounded.

After making themselves masters of the intrenchments on the hill, they turned the artillery taken there, against the fort that lay under it. This obliged the Governor to demand a capitulation. Count D'Estaing acted upon this occasion in a very haughty and insulting manner. He rejected peremptorily all the articles laid before him, and sent back others, with which he insisted on their instant compliance.

But the conditions he offered were of so extraordinary and unprecedented a nature, that both the Governor and inhabitants agreed in rejecting them.

without

without hesitation. The French commander being determined to grant no other, it was judged advisable to surrender without making any conditions at all.

The conduct of Count D'Estaing, after his becoming master of this island, did no credit to his character. It was severe and oppressive, and quite repugnant to that generosity which had been experienced by the other islands that had surrendered to the arms of France. The French soldiers were indulged, it has been said, in the most unwarrantable irregularities; and had they not been restrained by the Irish troops in the French service, would have proceeded to still greater.

Admiral Byron, after accompanying the homeward-bound West India fleet till out of danger, and appointing them a convoy to see them safe home, returned with the remainder of his squadron to St Lucia. On being apprized of the reduction of St Vincent by the French, he sailed immediately with a body of troops under General Grant for its recovery.

They had not proceeded far, when they were informed that Count D'Estaing had landed a large force at Grenada; but that Lord Macartney was making an obstinate defence, and would be able to maintain his ground till succours arrived. On this intelligence they directly steered for Grenada.

On the sixth of July, the British fleet came in sight of that of France, then lying at anchor off the harbour of St. George. The force under Admiral Byron consisted of twenty one ships of the line, and seven frigates.

Upon sight of the British fleet, the French immediately got under way. It was the intention and endeavour of the British Admiral to come to close action, from a consciousness of the superiority of the English in that mode of fighting. The intent of the French Admiral, on the other hand, was to

avoid an engagement of that nature, and to confine himself to preservation of his conquest.

In consequence of this plan the French fleet, which, as soon as it came out of port, was in better disposition, and sailed the faster, to so distant a position, that it was with difficulty it could be reached by part of the British fleet, nor was exposing this part to the steel sustaining, unsupported, and against their whole force.

Admiral Byron, on perceiving this disposition, and conjecturing the intention of the enemy, made the ship chase, and coming to a close engagement, notwithstanding the evident superiority. The engagement began about eight in the morning when Admiral Barrington was on board, and two other ships, commanded by Captains Sawyer and Gifford, fetched the van of the enemy; they attacked with the greatest spirit, but the other ships of the division being able for a long time to wait for his support, these three ships were considerably from the rest, and the superiority with which they were met, and the Admiral himself was wounded.

The British fleet endeavoured in vain to compel the enemy to come to a close fight; they avoided it with the utmost circumspection and caution. It was only by seizing the few opportunities of the different moments occasioned by the variable weather, that some of the British vessels closed in with the enemy; but it was upon such disadvantages, as nothing but the extreme valour of the British commanders could have induced them to submit to, upon all occasions, or were they chanced to meet in battle, engaged with a superior proportion.

The officers whose duty it was to encounter the enemy

l manner, were Captains Colling-
l, Edwards, and Cornwallis.—
r stood the fire of the whole
ch fleet during part of the en-
ment. Captain Fanshaw of the
mouth, a sixty-four gun ship,
r threw himself in the way of the
y's van, to stop them. Admiral
ley, and Captain Butchart, fought
at the same disadvantage, and
Captain in the fleet strove with
his spirit to have an equal share in
action.

he distance at which the French
continued, and the difficulty of
ng it sufficiently to bring it to a
action, occasioned a general ces-
n of firing about noon. It recom-
ed about two in the afternoon,
lasted, with different interruptions,
he evening. But the British Ad-
l, notwithstanding his repeated
ts, could not accomplish the end
ardently fought, of forcing the
y to a close fight.

During the action, some of the
of Admiral Byron's fleet had bold-
ade their way to the very mouth
George's harbour. Not knowing
land was in the possession of the
ch, their intent was to let the
son see they were coming to their
; and thereby to encourage them
old out. But they were quickly
ceived, when they perceived the
ch colours flying ashore, and the
of the forts and batteries firing
em.

his discovery put an end to the
n that had brought on this en-
ment, which was to compel the
ch to abandon the attack of the
L.—The inferiority of the British
l and military force, rendered the
very of it no less impracticable;
it was now become highly neces-
to consult the safety of the trans-
s with the troops on board, which
reatly exposed, from the number
ge frigates, which it was appre-
ed the French would not fail to
sh in pursuit of them.

Notwithstanding the damage several
of the British ships had sustained in
their sails and rigging, and their con-
sequent inability of acting to advan-
tage, the French did not think proper
to renew the action. One ship, in par-
ticular, the *Lion* of sixty-four guns,
Captain Cornwallis, had suffered so
considerably, that she was utterly in-
capable of rejoining the fleet, that was
now plying to windward, and was
obliged to bear a way alone before the
wind.—She arrived in a few days at
Jamaica, without being followed by
any of the enemy, notwithstanding her
weak condition.

Two other ships lay far astern, much
disabled; but the French did not at-
tempt to cut them off, from the appre-
hension of bringing on a close and gen-
eral action. The same motive prevent-
ed them from attempting to capture
the transports. The whole of their
conduct evinced they did not dare to
risk any measure that would involve
them in a decisive action.

Admiral Byron having directed the
Monmouth to make the best of her
way to St Christopher, or Antigua,
together with the transports, drew up
his remaining ships in a line of battle,
expecting, that being no more than
three miles distant from the enemy,
they would avail themselves of their
great superiority, and not permit him
to withdraw the transports without
endeavouring to seize them; but after
having waited in this position during
the whole night, he was much surpriz-
ed in the morning to find the whole
French fleet had returned to its station
at Grenada.

Never did the valour of the British
naval officers display itself more con-
spicuously than upon this occasion.
The most spirited efforts were visible
throughout the whole fleet to second
the intention of their commander.

The consequences of the engagement
between the British and French fleets
off Grenada, were equally destructive
both of them, though in a different line.

The British ships were greatly damaged, on the one hand, though their loss of men was inconsiderable for so long and obstinate an action, not amounting to above one hundred and eighty killed, and three hundred and fifty wounded. On the other hand, the French suffered much less in their shipping, but their list of slain and wounded amounted, according to impartial accounts, to more than three thousand.

Admiral Byron found it necessary to repair to St Christopher's, in order to refit his ships as well as that station would enable him. He was followed thither some time after by Count D'Estaing, who had now received fresh reinforcements, and whose superiority was so great and decisive, that it would have been the highest temerity to have attacked him in the disabled condition wherein the British fleet was at present.

One motive prevented him from any such attempt at this time, which was the necessity of conveying the home-bound fleet of French merchantmen from their West India islands.

On his return from the performance of this duty, his orders from the Court of France were to leave the West Indies, and to proceed with all expedition to North America, where he was to co-operate with the whole strength of which he was possessed, in the execution of those designs which should be found requisite to carry into execution for the service of the Americans.

In pursuance of this injunction, he set sail for the Continent at the head of twenty-two ships of the line, and ten large frigates. His intentions and his hopes were as before, directed to objects of the first magnitude.

His arrival on the coast of Georgia being wholly unexpected, some vessels on their way thither from that city with stores and provisions, fell into his hands.

As no intelligence had been received

of the approach of Count D'Estaing, no preparations had been made for a suitable resistance. The British troops were still divided in separate cantonments. The head quarters were at Savannah town; but the force with General Prevost at that place was very inconsiderable, the major part being stationed on the island of Port Royal, with Colonel Maitland.

On the sixteenth of September, Count D'Estaing summoned General Prevost to surrender to the arms of France. The message was conceived in terms of the highest confidence and certainty of success. It boasted of the manner in which Grenada had been taken, and warned the British General to beware of making a fruitless resistance; which he intimated would probably be attended with the most fatal consequences to the besieged.

In consequence of a refusal to listen to a summons that offered no specific terms, Count D'Estaing granted a suspension of arms, for twenty-four hours deliberation.

On the seventeenth, a final answer was returned to Count D'Estaing's summons, by which he was given to understand, that an unanimous determination was taken to defend the place to the last man. Count D'Estaing received it with equal displeasure and astonishment.

A junction being formed by the French and American forces, they amounted together to between nine and ten thousand men. Count D'Estaing had five thousand regulars, and near one thousand stout Mulattos and free-negroes, well armed. The body of Americans that joined him under the command of General Lincoln consisted of about two thousand men but were soon augmented to that number.

To oppose this formidable force General Prevost had no more together, than three thousand men they were such as continued,

and shewn he could place the dependence on. Numbers of these refugees, whom resentment usage they had received, extended to a degree that rendered desperate.

French and Americans engaged separately. Count D'Estaing it most prudent to keep them

the twenty-fourth of September the fourth of October, a heavy maintained on both sides; and skirmishes took place, in which the French were constantly successful, considerable execution.

The enemy finding they could make no impression on the works of the British, resolved on a bombardment, armed with a stronger cannon than ever. To this purpose they

on the fourth of October, batteries; one of thirty-seven, the other of sixteen pieces of cannon and a third of nine mortars. The British from these batteries lasted, with permission, during five days; damage they did was chiefly to the town, where it destroyed houses, and killed some women and children.

upon General Prevost wrote to Count D'Estaing, requesting the women and children might be permitted to retire from the town for safety; but this request was indignantly refused both by Count D'Estaing and General Lincoln.

The Americans, mean while, were dissatisfied with the French conduct; they blamed him for not attacking the British troops immediately upon his landing, without giving them time to put themselves in a state of defence as they had expected.

Count D'Estaing began himself to lose patience at the utility of his cannonade, and thought it more advisable to proceed to a general assault; hoping, by the number and goodness of his troops, to be more successful than by

the slow and gradual methods of attack which had hitherto been employed, and of which the efficacy daily appeared more doubtful.

To this purpose, on the ninth of October, before the break of day, the French and Americans jointly attacked the British works with great fury. Count D'Estaing, accompanied by the principal officers of both armies, conducted the attack. They advanced upon the right of the British lines; and, favoured by a hollow piece of ground which covered them from the fire of the British batteries, they approached in good order and great force, and assailed them with extraordinary fire and impetuosity. Two of the enemy's standards were actually planted upon the parapet of a redoubt, which was, during some time, assailed with the most obstinate violence. Captain Tava, who commanded in the redoubt, was slain, with his sword in the body of the third man he had killed with his own hand. But they met with so determined and firm a resistance from an incessant fire of musketry and cannon, levelled at them from almost every direction, that after making repeated efforts to force their way into the lines, they were thrown at length into disorder from the terrible execution done among them, and appeared unable to stand their ground any longer.

This critical moment was seized with great presence of mind. A body of grenadiers and marines sallied forth with out of the lines, and charged the enemy with such fury, that the ditches of the redoubt, and a battery which they had seized, were cleared in an instant: they were broken and driven in the utmost confusion into a swamp, on the side of the hollow which had favoured their approach.

By the time the enemy had been repulsed, it was broad day; but the weather was so foggy, and the smoke so thick, that it was not possible to discover the movements of the enemy.

This, added to the consideration of their vast superiority in numbers, rendered General Prevost very circumspect in venturing far from his lines; and as much firing was heard from several quarters, it was judged safest to stand in readiness to carry assistance, were it to be wanted.

These precautions, though very proper, proved however unnecessary, the enemy having been repulsed every where with prodigious slaughter. Twelve hundred were killed and wounded; among whom, the French themselves acknowledged forty-four of their own officers. The famous Count Polaski was mortally wounded in this engagement, and Count D'Estaing himself received two dangerous wounds.

To complete the success of the British arms on this occasion, a victory of so much importance, and which gained them so much reputation, was purchased at a very moderate price: the list of killed and wounded was no more than fifty-five; and the brave Captain Tawes was the only officer that fell.

The courage and intrepidity displayed on this memorable day by the British officers and soldiers, was so great and striking, that as General Prevost expressed himself in his account of the action, "To particularize those who either did, or strove to signalize themselves beyond the rest, would be to mention the whole army." Not only the military, but the naval list distinguished itself in the most conspicuous manner: the ships companies, with their officers, were all stationed ashore, and equally partook of the dangers as well as of the honours that were gained.

One officer, however, was spoken of with such applause by his General, that it would be injustice to pass him

unobserved. This was Captain Moncrief, who in the capacity of Engineer, conducted the plan of defence with so much judgment and skill, that he was honoured with the warmest and most unanimous applause of the whole army, and recommended in a manner at their desire, as an officer deserving of the highest notice and reward: the French themselves acknowledged the astonishment at the continued proofs of his abilities, of which they were witnesses to their own cost.

In this manner was the Province of Georgia cleared of the enemy; and the most sanguine expectations had been entertained by all America, that the reduction of this Province would have been but a preparatory step to the expulsion of the British fleets and armies from every part of the continent.

It was not therefore, without excessive concern, that Congress was informed of the disaster that had attended the united arms of the French and American confederacy. It proved a heavy blow to their interest, and greatly lowered the hopes they had formed from the potent succours the French Admiral had brought, and the designs he had laid before them.

Instead of having accomplished the smallest part of the scheme he had now projected, he met with the complete defeat on his very first attempt to carry the commencement of it into execution.

In lieu of that triumphant return to France, which the enemies to Great Britain had so often anticipated in their wishes and discourses, he was obliged to make the best of his way home, with a sickly and ill-conditioned fleet, part of which only he dared venture to send back to the West Indies.

C H A P. XXXI.

b Manifesto.—English Answer to it.—Proceedings of the Combined Fleets of France and Spain.

1779.

consequence of the hostile notion on the part of Spain, pre- by the Ambassador of that to the Court of London, its its and attention were, of course, ed on the measures which that ation now rendered necessary. clamation was issued on the nth of June, for the granting ers of marque and reprisals : the subjects of Spain, and a- to regulate the distribution of that should be taken during the uance of the war with that na-

he meantime, as the confederacy rmed by America, France, and against Great Britain, had at- d the eyes of all Europe, on so nd important an object, the h ministry thought it incumbent m to publish to the world such ents and motives for its conduct, ht afford a colourable pretext ie extraordinary measures they lopted.

e performance that was composed nce to this intent, was remarkably us and artful, and showed with facility reasons may be assigned e most unjustifiable actions.

those partisans of that power, the jealousy produced by the ur and prosperity of Britain ended so numerous, the Ma- o was received with satisfaction, uly countenanced ; but by the irected and the intelligent part iety, it was considered in no light than as a mere palliation s, that were unjustifiable in their nature ; and as one of those pro- ops, which wisdom has rendered

a necessary concomitance of the enterprizes resulting from lawless ambition.

It was answered in a very able and masterly manner, by a memorial written in justification of the conduct observed on the part of England. Never were the designs of France, and the measures employed by her to carry them into execution, laid forth with more explicit evidence, and accuracy of representation : nor the many allegations and pretences on which she founded the rectitude of her conduct, exposed and refuted with more strength of reasoning.

The publication of this celebrated performance, though it did not silence those individuals either in France or in America, who were determined to defame the character of the British nation, yet conveyed ample conviction to the minds of the unprejudiced, how little the French were warranted to complain of the conduct of Britain respecting them ; and that nothing but their irradicable disposition to domineer over their neighbours, had excited them to embrace what they imagined was a favourable opportunity of reducing the power of that people, who had always proved the most formidable obstructions of this inequitable design.

Out of the extensive dominions which in former ages belonged to the Kings of England on the continent, nothing but the empty title of King of France remains in their possession. This, with the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, is all they have retained abroad.

These two Islands France now possesses

med the project of seizing. Her vanity, no less than her interest was concerned in depriving Britain of those only remnants of her ancient power and greatness in France.

A force of five of six thousand men was collected for this purpose. It embarked in fifty flat-bottom boats, and attempted a landing in the bay of St Ouen, in the isle of Jersey on the first day of May; but though they were supported by five frigates, and other armed vessels, the militia of the island, with a body of regulars, made so resolute a defence, that they were compelled to retire, without one man having set his foot on shore.

Much discontent and mutual recrimination among the French naval and military officers was occasioned by their failure at Jersey. The attempt was represented by many as ill concerted, and worse executed, and as deficient in point of every requisite to authorise any hope of success.

The French, however, were still determined to make another attempt. Both the troops and seamen that had been employed in the former, were equally desirous of retrieving their honour; but as the weather opposed them, they were obliged to defer it. Mean while, Sir James Wallace, with a small squadron, one of which was a ship of fifty guns, came in sight of that which was to cover the descent. It consisted of several large frigates, with other armed vessels. On his appearance, they made the best of their way to the coast of Normandy, where they :an ashore in a small bay, under the cover of a battery. He pursued them to the bottom of the bay, silenced the guns of the battery, forced the French to abandon their ships, captured a frigate of thirty four guns, with two rich prizes, and burned two other large frigates, and a considerable number of other vessels.

This gallant action entirely discouraged the scheme of invasion intended against the island of Jersey.

From this time it appeared to have been totally laid aside; and though a show was kept up along the opposite coasts of France, yet from the vigilance of the British cruizers, it was rendered totally ineffectual.

In the mean time it was much to be apprehended that the designs of the House of Bourbon were to invade Great Britain itself. The vast naval superiority of which they would be possessed on the junction of the French and Spanish fleets, would give them such a command of the Channel, as would put it in their power to choose both the time and place of descent.

But were the military preparations in England to deter them from attacking it, Ireland lay open to an attempt, from the inconsiderableness of the regular force remaining in that kingdom, owing to the large drafts which had been made from the regiments on that establishment to reinforce the armies and garrisons abroad.

It was chiefly this part of the British dominions for which most apprehensions were entertained, though the wishes of the French nation itself pointed to England as the principal object of their attention. No great was the desire and ardour of the generality of people throughout France for a direct invasion of this country, though the government whatever might be its real intent, thought fit to give it every kind of countenance and encouragement. The best troops in the French service were drawn out of their cantonments, and marched to the provinces bordering on the British Channel: transports were prepared in every convenient seaport, a great promotion was made of General officers, and those commanders were publicly appointed who were to have charge of this important expedition.

So warm and sanguine were the expectations of all classes, that regiments destined for this had been crowded with volunteers and mercenaries. The ministers

share in the conquest of England the emulation of all the of any distinction. The public and colleges, in many places, emptied of all the youth that thought fit to participate in so an undertaking : and many gentlemen, worn out in the of a military life, resolved on cation to summon the remains r former strength and vigour, dedicate their last scenes to a tion, from whence it was ex- that France would derive so gtandeur and fame.

ie midst of these flattering prot was necessary to form a junc- the French and Spanish naval before any attempt could be realize them. The incapacity ice, till assisted by Spain, to dish the ends she had in view, : daily more evident. The tended to act against England d of no more than twenty-eight the line, and those not in a ondition ; the British fleet, on er hand, that was to oppose it ad to thirty-eight sail of the line. he design of invading this island blicly avowed on the other side vater, it was resolved, as the ady means of defeating it, to a junction of the allied fleets. purpose it was intended to p that of France in the port : : but the endeavours made at view did not succeed. Wind, , and other causes occasioned able delays, and in the mean ount D'Orvilliers left this har- the beginning of June, and ith all expedition to the coast n, where he joined the Spanish

junction gave the united fleets ormidable appearance. They d of between sixty and seventy the line, besides a very great ion of large frigates, and a de of other armed vessels. This *ous armament, like the famous*

Armada of Spain two centuries before, filled all Europe with anxiety and conjectures concerning the issue of its operations. The enemies of this country looked upon its downfall as being certainly at hand ; while even its well wishers could not forbear considering its situation as highly critical.

The first movement of the combin- ed fleets was to steer conjointly towards the coast of England.—Sir Charles Hardy, with the British fleet, was at this time cruising in the entrance of the Channel. The enemy, however passed him unobserved, and entered the narrow seas about the middle of August. They came in sight of Plymouth, where they captured the Ar- dent of sixty-four guns, on her way to the fleet, but made no attempt to land any where, or to attack any place.

The wind setting in strongly from the East compelled them to quit the Channel : on its abating, they resumed their station in sight of the British coast, about the Land's End, and the chops of the Channel. On the last day of August Sir Charles Hardy made good his entrance into the Channel, in full view of the enemy, who either did not endeavour, or were not able to prevent him. His design was to entice them up to the narrowest part of the Chan- nel, where, in case of his coming to ac- tion, the advantage of numbers would not be so decisive as in the open sea ; and where, if they should be worsted they would find themselves entangled in many difficulties ; and would even, without such an event, be exposed to much danger, from the frequent varia- tion of winds, and other local causes.

The combined fleets followed him as far as Plymouth, but did not think it advisable to proceed any farther. The reasons they assigned were a great sickness and mortality among their people, by which some of heir ships were totally disabled ; the bad condi- tion of these, most of which required immediate repair, and the proximity of

of the stormy winds of the equinox.

From these motives, they found themselves under the necessity of abandoning the English coast, and of repairing to Brett, in about three weeks from their first appearance in the Channel, without having intercepted any part of the East or West India trade, as they had proposed, and without having made the least impression on the naval strength of Great Britain, notwithstanding their immense superiority, and the contumelious boastings with which they had filled every Court in Europe.

This retreat of the combined navies of France and Spain, from the shores of Britain, without having effected any part of the plan they had universally given out with such unlimited confidence and pride, struck all Europe with astonishment, and covered the French themselves with confusion. It was in vain they pretended that causes against which no human efforts can prevail, had combated for the English: it was shrewdly suspected, the fact was, that superior as they were, they did not however dare to commit their fortune to a fair and decisive trial of skill and valour with so resolute and desperate a body of men, as the British seamen are justly reputed.

Though near double the number of the British fleet in shipping, and tieble

in that of men, their commanders knew what opponents they would be to encounter. They were not ignorant of the surprising deeds of courage and dexterity performed by the masses of this nation in cases of emergency, and were from that motive entirely averse to compel them to their most exertions.

Such was the general opinion in Europe. It was further corroborated by the daringness with which the British fleet continued to keep the sea, after the combined fleets had retired into port, by the multiplicity of captures that were daily made of French and Spanish vessels upon their coasts, as well as in every part of the world, and by the uninterrupted influx from all quarters of the British commercial fleets.

The invincible spirit with which Britain faced such numerous and formidable enemies, was the more object of admiration, as the kingdom, in the mean while torn with civil dissensions of the most alarming nature. Exclusive of those political alterations which had so long disturbed its internal peace, religious fury, then kindled up a flame which began to threaten a violent conflagration, which excited the most grievous apprehensions in all thinking people.

C H A P. XXXII.

Neutrality.—Conduct of Holland.—Successes of Admiral Rodney.

1779.

E jealousy entertained by the maritime powers in Europe, of her ever and pre-eminence exerted by Great Britain at sea, had hitherto but covertly and secretly. Expecting that the union of the house of Bourbon would have been sufficient to check it effectually, and remained passive spectators of the contest, which they imagined would not fail to terminate to the advantage of this country. So did potent a combination as America, France, and Spain, to promise, without any aid, to bring the maritime power of Britain to that state of isolation, which was the general aim of European politics.

When it was found that the exertions of Britain were afforded little hope that even a holy confederacy would succumb, this long desired determination was taken by the remaining powers to form a combination in order to effect it. The exertions for a measure of this kind were wanting. The activity and success of British privateers, had rendered them universal objects of terror, to the commercial shipping of the enemies, but to the many nations longed to other powers, that employed in furnishing them with articles as were not consistent with a strict and fair neutrality. Coming under this description, it is the most uncontroversial and

most reasonable manner, were often made, nevertheless, a subject of litigation, and the letter of treaties was wrested, in order to put a wrong interpretation upon them, in evident contradiction of the spirit by which they were dictated.

As the British ministry insisted, on the other hand, upon the propriety and lawfulness of seizing articles of this nature, contentions arose between Great Britain and the various powers to which the vessels laden with such articles belonged. The right of preventing supplies from being carried to the enemy was so manifest, that nothing but an inclination to make use of any opportunity to quarrel with this nation, could have prompted that eagerness with which all Europe seemed to conspire in refusing to admit the validity of the arguments upon which the conduct of the British government was founded.

The principles alledged in its defence were derived from ancient and long received practice.—They had for ages constituted that part of the law of nations which relates to the usages established in civilized countries in times of war. They formed so powerful a barrier to the designs in agitation against Great Britain, that while their validity was allowed, no just complaint could be framed against the conduct of the British ministry.

The only method remaining therefore to arraign it, was to call in question

tion the rectitude of those principles, and to establish a new system of maritime laws, contrary to those which had been so long in force. By these means the pretences of Britain would be overthrown, and the right she claimed of intercepting the supplies carried to her enemies, would be entirely annulled.

That power which took the lead in the promulgation of this new system was Russia; one that ought, according to all the rules of what seemed just policy, to have acted a friendly part to Britain, and discountenanced a measure which tended so manifestly to detriment her in a material degree.

It was under the protection of ancient maxims and customs, that Britain maintained the arduous conflict against so many powerful enemies with no small success. It was for that reason alone that Europe determined they should undergo a total alteration.

Whatever might be the secret motives for so extraordinary a determination in the Court of Russia, it was with just surprize the Court of Great Britain received notice that it had formed a code of naval regulations, which militated in the direfcest manner against the practices hitherto observed in Europe, and were evidently levelled at the maritime power of this country.

It was a matter of peculiar astonishment that Russia should be at the head of a combination so injurious to Great Britain. The favours she had received from the British ministry, in her late war with the Turks, and still more the commercial benefits resulting from a connection with this country seemed, to secure the good will of Russia, and even its assistance, in case of necessity. Little therefore was it expected that it should prove the first of all European potentates in that inimical declaration, the intent of which was to deprive Great Britain of the principal resources that enabled her to stand her ground in the midst of so many difficulties.

The purport of this celebrated declaration was, that the navigation neutral powers should remain as in that of peace; and that provided ships were not laden with contraband goods, they should enjoy the lib of conveying, free of seizure and restraint, all other articles whatsoever though belonging to the power at war.

This declaration, so contrary to the ideas and practice that hitherto prevailed, was received with much apparent submission and obedience by the Courts of France, Spain, of which it strongly favoured the views. Great Britain, contrary to her custom and character, obliged to temporise on this trying occasion. Her answer to this misleading declaration, though guarded and expressed, was not wanting in being sufficiently clear to remind her how different a part Great Britain had acted to her in the day of need.

In taking a step of so unprecedented a nature, Russia had previously used the precaution of securing concurrence of all her neighbours. Formidable was the impression of power and spirit of Britain, notwithstanding the perils that surrounded her, that none of the northern powers durst presume, alone and unsupported by the others, to enter the lists against Britain in so hostile and decisive manner.

Denmark and Sweden joined accordingly with Russia in this confederacy; to which Holland, even Portugal itself, were invited to accede. So prevalent, and so successful was the universal malevolence against Britain, and so unquestionably reputed the interest of Europe to operate in the humiliation of time grandeur. In this manner formed that universal association of neutral powers in Europe against Britain, which assumed the title of "Armed Neutrality." Of all those states

animical to Britain during the war with America, none afforded cause of resentment than that of Holland. Since the commencement of this unhappy quarrel, a clandestine commerce had been carried on between the Dutch and the Americans, highly injurious to the affairs of Great Britain. The encouragement given to the revolted Colonies was open and avowed. They were not only furnished with all manner of supplies, but with disguised countenance and reverence shewn to their flag, in a manner incompatible with the honour and dignity of Great Britain.

Representations had frequently been made to the States General of this impropriety of conduct in their subsidy to the British Ambassador at the Hague; Sir Joseph Yorke, who commanded in a memorial presented in the month of February, seventy-seven, of which regard shewn to several antecedent remonstrances, and insisted on their being in future more satisfactory to the Court of Britain; insinuating, that in case of non-compliance, due regard would be shewn.

Though a respectful answer was given to this remonstrance, the discordance still continued between the Dutch and the Americans on the subject, as before.

After the rupture with France, this friendly disposition towards Great Britain on the part of Holland was shewn more openly, and exerted with a higher hand than ever. The vessels of France were supplied with all kind of materials for the provision and equipment of fleets, with much readiness and assiduity, and Holland had formed a secret alliance against Britain.

Though incensed at such unprovoked usage, Britain went no further than to seize those Dutch vessels that were loaded with naval stores for the ports of France. The States of Holland refused the letter of a treaty made in 1720; but they were given to

understand that nothing could be more ungenerous and unjust than to insist on the fulfilling of a treaty which the circumstances of the present time rendered inadmissible. Britain could not permit Holland to supply France with naval stores, without exposing herself to imminent danger. There were a numberless variety of other articles in trade, from the importation of which into France the Dutch might derive immense profits, without furnishing that power with the means of injuring Great Britain.

In order to take away all pretences of complaint from the Dutch, the British government, instead of making prizes of the vessels laden with these hostile cargoes, came to the generous determination to purchase at a fair valuation, all the naval stores that were on board the Dutch vessels brought into the ports of Great Britain, to pay the freight of the cargoes, and to indemnify the proprietors in all the just expences and damages occasioned by the detention of their vessels.

While the Court of Great Britain was repeatedly complaining of the obstinacy with which the Dutch merchants continued to furnish the French with naval stores, these, on the other hand, presented a memorial to the States, remonstrating against the seizure of their vessels employed in that business, and requiring protection for their prosecuting it in safety.

France, in the mean time, conscious of the necessity of procuring this resource to her marine, insisted peremptorily on its being protected by the States, in the same manner as every other branch of the Dutch trade. So strenuous was the French ministry in asserting the propriety of this measure, that it threatened to consider a relaxation of the demands made upon Great Britain by Holland, as an infraction of the neutrality which Holland was bound to observe between France and Great Britain, and as an evident proof of partiality to the latter.

The French Ambassador presented a memorial to the States on this subject, urging them in the most pressing manner, to an effectual and speedy compliance with the requisition of his Court.

In order to encourage the importation of naval stores a regulation was used in France in the month of July seventy eight, by which such various advantages were granted to neutral vessels as accorded with the views of being supplied through their means with the necessaries for her navy. But on the States not complying with the requisition of the French ministry in the manner it had proposed, these advantages were revoked with respect to the subjects of Holland; the city of Amsterdam alone excepted; which had warmly espoused the cause of France, and demanded of the States the equipment of a squadron for the protection of its navigation to that kingdom, against the British cruizers.

Notwithstanding the authority assumed by the Court of France, in prescribing to the Dutch in what manner they should observe their treaties with Great Britain, the French faction in Holland was so powerful, that instead of consenting this freedom, it was represented as justifiable and well founded. Clamours in the mean time increased against the British government; and it was described as aiming at an exclusive right of framing laws for the commercial correspondence between different states.

On the accession of Spain to the confederacy against Great Britain, fresh representations were made to the States, on the necessity of prohibiting the exportation of naval stores to her enemies; but they had no more effect than the former: the difficulties wherein Britain was involved, seemed, on the contrary, to have infused into the people of Holland a stronger desire to add to the distresses of the British nation.

A formal demand was now made

upon Holland on the part of Great Britain, for the succours stipulated in the treaties subsisting between them. The dangers that menaced both from the family compact of the House of Bourbon, were laid before the Dutch in the strongest colours. Whatever might be the real cause, their averresness, to listen to the representations from the Court of Great Britain, whether they were intimidated by the vast power displayed by numerous enemies, or influenced by invincible jealousy, they still continued in the same unfriendly disposition. An answer was given to the memorial and all appearances tended to prove fixed determination to act an inimical part towards Great Britain.

In the beginning of the year eight a fleet of merchantmen laden with naval stores for the French navy, sailed from Holland under the convoy of a squadron of men of war. Intelligence of this being brought to England a squadron was dispatched under Commodore Fielding to intercept them. On meeting the Dutch fleet he requested permission to search them as usual; but this was denied, contrary to the right of treaty. Henry lie sent his boats with orders to do upon the examination of the cargo but they were fired upon by the Dutch commander, Count Byland, and prevented from executing their orders. Commodore Fielding upon this fired a shot a-head of the Dutch Admiral who returned it with a broadside. Captain Fielding replied with equal force and the former struck his colours. In the mean time most of the Dutch vessels laden with naval stores, had found means to escape. They proceeded on their voyage, and arrived safe at French ports; where they found naval supplies in abundance, at that time were very scarce.

The remainder of the cargo was carried into Portsmouth. It was accompanied by a vessel who refused to disembark.

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At the close of March, eighty,
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recours to which Great Bri-
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wholly unnoticed. He expostulated
with them accordingly with great
force and dignity. He reminded them
of the many motives that should in-
duce them to live in the strictest amity
with Britain: and concluded by in-
forming them, that if a favourable an-
swer were not returned to his requis-
itions within the space of three weeks,
the Court of Great Britain would
look upon such refusal as a breach of
the alliance, on the part of Holland;
and would consider the Republic in no
other light than as a neutral state, not
privileged to particular favours by
any treaty, and as having, by its con-
duct, made void all those that subsisted
between both states.

The reply to this memorial, was,
that the time prescribed was too limit-
ed for an answer to be given to it con-
formable to the rules and constitutions
of the Republic. But this reply was
viewed by the British ministry as a
mere evasion. As the States General
had been eight months in possession of
the request now repeated, full leisure
had been allowed them to deliberate
upon it; and it was unbecoming to
require any longer space for consulta-
tion.

In consequence of the answer given
to the British Ambassador, it was now
resolved at the Court of Great Bri-
tain, to put in force, conformably to
the notice he had given, the suspension
of the privileges enjoyed by the subjects
of Holland, in virtue of the concess-
ions made in their favour by former
treaties. After waiting the space of
time notified, no satisfactory answer
being returned, a declaration was pub-
lished, wherein, after a circumstantial
representation of the conduct observed
by Holland since the commencement
of hostilities, the above resolution was
formally specified.

In the mean time, the British mini-
stry was fully occupied in providing
for the various possessions of Great
Britain in foreign parts that were
menaced by her numerous enemies.

Among other places, Gibraltar was now closely invested, and pressed both at land and sea by the fleets and armies of Spain. Immediately on this Court's declaring its accession to the confederacy formed by France and America against Britain, Gibraltar was blockaded; and all means of supplying it with necessaries industriously cut off on every side.

The great abilities and valour of General Elliott, the Governor, afforded the best founded expectation of its making a vigorous defence: but the scantiness and uncertainty of the supplies it had received since the beginning of the siege, began to be very alarming; and it was now time it should be relieved in a regular and sufficient manner, to enable it to continue a successful resistance.

To this purpose a strong Squadron was prepared, and the command of it given to Sir George Rodney, whose services in the last war had recommended him to the notice of government. He fell in, a few days sailing from England, with a Spanish fleet of sixteen transports, bound from Bilbao to Calais. They were laden with provisions and naval stores, and convoyed by a ship of sixty-four guns, four frigates, and two armed vessels. Only one transport escaped. The rest were taken, and proved a heavy loss to the enemy; who were at that time in great want both of provisions and materials for their shipping. This capture took place on the eighth of January, eighty.

On the thirteenth, a Spanish Squadron of eleven sail of the line, was discovered off the Cape of St Vincent. As the day was far advanced, in order to reach them the sooner, the British Admiral made the signal for a general chase, to engage as the ships came up, by rotation, and to take the lee gage, in order to prevent the enemy from retreating into their own ports.

The action began at four in the afternoon; the headmost ships in the British Squadron closing in with the nearest of the enemy. In about half an hour one of their ships, mounting seventy guns, and carrying six hundred men, blew up, and they all perished. After two hours fight, another Spanish ship of the line was taken. The action continued with great vigour on both sides, till two o'clock in the morning; when the headmost ship of the enemy struck to the Sandwich; after which they ceased firing.

The weather was so tempestuous during the night, that it was with extreme difficulty possession could be taken of those ships that had surrendered. They were six in number; of which two went on shore and were lost, and the other four were brought safe into Gibraltar. They consisted of the Spanish Admiral's own ship of eighty guns, and seven hundred men, and three of seventy guns, and six hundred men.

This engagement happened so near the shore, and the British ships were so eager in securing the lee gage, to prevent the enemy's escape, that Admiral Rodney's ship, and some of the largest in the fleet, were in great danger of running on the shoals off the coast of St Lucar. Nor did they return into deep water, till after much labour and the exertion of great seamanship.

The behaviour of the Spaniards in this conflict was very brave and spirited: but notwithstanding their gallant behaviour, it was the opinion of all who were present in the action, that had it taken place by day, or the weather been less boisterous, not one of them would have escaped. Those that did were so considerably damaged, as to be unfit for service.

The Spanish Admiral, Don Juan de Langara, behaved with great courage, and did not surrender till an obstinate resistance. The ship struck to was commanded by

side. Having the small pox on a distemper of which the Spaniards were remarkably apprehensive, he offered it to the enemy, offering to a party of his own people on of them, without shifting any of to his own ship, provided the Admiral and his officers would their honour, that the British should not be interrupted in possession of their prize. This proposal was accepted with the warmest expressions of gratitude, complied with in every point that was required, with the utmost care and punctuality.

The consequences of this important service were, the complete relief of Gibraltar, and of Minorca, both of which, till this event, had been considered as in a state of imminent peril. After performing these services Admiral Rodney sailed for the West Indies; where he was commissioned to take the chief command. Admiral Digby proceeded home with the prizes, and had the good fortune to fall in with a French man of sixty-four guns, which he

It conveyed, with another ship in line, a large number of ships to the islands of Mauritius; with many stores and recruits. They were so far distant when first perceived, he pursued with success; and a great number of the store-ships were taken: but escaped with the other ship of war, and reached their destination. These various successes occasioned much satisfaction in England. It came at a critical season; and

contributed powerfully; not only to raise the spirit of the British nation, but to damp the hopes that had been formed in France and Spain, of striking a decisive blow at the opening of the naval campaign, by the re-union of the French and Spanish navies. The best officers and seamen in the marine service of Spain were in the squadron that had been taken or destroyed; and the ships themselves were in the best condition of any in the Spanish navy.

Sir George Rodney was honoured upon this occasion with an unanimous vote of thanks from both Houses of Parliament. Their consideration of his services was so warm, that they zealously recommended him as deserving of the most signal notice and recompence on the part of the Crown. In this they were the more urgent, as the Admiral's domestic affairs were in much disorder, when he was appointed to the command of the expedition wherein he had been so successful. There were also other motives for wishing to see him provided for in an honourable and liberal manner. Among others he had, while in France, refused some very advantageous proffers conveyed to him through persons of the first distinction; who had strongly urged him to enter into the naval service of that crown. But though the prospects held out to him were very brilliant, and he was at the time in circumstances of distress, he nobly refused to take part with the enemies of his country.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Charlestown taken by Sir Henry Clinton.—Successes of Lord Cornwallis.

1780.

THE preceding campaign had terminated very disadvantageously to the Americans. The mighty projects formed by D'Eſtaing had been frustrated in the completest manner. He had been vanquished and compelled to retire with a shattered fleet and a broken army. Unable to prosecute any further operations, he was now returned to France, and the Colonies were again left to their sole exertions, with little prospect of receiving any assistance from their French allies, in sufficient time to obviate effectually the attempts that might be made, in consequence of the superiority now obtained by the British forces.

Towards the close of the year seventy-nine, Sir Henry Clinton embarked with a considerable land force, under the convoy of a strong Squadron commanded by Admiral Arbuthnot. Their destination was Savannah; but their progress was much retarded by contrary winds and stormy weather. They did not arrive off the coast of Georgia till the expiration of January.

On the twelfth of February the army was safely landed on the islands in the vicinity of Charles Town; and from thence proceeded to the banks of Ashley's river; between which and Cooper's river that town is situated.

Owing to a multitude of impediments, several of them arising from the nature of the climate, and of the ground that was the scene of action, it was near the close of March before

the British forces crossed the Ashley. This motion was made under the protection of the armed lies. The boats of the fleet landed the whole army, with the artillery stores requisite for the siege, with any resistance on the part of the enemy.

From the deficiency of batter cannon, occasioned by the loss of ordnance ship, the British General obliged to have recourse to the Admiral, for a supply of pieces of metal. A sufficient number were consequently landed, with a detachment of seamen under the command of Captain Elphinstone.

The day after the army had a goodly passage over Ashley, it advanced to Charles Town. It lay on the ground within eight hundred yards of the enemy's works, in the night of the first of April; and in seven days it had perfected the batteries proper and mounted them with cannon.

On the eighth of April Admiral Arbuthnot forced his way into Charles Town harbour, under a heavy fire from Fort Sullivan, which denied the possession of all the different passages, entirely blockaded the town on that side.

The gaining of the harbour of Charles Town was the heavy appointment, as the Americans were firmly persuaded, from a and fortunate resistance.

two years before, that it would obstruct the entrance of the squadron with the like success. Relying on the efficacy of the fire, they would make, they had several ships and galleys in a line to make a raking fire on the squadron, on its approaching, and doubted not being able to reduce it to such a condition, as to frustrate all expectations of succeeding except of that nature.

It had also, as a further means of destruction, sunk in the channel, before the town, four large frigates, which carried several merchant ships, and chevaux de frise, in the manner of those that had formerly sunk in the Delaware, with the same intent. An immense boom, extended across this channel, composed of spars, chains, and cables, and tied together by ships' masts; and defended on the side of the town by strong batteries, mounting of forty pieces of heavy can-

on batteries being surmounted, the British squadron having taken possession of the harbour, Sir Henry and Admiral Arbuthnot summoned the town to surrender. But General Lincoln, who was there, answered that he would defend it to the last extremity. On refusal, the batteries were opened on the ninth of April, and with such effect, as quickly to reduce the fire of the enemy. The siege was carried on with so much activity, that the besiegers in a few days approached within little more than four hundred yards of the

town, with a party of light infantry.

The enterprise they were sent upon was attended with a variety of difficulties. They had rivers to cross, and other arduous operations to execute, in presence of an enemy strongly posted, and who had a very superior cavalry. It was principally at this corps their efforts were aimed. Through the great diligence and dexterity of Colonel Tarleton, it was surprised and totally defeated. This obstruction being removed, Colonel Webster advanced into the country, and seized all the principal passes, by which means the town was now completely invested.

These successes enabled the British army to carry on the siege with additional vigour. The enemy, on the other hand, made no less resolute a defence. They had used great industry in fortifying the place. The neck of land inclosed between the two rivers, Ashley and Cooper, was a continued chain of lines, redoubts, and batteries. At their extremities, towards both rivers, they were covered by deep swamps, communicating by a canal cut along their front. In the intermediate space between these works, and the body of the place, were two rows of fallen trees, fixed into the earth, in the manner of a fraise work: behind these was a double picketed ditch. In the center of the lines they had constructed a kind of citadel: the artillery mounted on these different works, consisted of eighty-pieces of cannon and mortars.

The siege of Charles Town had in the mean while greatly alarmed the contiguous provinces. Sensible how much it behoved them to preserve a place of such importance, they were exerting their utmost endeavours to raise a force sufficient to its relief. The defeat of the troops in the neighbourhood of Charles Town, by Colonel Webster, had greatly disconcerted them. But that which they regretted most, was the destruction of their

their cavalry by Colonel Tarleton. They were at uncommon pains to repair this loss; and with much industry and expence collected another body of horse, which was immediately dispatched to the assistance of the troops that were advancing from various quarters to the aid of the besieged. But on receiving intelligence of their approach, Colonel Tarleton was ordered to attack them. He executed his commission with so much success, that almost the whole corps was either taken or destroyed; and all the horses with their accoutrements fell into the hands of the victors.

While these successes were obtained in the country bordering upon Charles Town, Admiral Arbuthnot was exerting himself with no less vigour and good fortune on that side which lay toward's the sea. He formed a brigade of seamen and marines, with which he made himself master of forts Mount-pleasant and Sullivan. The garrison of the first abandoned it without resistance, and that of the second surrendered by capitulation.

By the sixth of May the besiegers had pushed their works to the canal that connected the two swamps on the right and left, and had almost drained it. They passed it three days after, and advanced towards the ditch next to the body of the place.

In this extremity, finding that no relief was to be expected, and the British army was preparing for a general assault, the American Governor proposed to deliver up the town on terms which had already been offered him; but which he had rejected.

By these terms it was agreed, that the American troops and seamen were to remain prisoners of war till exchanged, but not be despoiled of their private property: the militia to return to their dwellings, there to abide as prisoners on their parole; on keeping which, they were to be secure from all molestation. The citizens of Charles

Town to be comprehended in this article. The subjects of France and Spain to retain their effects, with permission to leave the place, but to continue prisoners on parole.

The British army took possession of Charles Town on the twelfth of May. The prisoners made on this occasion amounted to upwards of six thousand; among whom were a thousand seamen. Seven general officers were taken; and a prodigious number of others, from the eagerness with which all those who were in the vicinity of Charles Town repaired to its defence.

The artillery that fell into the hands of the victors, consisted of near four hundred pieces; and the shipping, of four large frigates, and a great quantity of boats, with considerable supplies of military stores.

The consequence of the reduction of Charles Town, was a general discouragement of the people in the neighbouring provinces; and no little alarm and discontent throughout the continent, when the vast expectations excited by D'Eslaign were contrasted with his failure, and the successes of the British arms under Sir Henry Clinton.

As no doubt was entertained that he would lose no opportunity of improving them to the utmost, great pains were taken by the Americans to collect with all possible speed, a force sufficient to make some stand, till a proper army could be formed. To this purpose detachments from several parts were drawn to the borders of North Carolina, where it was naturally expected the motions of the British army would next be directed.

On receiving this intelligence, Lord Cornwallis marched up the coast, situated along the banks of the Santee. The enemy were in place called Wacaw, on the line between North and South Carolina, distant from him upwards of a red miles. Colonel Tarleton

ed to command a chosen body, ler to attack them before they be reinforced. He travelled with expedition, that he reached them e third day of his march. Upon ng to surrender on the terms he red, which were the same that een granted to the garrison of es Town, he attacked them with ch courage and skill, that they nearly all either killed in the s, or wounded, or made prisoners, all their artillery and baggage. was the third victory obtained eans of the British cavalry, com- ed by Colonel Tarleton. Their era both in this and the foregg- igagements, were inferior to those e enemy; but the men were n troopers, and admirably expert : management of their horses and

is action decided for the present te of Carolina. The bravery ited by the British troops dur- e whole of this service, had been kably conspicuous. Both the military branches co-operated a warmth and emulation that : a damp upon the enemy from ery beginning. Among those chiefly distinguished themselves, s those that have been mentioned, sajor Moncrief.

resistance now fell before the h arms in South Carolina. It onsidered as completely reduced; rangements were in consequence y Sir Henry Clinton to secure ssession against all future at- s from the enemy. Most of the e in the Province were either ers, or profest adherents to the of Britain.

e attention of Congress was now ly turned to the recovery of Carolina; the importance of was now the more felt from its icted loss. Large detachments

of regulars were collected from every quarter whence they could be spared, and dispatched with all speed to re- inforce the troops remaining in the vicinity of that Province: Virginia and North Carolina, which were most interested, as being nearest the scene of danger, exerted themselves with great vigour. Virginia in particular, in order to act with the greater celerity and effect, invested the Governor appointed by their new constitution, with absolute power during the recess of their Provincial Assembly. This was the first act of the kind that had taken place in any of the United States; it was probably suggested by the recollection of the dictatorial power occasionally conferred upon persons of great trust and abilities in ancient Rome, in times of difficulty and distress.

Lord Cornwallis prepared to meet these hostile exertions with his usual activity. He was affectually seconded in his views by Lord Rawdon, a young nobleman, whose valour and military talents began at this time to display themselves with uncommon lustre. The town of Camden was fixed upon as the centre of operations, from its convenient situation on the Santee, a large river, navigable through a great extent of country, and at hand to convey stores and troops to various parts of the Province, and especially to those bordering on North Carolina, from whence the efforts of the enemy were chiefly expected.

Experience daily shewed what small reliance could be placed on those who had submitted to, and promised to support the British government.—General Gates and Barn Kalbe, a German officer of high merit, were now advancing in great force to oppose the progress of Lord Cornwallis. As soon as they had reached the confines of South Carolina, the people of this Province

Province repaired to them from every district, regardless of their assurance of fidelity, and of their being prisoners on parole. Bodies raised for the British service, took the first opportunity to leave it; two whole battalions went over to the enemy in this manner.

General Gates was now at the head of so considerable a force, that the post Camden was become very much exposed. His main-body pressed it on the one side, and a strong detachment, under General Sumpter, was endeavouring to cut off its communication with Charlestown. The whole country beyond Camden had declared in his favour. The troops there were in a very reduced condition through the heat and the unhealthiness of the climate; no less than eight hundred were from illness rendered unfit for service: this was an alarming diminution to so small an army, in the midst of an enemy's country.

Such were the circumstances of the British forces when Lord Cornwallis arrived at Camden. From the great superiority of the Americans, it was imagined by them that he would have retreated to Charlestown, while it still lay open to him, and would not have dared to venture an engagement with General Gates, who had near six thousand men in excellent condition, exclusive of the body under General Sumpter, amounting to fifteen hundred, and which was every hour expected to join him.

To oppose this force, Lord Cornwallis had no more than fourteen hundred regulars, with four or five hundred militia and refugees from North Carolina; but he relied on the goodness of his troops. He also foresaw that much was to be gained by a victory and little to be lost by a defeat. By the first he would preserve, together with the reputation of the British arms, the Province of South

Carolina and Georgia, besides the post of Camden, with the vast quantity of stores there deposited, and the great proportion of sick troops, which, if he retired, would fall into the hands of the enemy.—Were he, on the other hand, to be defeated, he made no doubt of being able to secure his retreat to Charlestown, at all events.

Having taken the determination to fight the Americans, his next care was to procure information of their situation and motions. Finding that they were encamped at twelve miles distance, and that their best troops occupied a disadvantageous ground, he resolved to march in the night, in order to surprise and attack them by the break of day.

He set out from Camden at ten, and at two in the morning, after proceeding nine miles, his advanced guard fell in with the enemy. By the weight of the fire he was convinced they were in considerable force; and soon found by the report of some prisoners, that General Gates had marched his whole army to attack the post at Camden.

Lord Cornwallis immediately halted and formed his troops; the enemy did the same, and the firing ceased on both sides. Happily for the British army, the ground where both armies were met was marrowed by swamps on the right and left, which was an advantageous circumstance to the small numbers of which the British army consisted. Lord Cornwallis having taken measures that the enemy should not have it in their power to avoid an engagement on that ground, resolved to defer the attack till day, not chusing to risk an engagement in the uncertainty and confusion to which an action in the dark is peculiarly liable.

As soon as the dawn appeared, British forces drew up in a battle; the centre under Lord

, the right wing under Colonel Her, and the left under Lord Bon; a select body of reserve was posted in the rear, together with a cavalry, under Colonel Tarleton.

The American army formed at the time in two lines; when Lord Cornwallis observing a motion on the left, which indicated an intention to make some alteration in their order, he seized that opportunity to begin the attack, which was begun with vigour by Colonel Webster on the right, and in a few minutes the line became general along the front of the line.

The weather being calm and hazy, the smoke from firing, and the smoke so thick a darkness, that the effects of the vigorous fire maintained on both sides could not be perceived. The British line continued to move in good order, keeping up a constant fire, or making use of the bayonet as opportunity offered. After obstinate resistance during three hours of an hour, the enemy was driven into total confusion, and forced to give way in all quarters. The British completed the rout, and after great execution on the field of battle, pursued the flying enemy more than twenty miles.

The losses of the enemy was very considerable.—The slain amounted to nine hundred, and the prisoners to a thousand. Among the former

General Gregory and Baron Mifflin, the second General officer in command: among the latter was General Rutherford. A great number of colours were taken, with all the artillery and ammunition, and all the baggage and camp equipage. Of the British not more than seventy were killed, and two hundred and thirty were wounded.

The conduct of Lord Cornwallis was remarkably cool and intrepid in this day. From the beginning to

the end of the action, not a single opportunity was lost that tended to success. Every advantage that offered was instantly discovered, and immediately improved to the utmost. He was no less ably seconded by his officers, among whom Lord Rawdon, with Colonels Webster and Tarleton, signalized themselves most conspicuously.

Two days after the action at Camden, Lord Cornwallis detached Colonel Tarleton in quest of the American General Sumpter, who with a considerable body had for some time been successfully employed in harassing the convoys of provisions coming from Charlestown. As he was advantageously posted near the fords of the river Catawba, it was apprehended that the routed army might from that consideration, repair to his encampment, and re-assemble there in force sufficient to make a fresh stand, till they received further succours.

Colonel Tarleton executed this commission with his usual activity and address. Having procured information of General Sumpter's situation, he came by forced and concealed marches, and ordered his motions with such dexterity, that he surprized his camp in the middle of the day.—The American General's detachment was totally destroyed or dispersed; three hundred were made prisoners, besides the slain, and near three hundred of the British troops, whom they had captured, were retaken.

This last defeat of the enemy gave the finishing blow to the hopes they had formed of regaining possession of South Carolina, and inspired the friends of the British government with a determination to exert themselves in obviating all attempts on the part of the disaffected. To this purpose they seized, in conformity with the directions of Lord Cornwallis, on the arms of those who lay under suspicion

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of cavity, and kept a watchful eye on all their motions.

The loyal party in North Carolina were also directed on this occasion to take up arms and assemble immediately, in order to apprehend the most violent among their opponents, and to take possession of all their military

stores and magazines, and at the same time to intercept all stragglers from the routed army. To encourage them in the execution of these orders, Lord Cornwallis proposed without loss of time, to advance with his whole army to their support.

CHAP

C H A P. XXXIV.

Naval Operations in the West Indies.

1780.

WHILE the British arms were thus prospering on the continent of North America, the honour of the British flag was no less strenuously maintained in the West Indian seas. Notwithstanding the superiority of force of which the French were possessed, they were unable to render it of the efficacy they had expected.

In the latter end of March Admiral Rodney arrived at St Lucia, and assumed the command of the British fleet. He directly determined to go in quest of Monsieur de Guichen, and offer him battle. He sailed accordingly from St Lucia on the second of April, and proceeded to Fort Royal Bay at Martinico, where he lay two days so close in with the French fleet, as to count their guns, and near enough to exchange shot with some of their batteries.

The French, notwithstanding their superiority, keeping in port, the British fleet returned to St Lucia, with the honour of having challenged them to fight. Some swift sailing frigates were left to watch their motions, and give notice, in case they should sail out of their harbour.

On the fifteenth the French fleet put to sea in the middle of the night. On receiving this notice, Admiral Rodney followed them with all expedition, and came in sight of them before night. Their fleet consisted of twenty-four sail of the line, and four frigates; the British fleet of twenty sail of the line, and two frigates.

The enemy's motions tended evi-

dently to avoid an engagement; but the precautions taken to defeat their intent were so effectual, that seeing themselves compelled to engage, they formed their line of battle about break of day.

Between eight and nine in the morning, Admiral Rodney made a signal to bear down upon the enemy; which perceiving, they altered their position to one more advantageous than their former, and continued in this manner varying their motions in order to elude the dispositions of the British fleet.

At twelve the signal was made for battle, and for a close engagement; and about one the headmost ships commenced the action; at which time the Sandwich in the center began to engage. By four in the afternoon she had driven three ships successively out of the line; after which she was attacked by the French Admiral, of equal force to herself, assisted by two other ships of seventy-four guns. Though alone, she encountered them all three with so much spirit and skill, that after an engagement of an hour and a half, they were obliged to bear away. This broke the center of the enemy's line, and they appeared by their motions to be completely defeated: but the great distance of the van and rear divisions of the British fleet from the center, and the damages sustained by some of the ships during the action, prevented a pursuit: the Sandwich in particular was in so dangerous a condition, that it was with difficulty

scuity she was for the ensuing twenty-four hours kept above water.

Two days after, the British fleet having repaired its damages, went in pursuit of the enemy, and chased them three days without being able to overtake them. They constantly avoided coming to action; their intention being to recover their station at Martinico. But finding they could not compass it without hazarding an engagement, they took shelter under Guadalupe.

As it was plain, however, from their motions, that their intentions were to return to Martinico, where only they could be refitted, Admiral Rodney made the best of his way to the road of Fort Royal, as the more probable chance of meeting and bringing them to action.

The number of slain and wounded on board the British fleet, amounted to about four hundred and seventy; among the former was Captain St John, of the *Interpid*: the French fleet was near a thousand, according to their own account.

It was with no small surprize, the people at Martinico beheld the British fleet cruising off that island, after having been told that it was entirely defeated. After remaining there some time, the enemy not appearing, it was found necessary to repair to St. Lucia, in order to put the sick and wounded ashore, and to rest and water the fleet.

This being effected, Admiral Rodney put to sea on the sixth of May, in consequence of being apprised the French fleet was returning to Martinico. He came in sight of it on the tenth; but notwithstanding the enemy still had the superiority of number, they could not be induced to risk a general action, though it was daily in their power.

As they were sensible of their advantage in sailing, they ventured to approach the British fleet, in order to observe its movements and condition, relying on their ability to elude a pursuit. Admiral Rodney, who was

watchful of every opportunity of drawing them to action, decoyed them by an appearance of retreating, into such a position, as enabled a part of his fleet to come up with them.

None but the van of the British fleet could have any share in the engagement, from the expedition with which the enemy continued to withdraw, and the impossibility of bringing the remainder of the fleet into action. Captain Bowyer of the *Albion*, and Admiral Rowley in the *Conqueror*, both of seventy-four guns, bore the brunt of the day; and though they had suffered from the vast superiority they had no encounter, the damage they did to the enemy was such, that before parting they had almost silenced the fire of the rear of the French fleet. This engagement happened on the fifteenth of May.

The enemy kept their distance, as usual, until the nineteenth; when the British fleet having fetched their rear, they were again brought to action in order to extricate it. Commodore Hotham, who commanded the van, attacked them with great spirit, and compelled them during some time to a close fight, in which they suffered severely. They were pursued in their retreat to a great distance; when the swiftness of their sailing having carried them out of sight, Admiral Rodney stood towards Barbados, to repair and victual the fleet, in order to enable him to go in quest of the Spanish fleet that had sailed from Cadiz to the assistance of the French, before these could again be in a condition to put to sea.

The courage and dexterity displayed by the officers and seamen of the British fleet, in these two last engagements especially, was highly remarkable. Captain Bowyer again distinguished himself in the latter of them than he had done in the first. He did also Admiral Rodney, whom his captain, Ward, officer of great merit and a mortally wounded.

C H A P. XXXV.

Siege of Gibraltar.—Losses at Sea.—Transactions in the West Indies, and in North America.

1780.

AMONG those motives that induced Spain to join the confederacy against Great Britain, was the long and earnestly cherished desire of recovering Gibraltar. The possession of this important fortress by a foreign power, was highly mortifying to the Spanish Court and nation. It was compared to the long retention of Calais by the English in former days, and the recovery of it was deemed as essential to the honour of the Spaniards, as that of Calais had been reputed by the French in regard to their own.

The principle plan of action was formed in conformity with this idea, which was warmly adopted throughout Spain, and served, in no small degree, to reconcile the people to a war which was in other respects so much against their real interests. As soon as the rupture with Britain was determined upon at Madrid, the Spanish Court gave immediate orders to General Mendoza, who commanded the forces in the vicinity of Gibraltar, to cut off all communication with that place, and to invest it in the closest manner possible.

While this General blockaded by land, Admiral Barcelo did the same by sea; but notwithstanding his superiority, the British ships of force then in the bay, exerted themselves with so much activity and spirit, as to elude his vigilance on numberless occasions. They took a variety of prizes, and

favoured the entrance of those many vessels, that brought provisions and necessaries to the garrison.

The victory obtained by Admiral Rodney, and the large supplies he had conveyed to the besieged, were an essential encouragement to them, as they now saw, that in cases of necessity, they might depend upon relief. This proved no little discouragement to the besiegers, from their losing the prospect they had formed of compelling the place to surrender through want of necessaries.

On the departure of Admiral Rodney, about the middle of February, a ship of seventy-four guns, another of sixty-four, two frigates of thirty, and two sloops, remained at Gibraltar. The garrison consisted of four colonels, nine lieutenant-colonels, seven majors, fifty-six captains, one hundred lieutenants, fifty-four ensigns, three hundred and forty serjeants, one hundred and seventy drummers, and five thousand men rank and file: the artillery and artificers amounted to seven hundred.

The chief inconvenience under which the garrison laboured, was the frequent want of fresh provisions. It had hitherto been abundantly supplied from the coast of Barbary; but to whatever cause it might be owing, a surprising and unaccountable alteration had taken place in some of the states along the coast. The Emperor of Morocco, in particular, had transferred his friendship from Great Britain to Spain in a manner wholly unexpected.

dented.—He espoused the cause of the latter with a zeal and partiality the more astonishing, as Britain had given him no provocation, and as the enmity subsisting for so many ages between the Spaniards and the Moors, was in a manner constitutional, and founded upon causes that could never cease to operate.

Such being unfortunately the disposition of these neighbours, the condition of the garrison became daily more distressful, from the necessity of making use of their salt provisions with the strictest economy, and the very great difficulty of procuring fresh.

So great however were the industry and resolution of the British officers and seamen, that in spite of all obstructions, they frequently found means to procure the refreshments that were wanted, in doing which they were always exposed to great danger, from the strength and watchfulness of the enemy.

In the mean time the defence of the garrison was vigorous, that while it continued to be supplied even in this scanty manner, the enemy began to lose all hope of reducing it. In order to deprive it of this support, they formed the project of burning all the British shipping in the bay of Gibraltar.

In the night of the sixth of June, eighty, favoured by an uncommon darkness, ten fire-ships flood over from the Spanish to the British side of the bay. The enemy's design was to set fire to the shore-houses nearest the water-side, as well as to the shipping there, which was at this time considerable; but owing to their precipitation in firing their ships too soon, and to the heavy cannonade with which they were received, the attempt was frustrated.—To complete their destruction, all the boats belonging to the British ships were manned, and sent to grapple and tow them off. This service was performed with amazing in-

trepidity; every one of them being run ashore.

This was a grievous disappointment to the Spaniards. Expecting their scheme to take the fullest effect, the Spanish Admiral, Don Barcelo, lay ready with his squadron to intercept the British vessels that might attempt to escape; and the batteries at the enemy's lines were in readiness to bombard the town, had the fire-ships succeeded in causing any conflagration on shore.

The failure of this project was followed by the defeat of many others successively. As fast as the enemy pushed their works forwards, and constructed new batteries, they were constantly destroyed.—The mortification was the greater on these occasions, as they were usually permitted to complete their operations before the destruction of them took place. Thus the labours of many days were often lost in a few hours, and the whole to be recommenced with little more prospect of success.

One of the greatest annoyances, to which the garrison and shipping were equally exposed, were the Spanish gun-boats. They were vessels from thirty to forty tons burthen; they were constructed to lie low on the water, which rendered them difficult to aim at: they carried forty or fifty men, a large sail, and fifteen oars on a side, with a six and twenty pounder on the prow. From the facility of managing them, they were adapted to a multiplicity of uses, and in calm weather two of them were deemed a match for a moderate frigate. The want of some vessels of the same construction, subjected the people at Gibraltar to great inconveniences.

The obstinate resistance, and by the caution of this very alarming to the G which had prevented the destruction of it, from the service of the navy.

from the superiority acquired by combination of the French and Spanish navies.—But experience was showing that this superiority had of appearance than reality; and notwithstanding the parade of arms, the fleets of Great Britain maintained the honour of their flag, instead of remaining on the deck, were busily occupied in attacking their enemies in every quar-

ter, notwithstanding the misfortune that had fallen Spain, it was judged incumbent on both kingdoms to present that appearance of strength they had at first displayed. For as soon as a junction was formed of French and Spanish fleets, in the manner as it had taken place the preceding year, though with a vast inferiority of force.

Great Britain was taking measures on the other hand, to face the combined fleets. Admiral Geary, a very brave and experienced officer, was now at the head of the British fleet, in the person of Sir Charles Hardy, who was dead. He sailed with thirty ships of the line in quest of the enemy, were cruising on the coast of Galicia. In the beginning of July he met with a large number of merchantmen returning from the West Indies, of which a dozen were captured; the rest escaped, through the assistance of the weather.

The main body of the combined fleet was at this time spread over a vast extent of sea, in that tract usually frequented by the shipping bound to the East and West Indies. A fleet for each of these destinations sailed from Portsmouth at the close of July. The ships bound to the East-Indies were a numerous number. They carried a large quantity of arms, ammunition, and stores, for the use of the British army, and of naval stores for the men at war on that station. Of those bound to the West-Indies, eighteen vessels in the service of Govern-

ment, laden with provisions and necessaries for the troops in those parts, together with recruits. The remainder were merchantmen. They were escorted by a ship of the line and three frigates.

In the night of the eighth of August, they happened to fall in with that division of the combined fleet which was commanded by the Spanish Admiral Don Louis de Cordova. Unfortunately mistaking his own lights for those of their own convoy, they bore after him, and did not discover their error till morning, when it was too late to rectify it. They were quickly environed by the enemy. The man of war and frigates escaped with a few others; but the major part were taken, to the amount of about fifty, including the East-Indiamen.

The principal detriment, occasioned by this capture was the loss of seamen and troops, and of the supplies that were so much needed in those places for which they were intended. The number of prisoners amounted to about two thousand seven hundred sailors and soldiers, near one hundred officers, and about two hundred passengers of both sexes.

The loss of so large and valuable a fleet was a heavy blow in the midst of so many difficulties and trials of every denomination. The news of it was received with the highest discontent. Loud complaints were made of the imprudence of trusting such immense property to so slight a convoy, especially when the enemy was known to be on the watch. The course it had held was also represented as improper and rash; and those who had advised it were found the more culpable, as the end proposed by it, which was to take in wines at Madeira, was unworthy of being put into consideration with the certainty of the peril, and the importance of the other objects that were to be answered.

The long expected succours arrived at length from France at Rhode Island.

Island, on the eleventh of July, eighty. They consisted of one ship of the line of eighty-four guns, and twelve hundred men; two of seventy-four, and seven hundred men; and four of sixty-four, and six hundred men. They were accompanied by four frigates, one of forty and three of thirty-six guns, besides armed vessels and transports, on board of which were five regiments of the best troops in the French establishment, with a battalion of artillery.

This squadron was commanded by the Chevalier de Ternay, well known by his expedition to Newfoundland, at the close of the preceding war. The land forces were under the Count de Rochambeau, a Lieutenant-General.

These succours, which were a convincing proof that France meant to assist them in the most effectual manner, revived the hopes of the Americans in the highest degree. They now considered themselves as completely relieved from all future apprehensions on the part of Great Britain, and began to look forward to a speedy and total deliverance from the calamities they had endured, by an entire expulsion of the British armies from the continent of America.

The arrival of the French succours occasioned a remarkable circumstance, in General Washington's camp.—Hitherto the Americans had worn blue cockades; they were now directed to wear black and white intermixed, by way of denoting the unanimity subsisting between the French and American nations.

The French Admiral, Monsieur de Ternay, being apprized of the small naval force at New York under Admiral Arbuthnot, consisting only of four ships of the line, prepared directly to attack it; but when he was on the point of sailing, he was informed that a reinforcement of six sail of the line was arrived at that place. This at once broke the measures he had plan-

ned, and the Americans had the satisfaction of seeing him blocked up by the British fleet.

To second the measures of Admiral Arbuthnot, Sir Henry Clinton embarked a body of six thousand select troops, in order to make a descent on Rhode Island. But on receiving intelligence of this motion, General Washington marched from his encampment towards New York, with a resolution to attack it in Sir Henry Clinton's absence. Preparations were made for this purpose, and the American army was reinforced from all quarters, in expectation of its taking place. But on a close inspection and consideration of the strength now stationed at Rhode Island, the enterprise was laid aside, as highly unadvisable. Upwards of twelve thousand American troops had joined the French; and every place in Rhode Island, where a descent was practicable, had been fortified in such a manner, as to render an attempt of that nature too dangerous to be undertaken with so small a force as that which had been proposed.

While France was sending succours to America, Spain was exerting itself in order to give a decided superiority to the House of Bourbon in the West Indies. Towards the close of April, eighty, a squadron of twelve sail of the line, commanded by Don Joseph Solano, a very brave officer, sailed from Cadiz, with above eighty transports, on board of which were embarked near twelve thousand men.

This great land force was intended for an invasion of the island of Jamaica; previous to which attempt the men of war had orders to join the French fleet, and assist in attacking the British naval force in the West Indies.

On the Spanish Squadron's approach to these latitudes, Admiral Rodd, whom intelligence of it had alarmed, put to sea from New York, where he was refitting his ships, taking in water and provisions.

intercept the Spaniards before could effect a junction with the

the Spanish commander, un- to commit the charge he was ed with to any danger, as soon rew near to the islands, dispatch- if sailing vessel to Martinico, m M. de Guichen of his ar- and to request he would join him l speed.

French Admiral's fleet had shattered in the late engage- with Sir George Rodney, that no more than eighteen ships in sa for service. He sailed with the assistance of Don Solano, he found at Dominico. The ed fleets on their junction ad- to thirty-six ships of the line. this naval strength, and the ble land force that accompani- t was much to be apprehend- it notwithstanding the valour l of the British officers and their inferiority of force, must en way, and the enemy have irresistible. Fortunately for , her people were not put to ere trial that was expected.

multitudes with which the transports were crowded, con- f men quite unused to the sea, is to the climate, and manner g to which they were now ed, complaints and disorders ut among them, which quickly contagious, and of so malign- nature, as to carry off vast . They were obliged to put Dominico twelve hundred of k, and as many more at Gau- and Martinico. The infec- ead to the French fleet and among whom it caused a con- mortality. To this diminu- their strength it was owing y did not think it advisable to the execution of the commis- h which they were charged.

tarrying some time at the ando, the Spanish Admiral

proceeded to Hispaniola, whither he was attended by Monsieur de Guichen, and from thence to the Havannah, in order to refit his ships and refresh his men.

Thus ended, for the present, the projects concerted between the French and Spaniards against the British islands.

In the mean time, Sir George Rodney lay with his fleet at St Lucia, from whence he kept a watchful eye on the enemy's motions; intending, should they proceed to attack any of the islands, to throw every impediment in their way which his situation would admit. Here he was joined by Commodore Wallingham, with some ships of the line from England, and troops for Jamaica. On the departure of the French and Spanish fleets from Martinico, he followed them immediately with all the ships under his command, till finding they had no intentions against Jamaica, he returned to his former station, after dispatching ten sail of the line for the protection of that island, together with the troops destined for that purpose.

The first part of the plan concerted between the Courts of Versailles and Madrid being frustrated, the second still remained undecided.

This latter part of the scheme consisted in a vigorous attack on the British fleet and army at New York, by the united forces of France and America. The troops under Count de Rochambeau were to form a junction with those under General Washington, whose army was now increased to twenty thousand men. The Squadron under the Chevalier de Ternay, was to be joined by the fleet commanded by Count de Guichen. Thus the combined army of France and America would amount to near thirty thousand regulars, and the naval force to upwards of thirty sail of the line; a strength which that of Great Britain on the American continent would not be

be able to counteract, as it was too far divided and scattered, to be collected in sufficient time for resistance.

In order to encourage their own people, and impress at the same time their allies and well-wishers with a great opinion of their internal strength, a list of the American forces was published by the authority of Congress. By this list it appeared that the American army consisted of one hundred and forty-eight regiments of infantry amounting to one hundred and fifteen thousand men; nine regiments of artillery, making three thousand, three regiments of hussars, near two thousand; and the same number of horse and dragoons.

An address that was penned upon this occasion by the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania, was remarkably warm and animated. It represented with great fervour the opportunity now offered, by a concurrence of auspicious circumstances, of putting a decisive period to the war, by a vigorous exertion of their united strength.

Such, indeed, was the universal persuasion of the Americans, when, to their utter astonishment, intelligence came that Count de Guichen was sailed for France. That commander, however he might be desirous to co-operate in an enterprize from which so much glory, in case of success, would have accrued, was not in circumstances to bear any part in it.

He sailed accordingly from the West Indies with a large fleet of merchant-men under his convoy.—The consciousness of the weak state of his ships, induced him to steer for

Cadiz, to avoid meeting with British fleet. On his arrival at port, at the end of October, he joined by Count D'Estaing, eighteen sail of the line. He brought the same number with him; though their united force now consisted of thirty-six line of battle ships they did not think it safe to put to sea without further reinforcements. For that reason a numerous Squadron Spanish men of war accompanied them to the latitude of Cape Finisterre.

The British fleet was at this time cruising in the Bay of Biscay, under Admiral Darby. It was so inferior in point of numbers to that of the enemy, that being wholly unapprised of the feeble condition of their fleet, it was judged unadvisable to attack them. It kept, however, close in their sight, watching all their motions, and determined to make a most resolute defence if attacked.—

As soon as Admiral Rodney was informed of M. de Guichen's departure from his station at Hispaniola, conjecturing that his destination was New York, he set sail directly for that place with eleven of his best ships, and arrived there about the middle of September.

The arrival of so strong a reinforcement to the British naval power, was an object of equal surprize and concern to the Americans. It removed the disappointment they had felt at the failure of the expectations they had formed from the Count de Guichen. They now saw a total defeat of the scheme upon which they had founded the completion of all their hopes.

C H A P. XXXVI.

tions in the Neighbourhood of New York.---Operations of the Forces under Lord Cornwallis.

duration of the American war was now become equally a discontent to both the parties concerned. Five years of suffering were now elapsed, producing any well-founded desire for a speedy termination of the quarrel.

The uncertain situation of public affairs attracted the attention of all parties, and was taken up by one of those events which are not unusually of uncommon occurrences in the course of human affairs.

General Arnold, whose eminent talents, and great services to the Americans, and great talents, had procured him so much reputation, had been appointed to the command of Philadelphia, on the evacuation of that city by the British army, in the month of September, 1781. His appointment to that station was made a subject of severe censure, and he had not time to incur the ill-will of the persons, who represented him in various colours.

Commissioners who were appointed to examine the accounts on which the complaints against him were founded, having rejected several of the demands they contained, and applied to Congress, for a report on the committee whom they had appointed for this purpose, having approved the rejections of the committee, General was highly incensed, and expressed his dissatisfaction in a manner proved extremely offensive

to Congress, and laid him open to much enmity and resentment.

A court-martial was held in consequence of the complaints brought against him; the result of which was, a reprobation of his conduct, conceived in general terms, and an order that he should be reprimanded by General Washington. His enemies, however, were not satisfied with this sentence, which they said was dictated by a regard for his former services.

General Arnold vindicated himself, on the other hand, with the greatest warmth. Conscious of the importance of what he had done for his country, he considered himself as ill repaid, and openly declared that he had been treated with injustice and ingratitude.

His enemies, however, were no less eager in disparaging him. They succeeded so far as to diminish in a great measure the vast popularity he had so justly acquired. This was a loss he felt most heavily, and complained of with much bitterness.

Such was the situation of General Arnold when the failure of the expectations held out on the part of France, brought about an alteration of circumstances in General Washington's army, which induced him to have recourse to every expedient, in order to supply the defection of those numbers that left him upon this occasion. The most obvious one was to call in the assistance of those upon whose abilities

abilities he could best rely in this arduous conjuncture. Among these none held a higher rank than General Arnold. He was accordingly called forth, and employed in the command of a post of the greatest importance, that of West Point, on the North River, where a very considerable division of the American forces was placed under his orders.

It was in this position that General Arnold took the determination to abandon the service of Congress, and to deliver up the post he commanded to Sir Henry Clinton. To this purpose a negotiation was entered into with the British General, which was carried on with great circumspection and secrecy.

As the time of executing the project in agitation drew near, it was judged proper that an interview should previously take place between General Arnold and some person in whose honour and fidelity the fullest confidence could be deposited, in order to conclude upon the final arrangements. On this dangerous and trying occasion, choice was made of Major Andre, Adjutant-General of the British army, an officer who stood high in the esteem of Sir Henry Clinton, and whose professional merit, and various accomplishments, had at an early period of life recommended him to universal notice and respect.

Under an assumed name, he privately repaired to General Arnold; from whom having received such communication and papers as related to the business on which he came, he set out upon his return, but was intercepted on the way, and all his papers seized.

Information of this was conveyed to General Arnold time enough to enable him to provide for his own safety; but Major Andre was brought before a board of general officers, for an examination of his case. After a minute investigation of every circumstance

relative to it, he was adjudged a spy, and sentenced to death.

The behaviour of Major Andre on his examination, was intrepid and magnanimous in a degree that struck the board with the utmost astonishment and admiration. He used no arguments or endeavours to palliate the facts that were stated against him, but frankly acknowledged every circumstance as it had happened.

Every effort was made by Sir Henry Clinton in order to save the life of so brave and valuable an officer. All the expostulations and reasonings were used that could be adapted to the occasion, and every motive urged in order to prevail upon General Washington to remit the sentence that had been pronounced upon him. But it was deemed necessary by the Americans to adhere to the rigid maxims of war, and all intercessions or remonstrances in his behalf were equally vain.

He met his severe destiny with a courage and manliness of behaviour that deeply affected all who were witnesses of it. Though engaged in a transaction, which, had it succeeded, would probably have brought instant ruin upon the enemy, such was the impression which his character made upon them, that they universally lamented his fate.—The officers who had signed his condemnation, and even General Washington testified the sincerest grief at the necessity they declared themselves under of complying with the rigorous usage established in such cases, and could not refrain from tears when the sentence was carried into execution.

In the mean time, General Arnold on his arrival at New York, was promoted to the same rank in the British army, which he had held in the American army, and employed in forming a part of his countrymen to act under his own command. He published a address to the inhabitants of the place, wherein he described the

to various hardships and miseries which they laboured; exempted them, from a multiplicity of taxes, to renounce their adherence to Great Britain, and return to their former attachment to Britain. He entered into circumstantial detail and justification of his conduct, reprobating Congress in the severest terms, representing that body as wholly unworthy to France, from views of private interest. He invited those Americans who were desirous of putting an end to the calamities of their country, the standard of Britain, promising the same pay and treatment as the British troops.

The representation of the circumstances of America at that time, as given in General Arnold's address, was fully consistent with truth. The distresses which prevailed in the several States were such, as nothing but a visible determination to suffer miseries rather than submit, could have enabled the people to have borne patiently. The total stagnation of trade, the deprivation of the usual comforts and conveniences, and the high price of the common necessaries of life, were the loud and engaging complaint in almost every part of the continent. But the grievance which oppressed them most, and was the foundation of all others, was the prodigious depreciation of paper currency; it was now one hundred below par, and was sinking lower.

Among these various proceedings, the military arms in the Southern Colonies of the American continent, had many vicissitudes of good and evil. The unwholesomeness of the season that followed the battle of the Clouds, was the cause of long inactivity proved at the same time no less fatal to the troops than hostilities themselves.

Lord Cornwallis employed this inactivity in settling the government, and

making further arrangements in South Carolina for the suppression of attempts on the part of the disaffected. The estates of such as had joined the enemy, and opposed the British government, were sequestrated by proclamation.

As the enemy was assembling on the borders of North Carolina, he judged it expedient to send a detachment thither, in order to watch their motions, and counteract them, and to encourage the Loyalists, who were numerous in that quarter, to hold themselves in readiness to join him, as soon as the season would permit him to direct his march to that province.

The officer who commanded the detachment was Colonel Ferguson, a man of uncommon abilities in those military operations that tend to distress and harass the enemy, by intercepting convoys, surprizing parties, and making sudden attacks and incursions. His expertness, as a marksman, was unrivalled. It was happy for General Washington that his person was unknown to the Colonel, who was more than once near enough to have singled him out. He used, it is said, upon these occasions, a musket of his own invention, contrived with peculiar art for sure and expeditious firing.

In pursuance of the orders he had received from Lord Cornwallis, he repaired to the frontiers of North Carolina, at the head of a body of light infantry, consisting of men trained under his own direction. He placed himself in such a manner, as to waylay a corps of Americans who were on their march to join a larger body.

In the mean time, the Provincial troops were collecting from various quarters. They formed, upon their junction, a force much superior to that of the Colonel, who upon discovering their strength and intent, thought it advisable to retreat. But as they were excellently mounted, they overtook him. Finding that an engagement was unavoidable, he posted himself advantageously.

vantageously on a high ground, called the King's Mountain, where he waited the approach of the enemy.

They came up with him about four in the afternoon, upon the seventh of October. Their superiority in number enabled them to surround and attack him on all sides. After an action that lasted near two hours, he was slain, and his troops, after a very brave resistance, were totally defeated. The loss in killed and wounded amounted to upwards of three hundred; four hundred were made prisoners, and very few escaped.

This was a severe blow, both from the loss of men, and so excellent an officer. It elated the Americans in a very uncommon manner.—They had been of late under great despondency, from the repeated checks they had received in those parts, but this sudden turn of fortune seemed to promise a change in their affairs.

Encouraged by this success, they began soon after to form further projects for the total expulsion of the British forces from these parts. General Sumpter, one of their most active officers, having assembled a considerable body of men, proceeded towards the British posts in the upper country of South Carolina, with an intent to surprize them.—On receiving intelligence of his march, Lord Cornwallis sent orders to General Tarleton to hasten with all expedition to their relief.

The Colonel was at this time at such a distance from the enemy, that they did not imagine it was in his power to arrive in time to prevent them from executing their designs. But so great was his diligence, that he penetrated through a large extent of country, in which he had several deep and broad rivers to cross, and almost came up with General Sumpter before he was apprized of his motions.—The American General was preparing to pass the river Ennoree, when he was informed of Colonel Tarleton's approach. He had hardly time to

convey his main-body to the other side, but his rear-guard could not escape, every man being either killed or taken.

Hesled with the utmost precipitation.—But Colonel Tarleton pursued him with such rapidity, that he found it necessary to halt on the banks of the Tyger, not daring to cross it with the British troops pressing on his rear. He was partly induced to make a stand by the information that Colonel Tarleton, in the eagerness of his pursuit, had left his infantry some miles behind, and that the whole force with him did not amount to three hundred men.

Not doubting to put this handful to the rout before it was joined by the main-body, he drew up his own party, consisting of more than a thousand men, on a very advantageous ground; but Colonel Tarleton, notwithstanding his inferiority, attacked him, without waiting for the coming up of his people, with such astonishing vigour, that his party was broken, and compelled to cross the river in the utmost confusion.

In this engagement the Americans lost a considerable number of men: three of their Colonels were killed, and General Sumpter himself was dangerously wounded. They were closely pursued over the river, and their whole body was either destroyed or dispersed.

The success of this day added greatly to the reputation of the British arms, and struck no small damp upon the enemy. The circumstances of the engagement were singular in every respect. A thousand men, well armed, posted on a strong ground, and covered by several log-houses, had been defeated by a body of no more than one hundred and ninety horse, and a few foot, without the assistance of artillery.

In order to forward the communication between Lord Cornwallis, by the southern province, and the southern province, of three thousand choice

tched under the command of General Leslie, to the Chesapeake, with a view to occupy those places in its neighbourhood, that were most convenient to intercept any succours that might be on their way to the Caro-

lin troops sent upon this expedition landed accordingly in several places in Virginia, where they seized and destroyed a considerable quantity of provisions and stores, and made use of a great number of vessels in various rivers and harbours. But Cornwallis being apprized of the intention of Sir Henry Clinton was, that reinforcement should act entirely according to his orders, directed General Leslie to repair forthwith to the assistance of Sir Henry Clinton, and to join him with all or with one half of his force, leaving the other for the guard of that post and the security of the intercommunications between it and the army in his command.

The accession of strength enabled Cornwallis to make suitable preparations to penetrate into North Carolina towards the close of the year, which was the most favourable season for military operations.

The arrival of this reinforcement, and the plan proposed by Lord Cornwallis, were the more alarming to Congress as they were not in condition to oppose him, from the multiplied difficulties they had to encounter in a nearer quarter.

The earnest desire of General Arnold to signalise his return to the standard of Britain, induced Sir Henry Clinton to place him at the head of a considerable detachment, which he was commissioned to make a descent in Virginia. He accordingly sailed from New York with a strong convoy, and landing on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake, did some damage to the enemy in all parts.

prodigious destruction of mili-

tary stores, and of merchandise, upon this occasion, and the defeat of several bodies of men, together with the apprehension of still worse consequences, obliged General Washington to dispatch two thousand of his best troops to the assistance of the people of Virginia, to which the Count de Rochambeau promised to add an equal number of French. The Marquis de la Fayette was appointed to the command of this force.

In the mean time, as the alarm was daily increasing in Virginia, from the enterprising spirit and rapid movements of General Arnold, it was become necessary to make the quickest exertions in order to revive the courage of the Virginians. To this intent the French General, Count de Rochambeau, embarked with two thousand of his selectest men, and proceeded with the French Squadron from Rhode Island on the eight of March, eighty-one.

On intelligence of his departure, he was immediately followed by Admiral Arbuthnot, who overtook him off the Capes of Virginia on the sixteenth. The British line of battle consisted of one ship of ninety guns, three of seventy-four, and three of sixty-four. The French had two ships of eighty-four guns, two of seventy-four, and three of sixty-four.

An engagement took place; in which the French, according to their usual system, avoided as much as possible to come into close action. As they kept aloof, only part of the British Squadron could fetch them, which occasioned it to suffer much from the great superiority with which it had to contend: on coming up of the remainder, the French were soon broken, and compelled to retire with all speed; but the detriment sustained by those ships that had borne the whole weight of their fire was such, that it was found impracticable to pursue them.

But notwithstanding the retreat of the French Squadron rendered the victory inconclusive, the advantages gained

in other respects were very decisive. Admiral Arbuthnot had the satisfaction of frustrating the whole plan of operations formed by the French and Americans, respecting the ensuing campaign in Virginia. The Count de Rochambeau was compelled to return to Rhode Island, without daring to make the least attempt to land his troops; and those that were sent from General Washington's army, were blocked up by the British shipping at Annapolis, in Maryland, without being able to proceed to the intended relief of Virginia.

To the further mortification and alarm of the enemy, a strong reinforcement arrived from New York, under the command of General Philips, whose junction with General Arnold spread the greatest terror through the whole Province of Virginia.

Lord Cornwallis was at the same time preparing to force his way through North Carolina, and advancing at the head of a considerable force towards the frontiers of that province. The resources of the Congress were in such disorder at the commencement of this year, eighty-one, that they were not able to spare any of the troops belonging to the vicinity of New York, for the relief of the Carolinas, and were compelled to leave them entirely to their own exertions.

In this difficult situation, General Washington was compelled to part with an officer of whose services he then stood in the highest need, and to send him with all expedition to assist them in opposing the progress of the British arms. This was General Greene; whom, next to himself, the Colonies considered as the ablest officer in the American army.

Arriving in North Carolina, he found Lord Cornwallis on his march to the borders of that province, and on the point of entering it. He made the utmost efforts to collect a sufficient force to obstruct his motions; but not finding himself in a condition to face

him, he determined to make an attack upon some of the British posts in the upper part of the country, hoping by such means to oblige Lord Cornwallis to desist from his present design, in order to come to their relief.

The post which lay most open to an attempt was that called Ninety-six, which had been fortified, and well garrisoned; but which stood at such a distance from the main-body then with Lord Cornwallis, that General Greene thought it, for that reason, the properest object of an immediate attack.

In order to second the efforts of General Greene, he was attended by the most expert partisan among the Continentals: this was the celebrated Colonel Morgan; a man of the greatest personal bravery, and the most distinguished skill in that manner of fighting. He was in the American, what Colonel Ferguson had been in the British army, and had signalised himself upon so many occasions, both against the Indians and the British troops, that he was become a most formidable and dangerous enemy.

While General Greene was occupied in attacking the post at Ninety-six, Colonel Morgan was employed in observing the motions of the British army. To this intent he fixed himself near the river Pacolet, with a body of rifle-men and of cavalry, and a number of militia.

Colonel Tarleton was at the same time advancing with all speed to the relief of Ninety-six. He had orders to clear that part of the country of the American parties that infested it, and especially of that under Colonel Morgan. Pursuant to these orders, he pressed him so vigorously, that he was obliged to retreat hastily before him, till he was arrested in his flight by the Broad River, so called from its immense breadth, and of which it were so much out by the frequent falls of rain, that he found

stable in the presence of an enemy was now close upon his rear.

In this extremity he resolved to post men to the best advantage, and to call all his abilities to the test in the engagement which he now saw could no longer be avoided. He was confident that were he defeated, his whole army must either be taken or destroyed, and he knew that the success of the campaign depended materially on his reservation. Animated by these views, he made every disposition in favour of which the nature of the ground would admit. He formed his army in two divisions: the first, composed of militia, occupied the front of the wood; the second was drawn up in the wood itself, and consisted of his veteran and best troops.

Colonel Tarleton, upon coming up to the enemy, drew up in two lines; infantry in the center of each, and cavalry on the flanks. He attacked and routed the militia that fronted him, pursuing them into the wood, where they fled with the utmost precipitation.

His defeat and pursuit being what General Morgan had expected, he had provided for it accordingly. On the line giving way, he directed the wood to open on the right and left, and extend along the wood. The being thus cleared for those who their pursuers were suffered to follow them till they were sufficiently entangled in the wood for the end proposed; when on a signal given, they assailed on both sides with the dreadful discharge of rifle-pieces

behind the trees, almost every of which took effect. They were instantly thrown into the utmost disorder by this unexpected attack from an enemy they had not seen. Great numbers of the infantry was cut to pieces; the element that was most forward in pursuit, lost its colours by the fall of those who carried them; and two pieces of cannon were taken, after a obstinate and bloody resistance

from the artillery company, who were all killed or wounded to a man, fighting in their defence.

Notwithstanding the day was lost, Colonel Tarleton exerted himself with so much resolution, that he found means, amidst the confusion attending the rout of his people, to rally numbers of his cavalry; at the head of these he charged the enemy's horse, put them to flight, and recovered his baggage, which had been seized by a body of infantry, most of whom were slain upon the spot. This engagement happened on the seventeenth of February, eighty-one.

The ill fortune of this day was in many respects decisive of many subsequent events, and was heavily felt during the whole remainder of the campaign. It was in a manner a repetition of the disaster that had befallen the brave and unfortunate Colonel Ferguson, with this only difference, that Colonel Tarleton escaped with life, and made a retreat.

Upon receiving intelligence of this defeat, a body of light troops was dispatched by Lord Cornwallis with the utmost expedition, in order to come up with Colonel Morgan, retake the prisoners he had made, and prevent his junction with General Greene; but so quick were the enemy's motions, that they could not be overtaken.

The other forces destined to join General Greene being now on their march from Virginia, it became an object of essential consequence to prevent them, as from their accession, his strength would be augmented to such a degree, as to be alarmingly superior to the army of Lord Cornwallis. To enable the British troops to march with the greater speed, a resolution was taken at the same time to destroy all the baggage that could not be secured, and that was deemed an unnecessary incumbrance on the army's motions. Nothing of consequence was reserved but what was indispensably requisite for the absolute subsistence of the troops.

troops. A few waggons only were kept for the accommodation of the sick and wounded, and the transportation of salt and ammunition. The casks containing wine and rum were all staved, and they set forwards with no other provision than as much flour as the men and some horses were able to carry.

The troops submitted to all these inconveniencies with admirable temper and patience: they had before them indeed the example of their commander, who notwithstanding an ill state of health, cheerfully partook of all their hardships, and was no better provided for than the rest of his people.

At the head of a small, but brave and resolute army, prepared and determined to encounter all difficulties, Lord Cornwallis began his march towards the fords of the river Catawba. They were so vigilantly guarded by the enemy, that he was obliged to move a great length of way towards its head before a passage could be found. Even here his motions were so closely watched, that he was compelled to make a variety of feints, in order to elude the attention of the enemy.

But they continued to observe his movements so unremittingly, that he was obliged to risk the passage at a ford five hundred yards wide, where the men waded through the water up to their middle, exposed to a heavy fire from the enemy posted on the other side; but in spite of all obstacles, they forced their way over, and put the enemy to flight, killing numbers of them, among whom were their commander, General Davidson, a very valiant man, and several other officers.

The crossing of this ford was followed by the total defeat of another body of the enemy assembled at some miles distance, by Colonel Tarleton, at the head of his cavalry. He surprized them so completely, that they were instantly routed, with severe execution. This renewed the terror his former exploits had occasioned, and kept the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts

in such awe, that they did not dare to take up arms against the British army on its march, notwithstanding they were notoriously as disaffected a people as any on the whole continent.

The first object in view after crossing the Catawba, was the pursuit of Colonel Morgan; who on hearing of the British army's approach, retired before it with the utmost celerity, marching day and night to reach the banks of the river Yadkin; he was followed with great eagerness by the British troops, who were extremely impatient to be revenged upon him for the check received at Broad River. But notwithstanding the vigour with which they proceeded, so many impediments arose in their way, from the difficulty of the roads, and the swell of the waters every where, that they could not come up with him till the evening of the second day's pursuit; by which time he had passed over the main body of his infantry, and all his cavalry, with most of his baggage. His rear-guard was routed and dispersed, and the remainder of his baggage taken. But as the ford through which he had crossed became immediately impassable, through the rains that fell that very evening, Lord Cornwallis was obliged to direct his march to the upper fords of the river.

As General Greene had not yet been joined by the reinforcements from Virginia, the British troops hastened to cut off his communication from that province, by marching with all speed to the river Dan, which forms the upper boundary between North Carolina and Virginia.

Such was the celerity of Lord Cornwallis, that he fully succeeded in his design. Finding himself between that province and General Greene's army, he proceeded in quest of him with more expedition, as he now imagined that he would be compelled to gagement, in order to extricate. He had been informed the fords of that river, excepting which he now was making,

ble at this season, and that a sufficient quantity of boats could not possibly be procured to ferry over so largely as that under General Greene. contrary to his expectation, and intelligence he had received, he discovered that his pursuit of the American General was fruitless. The bridges on the roads were all broken down, the boats destroyed or removed, and every obstruction contrived to hinder his motions.—Arriving at Red Bank, he was informed that General Greene had crossed it some hours before, and was safe on the other side of the river with his whole army.

This was highly mortifying to Lord Cornwallis, who had entertained no prospect of overtaking and compelling to fight. As all hopes were at an end, he determined to prevent the junction of the American troops with General Greene; and as the British army was too feeble to follow him into Virginia, he determined to repair to Hillsborough, and take up his quarters there, in order to give his troops some rest, after the fatigues they had endured.

Notwithstanding they had failed in their design of intercepting the enemy, they had however enjoyed the satisfaction of forcing him to retire from the Carolinas, and had struck the people of those provinces with equal dread and admiration at the invincible courage and perseverance with which they had endured through a constant series of the most hardships. Destitute of every assistance and comfort, without any support excepting what was indispensable for existence, they had spent their days in continual toil, marching through high wastes and forests without roads or tracks, exposed to perpetual dangers, and passing the night without shelter, and open to all the inclemencies of weather.

While Lord Cornwallis was employed in these various expeditions, it was deemed highly expedient to gain some important post on the sea-side of

North Carolina, in order to establish a safer line of communication with him, than through that length of country by which it was now carried on with so much danger of interception. To this intent Colonel Balfour, who commanded at Charlotte, in the absence of Lord Cornwallis, commissioned Major Craig to proceed to Cape Fear river, at the head of a considerable detachment, under the convoy of Captain Berkley, with some ships of force.

The troops and marines landed at some miles distance from the town of Wilmington, situated upon that river, and the shipping entered it at the same time; upon which the place surrendered at discretion. Some vessels laden with goods and warlike stores were taken; a body of the enemy that had assembled in the neighbourhood, were defeated, with the loss of a great quantity of ammunition, and the whole adjacent country was entirely reduced to subjection. After which, the town itself was put into a state of defence, and endeavours made to open a communication with Lord Cornwallis, according to the directions he had given.

The possession of Wilmington, and the retreat of General Greene into Virginia, had revived the hopes of the Royalists in the back parts of North Carolina. Some hundreds of them assembled with an intent of repairing to the King's standard at Hillsborough; on intelligence of which a strong party of the enemy marched to intercept them. Colonel Tarleton was sent, on the other hand, to protect them, and they received notice to hold themselves in readiness to join him. Unfortunately, on the approach of the American detachment, they mistook it for that commanded by Colonel Tarleton; the consequence was, that they were surrounded, and made prisoners by the enemy, who were accused, on this occasion, of having killed many of them after they had asked for quarter.

This accident, though not of much importance

importance in itself, was of much disservice to the Royal cause, by discouraging many from joining the British standard who had been seeking the occasion of doing it, but were now deterred by the activity with which they saw that all intentions of this kind were frustrated.

In order to prevent any further attempts of this nature, and to encourage his own adherents, General Greene having been largely reinforced, repossessed the river Dan, and advanced into North Carolina. As the strength he brought with him was much superior in number to that of Lord Cornwallis, it was imagined that he proposed to risk an engagement on the first opportunity that offered.

Colonel Tarleton was detached with a small, but select body to watch his motions. On the second of March, eighty-one, he fell in with considerable numbers of the enemy, whom he attacked and routed, driving them to their main body, which apprehending the approach of the whole British army, fell back to an advantageous position, in order to wait with more security the arrival of a very strong reinforcement of Continental regulars that was daily expected.

As General Greene's light infantry was very numerous, and consisted chiefly of marksmen, they proved so troublesome, that it was determined, if possible, to circumvent, and destroy or capture them. After using much vigilance, they were at length surprized in their quarters, and defeated with such loss, that they were obliged to retire to their army, which Lord Cornwallis preparing to attack, General Greene seeing his people discouraged by the flight of his light troops, made an immediate retreat.

The position which he took was so strong, and at the same time so convenient, either to advance or retire, at pleasure, that Lord Cornwallis finding it impracticable to force the Americans to an engagement, contented

himself with keeping them from making irruptions into that part of the country which was represented to him as well affected to the British cause. But notwithstanding his care and circumspection in favour of those whom he deemed his friends, experience daily convinced him, that if they were not few in number, they were however very averse to join him: and that though they might be willing to submit to the authority of Britain, they had no inclination to run any hazard for its re-establishment.

The long expected reinforcements having at length joined General Greene, his army now amounted to upwards of seven thousand men, two thirds of which consisted of regular and well trained rifle and marksmen. With this force he no longer hesitated to face the British army, which did not much exceed two thousand men.

On the fifteenth of March, at day-break Lord Cornwallis set forward to meet the American General, who was reported to be advancing full speed to attack him. Colonel Tarleton falling in with the advanced parties of the enemy, charged them with his usual spirit, and put them instantly to the rout, pursuing them till he came within sight of their main body, which was drawn up in order of battle upon rising ground, not far from a town called Guildford.

Between the two armies lay a plantation, with some open fields on each side; beyond it stood, at some distance, a wood, about one mile in depth, the ground behind it being an extensive plain.—The ground where on the American army stood, was skirted towards the right of the British army with a continuance of wood.

The front of the wood behind the plantation was occupied by the line of the American army, the first of the North Carolina militia second was formed in the consisted of well disciplined men; the third, posted in

, was a chosen body of Continentals : their right and left covered by dragoons and rifle-

connoitring the disposition of the enemy, as the wood appeared less than bushy on their left, Lord Chesnut determined to make it the chief object of his attack. The bulk of his force admitted of no more than two lines. His right wing commanded by General Leslie; by Colonel Webster : a body of dragoons, with the cavalry, under Colonel Ker, were posted in readiness to move forward with facility every corps could before it, and to seize every opportunity.

The battle began about two in the afternoon; when after many severe combats on both sides, the superiority of the Americans enabled them to outflank the wings of the British army, and the main line was obliged to unite in front, in order to form an equal front with the Americans, until then, by extending their front, had called it with a heavy fire on the British position.

In this position, notwithstanding the inferiority of numbers, the British army pressed forward with a vigour which the enemy were not able to resist; their front line was entirely broken and put to flight. The British then entered the wood, to attack the main line; but it stood its ground with much more firmness. The imposing it were, in fact, little,

inferior to regulars: they made a most resolute defence, and were discomfited without much loss; neither did they betake themselves to flight, but fell back into a second line, consisting entirely of veterans.

The advantages of the ground were in the side of the Americans. The wood, wherein both armies were engaged, was so thick, that little could be observed in advance upon the enemy. The formation

of a regular line being impracticable, personal courage and intrepidity were now upon a parity with military skill and discipline.

In no one action during the American war, was the native bravery of the British nation more resolutely displayed, and more effectually exerted. — The battle was now become a trial of the strength, activity, and valour of every man that fought. The enemy that had been broken in the commencement of the action, now rallied every where, and the fight was renewed with the greatest degree of fierceness and obstinacy. Both parties engaged in separate detachments, unconnected with each other; but still the numerical superiority of the enemy empowered them to attack several of the British corps in their front, flank, and rear, and to inclose them in such a manner, as to oblige them, notwithstanding their inferiority, to present a face on every side.

In this manner the fight was carried on for a considerable time. The British troops however still continued to advance, and the enemy gradually to retire towards the further end of the wood. It was at length penetrated by a division of the British army; this was the second battalion of Guards. On their entrance into the plain, they found a large body of the enemy's regulars drawn up in readiness to receive them. But their attack was so impetuous, that the enemy was immediately routed, with the loss of their artillery, and driven into a wood in their rear. Here they recovered themselves, and the Guards pursuing them, received such a fire, that they were compelled to retire into the plain, where they were charged by the enemy's cavalry. The troops which they had before routed, having also rallied, took this opportunity to fall from the wood and retake their artillery. The enemy's great superiority in numbers had thrown the Guards into disorder; but their commander, General O'Hara, though wounded, by his spirited exertions

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exertions brought them again into order and action.

By this time other divisions of the British army had made their way through the wood, and charged the enemy as fast as they came up. They were so effectually supported by the artillery, commanded by Captain Macleod, and the cavalry under Colonel Tarleton, who successively arrived at this critical juncture, that after a bloody and hard contested conflict, the enemy was at last completely defeated in this quarter, with the total loss of artillery and ammunition.

But the action, though terminated here, still continued in other parts. A heavy fire was kept up on the right of the British army, where both sides maintained the fight with as much fury as ever. The appearance of Colonel Tarleton quickly decided the contest. He made so resolute, an onset, that the enemy was instantly broken, and obliged to fly to the thickest parts of the wood.

The remaining divisions of the British army that were yet engaged, had at the same time the good fortune to rout those that were opposed to them, who being informed that their principal troops had been worsted and put to flight, thought it necessary to consult their own safety, by withdrawing with the utmost speed.

So great was the want of provisions in the British army, that Lord Cornwallis was not able to follow the blow he had given the enemy. Their loss in slain and wounded was computed at above two thousand. But what was of more importance, the superiority of the British troops had been confirmed in so conspicuous a manner, that had not every kind of impediment and difficulty arose to obstruct their progress, such was the dread and terror they had inspired, that it was highly probable the success of this day would have been attended with the most fortunate consequences to the British arms.

The splendour of this victory was

clouded, however, by the loss of a number of brave officers and soldiers; small in itself, and in comparison of the glory and advantage that were obtained; but great, when weighed with the smallness of the army of which they formed so considerable a part, and with the professional merit of those who fell.—Among these Colonel Webster was highly and deservedly regretted: his services throughout the whole of the campaign in the Carolinas had been truly eminent, and he had in no little degree contributed to the gaining of the battle in which he lost his life.

Such was the zeal and resolution displayed by the British troops on this memorable day, that it was hard to decide who had distinguished themselves most. By the unanimous consent of all, no man could have exhibited more personal courage, as well as generalship, than Lord Cornwallis did upon this trying occasion. Notwithstanding an ill state of health, he was present wherever there was most danger. To the great satisfaction of the whole army, he had the good fortune to escape without a wound, though two horses were killed under him.

After residing at Guildford two days, during which they wanted bread, the exhausted condition of the country compelled the troops to quit that place, and to direct their march towards Wilmington.—They halted only two days more on their road to that town, in order to procure some provisions.—They now fully experienced how much they had been deceived in the expectation of being joined by numbers in those parts that had been the scene of their military operations. Though victorious, none of their adherents ventured to avow themselves, and take up arms in their favour. Lord Cornwallis issued a proclamation, in order to stimulate them, but it proved effectual.

After a tedious march of several weeks, the British army arrived at Wilmington on the seventh

Here the first care of Lord Cornwallis was to provide a sufficiency of supplies to enable him to take the field as soon as he had given his people that repose to which they were so justly entitled, after the long course of toil and hardships they had endured, and had submitted to with so much readiness and alacrity.

In the mean time, the inutility of the various plans that had been formed on the supposed co-operation of the friends to the British government, appeared in so strong a light, that all hopes of essential assistance from that quarter were totally at an end. The utmost that was looked for on their

part was a chearful submission to the British arms, in case of their success, and such accidental intelligence as they were able to convey without fear of a discovery.

It now became evident, that the spirit and activity of the party opposite to Britain, was incomparably superior to the exertions of its friends ; whence it was not unreasonably inferred, that notwithstanding all assertions to the contrary, the number of these was much smaller than had been represented, and that their timidity and backwardness proceeded from the consciousness of their inferiority in point of strength and number.

Hurricane in the West Indies.—Secret Treaty between Holland and America.—Rupture with Holland—Losses of the Dutch.

1781.

THE autumn of the year eighty was marked by one of the most dreadful and destructive hurricanes that was ever experienced in the West Indies. The damage done by it to some of the British and French islands, as well as to their shipping in those seas, was immense, and exceeded any losses, from such a cause, that had yet happened in that part of the world.

The British island that suffered most, was the longest settled, and most flourishing one, Barbadoes. It underwent almost a total destruction. The Islands of Jamaica, Grenada, St Vincent, and St Lucia, partook greatly in the general calamity.

The French islands of Martinico and Guadaloupe suffered also dreadfully. The principal towns in both were levelled with the earth. Multitudes were lost through the irruption of the sea, and the violence of the storm, especially at Barbadoes, where some thousands perished. Among the vast quantity of shipping cast away, were two British ships of the line, and seven frigates, besides other armed vessels. Several French ships of war met with the same fate.

The amount of the terrible losses incurred on this occasion, added to those that had befallen the nation during the preceding summer, by the capture of the East and West India fleets, with

part of that destined for Quebec, was so enormous, that it spread an extensive alarm throughout the realm. The expences of the war were annually increasing, while, through this accumulation of adversity, the means, of supporting it were considerably diminished.

From these motives the temper of the nation at large became sullen and disconcerted. It seemed to some, as if the present period had been marked by destiny for misfortunes and mortifications of every kind.

Such was the general disposition of the people, when an accident happened, which called up their attention in a particular manner, as it opened a new and very important scene to their consideration.

Since the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and the Colonies, an intercourse very inimical to the former had been carried on by the Dutch with the latter. Though not openly avowed by the States General, it was encouraged by numbers of individuals, not only of the commercial classes, who profited by it, but of other denominations. The conduct of France excited such a spirit of animosity to Britain, that all the representations which were made of the accruing to it, from such a being permitted or connive

pression on the States.

When France declared herself in favour of America, the French faction, which had been gradually gaining strength, determined to follow the example of that power; but in order at the same time to avoid the resentment of Great Britain, judged it safest to enter into a clandestine treaty with the Americans. To this purpose, a private negotiation was set on foot with the commissioners appointed by Congress. This negotiation was principally managed by the regency of Amsterdam, a city that had long been noted for its partiality to the cause of France, and its power unfriendly to Great Britain. The pensionary of this city, Jan van Berckel, a man of abilities, sworn enemy to the English, was the person who conducted this business. From his office a minister of state, of the greatest authority and influence, was speedily terminated; a friendship and alliance was settled between the Dutch and the Americans; of which the common enmity of both to the British nation became the strongest restraint.

The terms of the treaty were indeed liberal, and the treaty itself comendable; but the Americans were cleared with as a free and independent nation.

Though Amsterdam alone seemed to manage this occasion, yet the world stood, that the weight of this and powerful city was too heavy to be counterbalanced by that of the province, of which it was the chief, or even of all the Seven United Provinces.

It was from the knowledge of this secret, and the superiority of the French faction in Holland, that the rebels relied on the strength and authority of any measures and transactions that might take place between the respective agents of the contracting parties.

Still, however, this treaty was negotiated and concluded in the utmost

concealment and privacy. It was signed on the fourth of September, seventy-eight, by Mr. Donceville, a Dutch merchant, on the one hand, and Mr. William Lee on the other; both of whom had repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle for that purpose, in order to avoid all suspicion.

This transaction had now lain dormant two entire years; but the ruling powers in America were highly desirous that it should be brought to maturity, and openly acknowledged on the part of Holland. The events of these two years were such as encouraged them to think that the Dutch would not be backward to comply with their wishes. Much ill blood and altercation had been created between Great Britain and Holland, through the continual assistance given to France by the latter, and the resolute methods adopted by the former in order to prevent it.

Such was the situation of affairs, when Congress took the resolution to depute a person of the highest rank among them to Holland, in the character of an ambassador, to the intent of bringing the business of an alliance between both countries to a solid and effectual conclusion.

The person chosen for this important embassy was Mr. Henry Laurens, late President of the Congress, a gentleman of known abilities, and respectable character. The high station he had filled with so much propriety and applause, gave additional weight to the commission he was invested with, and it was hoped would prove a motive for accelerating the union proposed between Holland and America.

With this view and destination, he embarked at Philadelphia, in a vessel bound to Holland; but it was taken on its voyage, in the beginning of September, eighty, and all the papers relating to his mission were seized. He was himself, on his arrival in England, committed as a state prisoner to close confinement in the Tower.

The object of his commission being fully

fully discovered by his papers, the British ambassador at the Hague remonstrated in very spirited terms to the States General, on the unfriendliness and impropriety of suffering such transactions to pass unnoticed and uncensured in any of their subjects: He demanded a formal disavowal of the proceedings of the regency of Amsterdam, an adequate satisfaction for the insult offered to Great Britain, and a due punishment on the offenders.

The memorial to this purpose was presented to the States General on the tenth of November eighty, and was followed by another, still more pressing, on the twelfth of December: but neither of them produced any effect. The only answer that could be obtained was, that they would be taken into consideration according to the usages and forms customary in such matters; and that a reply would be given as soon as the nature of their government would admit.

This answer not proving satisfactory to the court of Great Britain, it came to the resolution of recalling the British ambassador from the Hague, and of proceeding to immediate hostilities against the subjects of the United Provinces.

A declaration was issued accordingly on the twentieth of December, wherein the conduct of the States General was severely reprehended, for their neglect of fulfilling the part of friends and allies to Great Britain, to which they were bound by so many treaties and for the unjust and inimical partiality constantly displayed in favour of France, and every other foe to the British nation, as well as for the countenance and support so notoriously afforded to the Americans. This conduct was imputed to the prevalence of the French faction in Amsterdam: it was specified in the declaration, that, were it practicable, the British government would direct the vengeance of Britain against that city alone, without involving the remainder

of the Dutch nation in the punishment which that part of it so justly merited. The utmost readiness was at the same time professed to return to the ancient union and amity between Great Britain and Holland, on this latter's giving satisfaction for its past, and security for its future conduct.

In this manner was added another enemy to the formidable combination already subsisting against this country. What rendered him the more dangerous was his proximity, and his great maritime strength. It was not, however, without the utmost astonishment, that the politicians of Europe beheld a connection formed between the House of Bourbon and the United Provinces. The dangers to which they exposed themselves by such a measure, were manifest; while the utility resulting from it was problematical.

In this critical situation of national affairs, a new Parliament was called, and met at the close of October. The Speech from the Throne was remarkably spirited, and descriptive of the resolution and success with which Great Britain had so nobly withstood and disappointed the efforts of its numerous enemies. It held out with great strength and animation of language, the necessity of continuing vigorously to exert the courage and power of the nation in order to obtain an honourable peace.

A warm debate was occasioned in the House of Commons by the motion for the address. The question so often agitated concerning the propriety of the American war, was again brought up and litigated on both sides with energy.

The violence which accompanied the reprobation of the American war, did not, however, prevent the thanks of the House being voted with unanimity to Sir Henry Clinton, Cornwallis, and Admiral Arbuthnot for their respective services in that part of the world.

In the mean time, the

became an object of serious discussion in and out of doors. On the 10th of Parliament, after the usual adjournment at the expiration of the year, a bill was delivered to both Houses of the Throne, conveying a formal declaration of hostilities being declared against that state.

Hostilities began against the Dutch on the 1st of January, by the detention of their shipping in the ports of England, and by the seizure of two men of war of fifty-four guns. On the granting of letters of marque and reprisal against them, a large number of privateers was added to those that were already in commission, and a great number of Dutch merchantmen were brought into the British ports.

Orders were dispatched at the same time to the commanders of the forces in the West Indies to begin hostilities against the Dutch settlements in those parts. Admiral Rodney was returned from his expedition to North America, and preparing to attack such of the islands as seemed least in a condition of defence, when he was apprised of the rupture with Holland, and he immediately commenced hostilities against the Dutch in the West Indies.

The most important of these was the island of St Eustatius, commonly called

Though not twenty miles in circumference, it abounded with riches from the vast conflux of trade from all the islands in those seas. Being a free port, it was open to the subjects of all the powers at war. By these means a communication was established between them, through which they were enabled to carry a commercial correspondence which greatly mitigated the inconveniences of war. The Dutch, whose mediation all trading was transacted, reaped, of course, an immense benefit from the numerous commissions with which they were entrusted, and from the vast sale of their merchandises which they dis-

posed of to all parties in virtue of their neutrality.

Such was the situation of this famous island when Admiral Rodney suddenly appeared before it with a naval and land force, which it was in no condition to resist. It surrendered therefore without any stipulations.

The value that fell into the hands of the captors was prodigious. It amounted, at a moderate calculation, to four millions sterling. Exclusive of what was found ashore, upwards of two hundred sail of merchantmen were taken, besides a ship of sixty guns, a frigate of forty, and five others from thirty to fourteen.

So little were the inhabitants of this island under any apprehensions of danger, that their warehouses were not sufficient to contain the quantity of commercial articles imported for sale. The very streets and beach were in the Admiral's own words, covered with hogheads of tobacco and sugar. The Governor could hardly give credit to the officer who summoned him to surrender.

The intelligence of this capture was the more agreeably received in England, as the loss fell chiefly upon the city of Amsterdam. The French and Americans were also considerable sufferers, and not a few of the British merchants; who trusting to the neutrality of the place, had consigned valuable cargoes to their correspondents there; and which, on its falling into the hands of Britain, were seized as Dutch property.

The settlements belonging to the Dutch on the southern continent of America, situated on the rivers Berbice, Essequibo, and Demerary, shared the same fate as Statia. They were taken by a squadron of privateers, who associated for that purpose. The treatment these settlements experienced was much more favourable than that of the people at Statia. The fact was, that no suspicions lay against them of having proved servicable in any degree.

to the enemies of Great Britain ; while on the contrary, Statia was looked upon as the magazine from whence the French islands were supplied with provisions, and all kinds of necessaries ; and whence the Americans drew immense quantities of warlike stores, as well as other articles of merchandize.

In consequence of the different light in which they were viewed, the former were left in possession of their private property and civil government. Previous to their being attacked, they had, upon information of the rupture between Great Britain and Holland, sent a deputation to Barbadoes, with offers to submit on terms usually granted in such cases and referring for that purpose to those upon which they imagined Statia had surrendered ; in these, however, they had the good fortune not to be involved.

The confiscation of mercantile property at Statia, occasioned heavy complaints among the British merchants in the West Indies, and in Britain itself. Warm representations were made upon the subject, followed by proceedings in the courts of law.—Hence animosities arose between the complainants and the commanders of the British armaments in those parts ; which it was thought, proved not a little prejudicial to the service.

The reduction of these various possessions of the Dutch in this part of the world, was felt by them in the most sensible manner. The profits derived from the commerce of which they were the mediators and managers, were immense. It was a commerce of ease and certain gain, as it was attended with no risk on their part, and consisted wholly in consignments.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

*Transactions in the West Indies.—Loss of Tobago and Pen-
—Continuation of the Siege of Gibraltar.—Transactions
and, Naval Operations against the Dutch.*

1781.

little progress made by the
deracy against Great Bri-
continued a matter of utter
t to Europe. With a de-
iority in number of ships
in favour of the former,
hitherto carried on with
quality of success on both
it was evident the palm of
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of the year eighty had
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f the sea, and had begun
campaign of the ensuing
he most alarming successes
Dutch allies.

to retrieve these disgraces
of France spent the winter
the greatest efforts to re-
let and enable it to return
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tain.

the end of March, eighty-
unt de Grasse sailed from
e head of twenty-one ships
and a fleet of merchant-
ships, consisting of near
ed vessels, on board of which
infant troops. His desti-
ned Martinico, where he
ined by another squadron.
strength under the British
s on the windward station
t this time to twenty-one
line : most of these were

detached under Admirals Hood and
Drake, to meet Count de Grasse, and
prevent his junction with the squadron
at Martinico.

On the twenty eight of April, they
received notice of the approach of the
French fleet, and took their position
between it and the harbour of Port
Royal. But notwithstanding their
vigilance, the various movements they
were obliged to make, in order to
come up with the French fleet, enabled
the ships in that port to sail out of it,
and join the Count de Grasse. By
this junction he had a superiority of
six ships of the line ; his force amount-
ing to twenty-four, and that under
Admiral Hood to eighteen.

Notwithstanding this great disparity
the utmost endeavours were used by
the British Admiral to bring the ene-
my to action. As the French were to
windward, it lay entirely at their op-
tion whether to accept or decline an
engagement. They adhered upon
this occasion to that sort of fighting
which they had constantly practised
ever since the beginning of the war ;
they engaged at too great a distance
for any decision, and kept so far aloof
this day in particular, as to throw their
fire entirely away during a great part
of the action.

It seems the French Admiral was
convinced that the British fleet,
through the variety of efforts it would
make to close in with him, would at-
ford some opportunity of taking it at a
disadvantage. This hope was in some
measure

measure accomplished. Its van, with some ships of its centre division, were in consequence of their endeavours to get near him, compelled to sustain such a superiority of fire, as did considerable damage to several of them, though not without still more detriment to those French ships with which they had been able to close.

After making various endeavours to approach the enemy, finding they were fruitless, from the caution with which they kept the weather-gage, Admiral Hood desisted from firing. His loss of men was very inconsiderable; but five of his ships suffered much from the excessive eagerness to bring on a close action, which had exposed them to the enemy's whole fire.

On the thirteenth of April, Admiral Hood made another effort to gain the wind of the enemy, in order to renew the fight; but after employing the whole day to that purpose ineffectually, on being apprized of the bad condition of several of his ships, he thought it most prudent to steer for the island of Antigua, to repair their damages. The French Admiral, on perceiving this motion, followed him with his whole fleet, and pressed so close upon his rear, that the British Admiral was compelled to make a stand for its protection; it was so resolute, and well conducted, that notwithstanding his great superiority, no other advantage was gained by the enemy than remaining unattacked in sight of the British fleet.

After it had been sufficiently resisted, and joined by the ships under Admiral Rodney, he proceeded to Barbadoes, in order to be at hand to observe the movements of the enemy.

The Marquis de Bouille, Governor of Martinico, had, in the mean time, formed a project for surprising St Lucia, the situation of which enabled the British fleet to keep the former island in continual alarm, and to discover and counteract all the motions of the French. To this intent, on the night

of the tenth of May, he landed a detachment at St Lucia, and summoned the garrison to surrender. Although it was at this time far from numerous, the commanders, after turning, a resolute answer to the message, prepared themselves with some judgment and courage to receive the enemy, that they quickly found obstinate resistance would be made.

On the twelfth Count de Grasse, the head of twenty-five sail of the fleet stood in for Gros Islet Bay, where he intended to cast anchor; but the fire from the batteries on shore obliged him to bear away without attempting it. The Marquis de Bouille was a more successful on his side. The dispositions made by General St Leu were so advantageous, notwithstanding the smallness of the force under his command, that the French did not dare to proceed in their intended attack and withdrew with the whole army to Martinico.

To compensate for this failure, a large body of French troops was dispatched to effect a landing on the island of Tobago. On their appearance the island on the twenty-third of May an express being sent to Admiral Rodney, six ships of the line were ordered to its assistance, under Admiral Drake, with a reinforcement of troops under General Skeene. — Admiral Drake, on his arrival in sight of Tobago, discovered the whole French fleet consisting of twenty-seven ships of the line, between him and the island. This rendering it impossible to fight a commission, he returned to Barbadoes.

In the mean time the French landed their troops, to the number of three thousand regulars. The whole force collected to oppose them did not much exceed four hundred men consisting chiefly of planters.

A large reinforcement arrived at Martinico, with the Marquis de Bouille accompanied with the whole fleet, under the Count de Grasse, who were now to closely press

very little hopes remained that would be able to maintain their d, especially after receiving notice body of troops intended for their nce, had been obliged to put to avoid falling into the hands French.

soon as Admiral Rodney was ned, that contrary to his expect- s, Count de Grasse had sailed Martinico, to support the attack Tobago, he weighed anchor im- tely, and repaired with the ut- ped to that island; but found, arrival, on the fifth of June, that already surrendered two days

while the French were thus em- l in the West Indies, their allies, paniards, were endeavouring to r those provinces on the conti- f North America which they had the preceding war. Don Ber- de Galvez was encouraged to in expedition against Pensacola, principal British settlement in Florida, which, after an obstinate e was obliged to surrender.

e successes of Spain in this re- part of the world did not, how- compensate for the constant dis- timent of all its efforts against ltar. The siege of this import- tress was continued at a prodigi- pence, but without making the rogress. No more had been ac- ished by the fleet and army that d it, than to reduce the garrison at straits for want of the proper ty of provisions; but this was onvenience to which it submitted a firmness and alacrity truly hing, and highly meritorious.

on the departure of Admiral y in the middle of February, the on waited till the month of Oc- without making any alteration e usual ratios; but as winter pproaching, the apprehension of nger and difficulty that might the sending of supplies at that f the year, induced Governor

Elliott to reduce the allowance of bread and of meat, and to make some other regulations necessary for enforcing the strictest economy in the article of food.

In the beginning of the year eighty- one, provisions began to be extremely scarce, through the expenditure of almost all that remained in the public stores, and the indefatigable vigilance of the enemy's cruisers, in cutting off the communication by sea. About the middle of February, the town bakers left off work, for want of flour; and many of the poorer sort wanted bread. At this time the price of fresh provisions was excessive. Small pigs sold at two guineas; turkeys at three, geese at thirty shillings; fowls and ducks at ten shillings; damaged biscuit a shilling the pound; pease eighteen pence; and all other necessities in proportion. The scarcity of fuel was more felt than of any other article, as it sometimes happened to be hardly sufficient for the dressing of victuals.

The distresses of the garrison were well known in England, as well as the absolute necessity of relieving them without delay. But the numerous demands of assistance from the various quarters of the world, where the war was now waging, rendered this service, however indispensable, a matter of the greatest difficulty.

The fleets of France and Spain were at this period lying ready prepared in port, for the purpose of obstructing any succours to this fortress. The force at Breil was calculated at twenty-six sail of the line, and that at Cadix at thirty.

To encounter this formidable arma- ment, no greater strength could be col- lected than twenty eight ships of the line: which indeed was no small effort, considering the prodigious exertions that Great Britain was at this hour making against such a number of en- emies.

This fleet was commanded by the Admirals Darby, Digby, and Ross, all officers

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officers of great professional excellence. It was, however, much doubted whether they would be able to accomplish so arduous a design as the relief of Gibraltar in the face of so formidable an opposition.

They sailed from Portsmouth about the middle of March eighty-one, with a convoy of four hundred merchantmen and transports, for the West and the East Indies. The necessity of taking in provisions detained them some time at Corke in Ireland; from whence they proceeded with the whole fleet for the places of their destination. The merchantmen having left them, to continue their respective voyages, they steered directly for Cadiz, where they found the Spanish fleet moored in the harbour.

Great had been the threats of Spain, that its naval strength would crush that of Great Britain, were it to attempt the relief of Gibraltar. To this intent, the number of ships composing the fleet at Cadiz was highly magnified, and every kind of exaggeration used in order to deter the British Minister from hazarding such a measure. The Spanish Admiral, Don Louis de Cordova, was ordered to cruise on the coasts of Spain and Portugal with the ostensible view of meeting and fighting the British fleet.

After keeping the sea about the space of three weeks, he was accidentally informed of its approach; upon which he withdrew expeditiously into Cadiz; sufficiently proving thereby to the world, how little he dared to look the English in the face upon terms of equality.

France on the other hand, was so taken up with the vast projects that she had formed in the West Indies, North America, and the East, that she reserved her naval strength totally for those purposes; thinking, probably, that Spain ought to prove herself able to provide effectually for the safety of her own coasts.

The British fleet, in the mean time,

conveyed the long-wanted supplies to Gibraltar. In this, however, they met with great obstruction from the besiegers. The gun-boats, already mentioned, were now much increased in number and strength of construction and infested the bay in such a manner as greatly to embarrass the debarkation of stores. As no vessels of the kind had been yet prepared to oppose them, it was with much difficulty that mischief they intended could be prevented.

Their intention was to set fire to the store-ships. To this purpose, they approached them every morning in calm weather, to the number of between twenty and thirty, several of them carrying mortar pieces. As they used both sails and oars, and withdrew the rising of any breeze, they eluded pursuit. They occasioned so much trouble, that several stout frigates were obliged to station themselves along the bay, for the protection of the shipping. This did not, however, hinder them from continuing their molestation. This was the greatest grievance to the British officers and seamen; as, notwithstanding their utmost vigilance and activity, they seldom could get sufficient near these gunboats to do them much damage, while, from continual experience, those who managed them had acquired such habitual dexterity, as to know with the nicest exactness what position to take to do the most effectual execution on any part of the town or bay they had in view.

But these were inconsiderable alternatives of vexation compared to the great object now attained: Gibraltar was now completely relieved, and put into a state that would long enable it to bid defiance to the enemy. This had been done in a manner equally honourable to Great Britain, and satisfying to Spain, as well as to both which it had been that Admiral Rodney's exertions at Gibraltar in the preceding

le last that the English would dare attempt.

While Europe expressed universal astonishment at the invincible spirit which the British nation had undertaken and achieved an exploit of so glorious a nature, the Court of Spain, shocked at this unexpected disappointment, determined on the prosecution of its intent with additional exertions. Works before the town were carried on with more vigour than ever, the most tremendous preparations were made to make it feel the resentment of an exasperated enemy.

Their batteries were mounted with some of the heaviest metal, and with tar-pieces of the largest dimensions. The number of the former amounted near two hundred, and of the latter above four score. The discharge of this prodigious artillery was continual. It continued day and night, with hardly any intermission, three full hours, during which one hundred thousand pounds of gunpowder were consumed, and four or five thousand iron shells were thrown into the air every twenty-four hours.

The narrow extent of the spot upon which this shower of destruction fell, too much exposed to escape its effects. The houses, in number about five hundred, were mostly destroyed; the inhabitants, computed at more than three thousand, experienced every calamity that could arise from the destruction of their dwellings: several of them were killed, and they were all constrained to remove out of the town, to take shelter at a distance under the rocks, with such accommodations as might be contrived in such a scene of confusion and horror.

On the departure of the fleet, numbers of them took that opportunity of leaving the town, and going home on board the transports. Many of them lived long in the place, in comfortable, and some in genteel circumstances, who were now reduced to great distress. Governor Elliott's treatment

of them was very humane and compassionate: they were allowed a free passage to England, and were supplied with provisions for the voyage.

In the beginning of June, the enemy had relaxed considerably in their firing, seldom exceeding six hundred shot in a day. They continued gradually to diminish it so remarkably, that towards the end of August, they seldom fired in the day, and only discharged six or seven, and sometimes not above three shot in the night.

But in default of the batteries on land, the gunboats proved a terrible annoyance. They renewed their attacks every day, and seldom failed doing more or less of execution, which though not material, served nevertheless to keep the garrison in perpetual alarms.

In order to restrain them, a battery of guns peculiarly calculated to throw their shot to a great distance, was erected as near as possible to the enemy. As it reached their very camp, it was determined to open it upon them as often as the gunboats made their attacks. This being soon perceived by the enemy, they thought it prudent to desist in some measure from a mode of hostility which they found was constantly productive of another no less destructive to themselves.

By the close of November, the besiegers had with immense toil and expence, brought their works to that state of perfection they intended.—The care and ingenuity which had been employed upon them were extraordinary; and it was generally expected that they would be accompanied with the end proposed. The best engineers in France and Spain had united their respective abilities upon this occasion, and both kingdoms were filled with the most sanguine expectations of their success.

While Europe stood, as it were in suspense concerning the fate of Gibraltar, and many imagined, from the prodigious efforts of the besiegers, it could

could not make a much longer resistance, the British Governor was meditating in what manner to overthrow at once their long cherished hopes, by the total destruction of what had required so much time, skill, and labour to accomplish.

In the night of the twenty-seventh of November, a chosen body of two thousand men was assembled, in order to sally from the town, and destroy the enemy's advanced works and batteries. They marched out with great order and silence, about two o'clock in the morning, under the command of Brigadier-General Ross. They proceeded with the utmost speed to the enemy's works, which they attacked and stormed with the most astonishing rapidity. The enemy were thrown into such confusion, that they fled on every side. The guns and mortars on the batteries were all spiked. The artillery-men, artificers, and sailors, exerted themselves with so much vigour, that in the space of an hour, the magazines of powder were blown up, the store-house of arms, ammunition, and military implements of every kind, and all the works that had been constructed, were set on fire, and totally consumed. The damage done to the enemy upon this occasion was prodigious: it was computed at near two millions sterling.

This bold and well conducted action struck the enemy with a surprize and dread of the resolution and dexterity of the besieged, from which it was evident by their subsequent operations, they were a long time in recovering. The hopes entertained by their best officers began to diminish. Nothing but the disgrace of abandoning an enterprise on which the honour of the Spanish nation seemed in a manner to depend, prompted them to continue it, after this decisive proof of the precariousness of all their efforts and exertions.

The Parliamentary debates upon those various subjects which were the consequences of the American War, employed, as usual, the attention of the

public. But they were not carried with that energy and perseverance during this session, which had attended them in the last. Opposition was some measure grown weary of a contention which was evidently fruitless and produced infinite pains and struggles to no purpose. The nation itself was become careless and inattentive in many respects to the proceedings of Parliament in all cases of this nature from a conviction that whatever were the desires of the public, they would be contradicted and slighted, if opposed to those of ministry.

It was an object of no small surprize that while meetings were held in many countries, cities, and towns, for the purpose of reprobating Parliamentary measures, and petitioning the legislature for a total change in the political system of this country, the members chosen by those very places should act and vote in manifest and constant opposition to the sense of the constituents.

In the mean time, the rupture with Holland, and the losses incurred by the Dutch, occasioned great discontent and complaints in some of the Provinces: that of Zealand in particular which from its commercial interest was more closely connected with Great Britain than the others, expressed strong averfeness to the hostile disposition they professed.

These remonstrances, however well founded, made no impression on the States. The French faction was now become so powerful, that all reasoning and argument was over-ruled, and the resolution taken to prosecute hostilities against Great Britain with the same vigour.

The naval force of the United Provinces bore at this time no proportion to its splendour in the days of its former strength of England and France, when it was able to meet the French on the ocean, and was equally respected by the admirals of the two nations. Fourteen years were now past since they had been met

any naval war. During
crisis, their shipping had
engrossed by the occupa-
ce and commerce; and
the last power, against
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it compelled to draw the

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fifteen ships of fifty guns,
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ce arriving in France, that

wards, escorted only by four ships of
the line, twice as many were dispatch-
ed under M. de la Motte Piquet, who
fell in with it on the second of May
eighty-one, and captured more than
half the convoy. The remainder took
shelter in the nearest ports in Ireland.

The British ministry was meditating
on the other hand, in what manner to
reduce most effectually the power of
Holland. The readiest method to
compass this end, was obviously by at-
tacking its foreign settlements; which
from a long duration of peace, were
not sufficiently prepared to resist a
sudden and vigorous attempt.

To this intent a squadron was fitted
out, consisting of a seventy-four a
sixty-four and three fifty gun ships,
with some frigates and other vessels.
A body of three thousand men in
transports accompanied it. Commo-
dore Johnston commanded the squad-
ron, and General Meadows the troops.

The object of this expedition was
the Cape of Good Hope; by depriv-
ing the Dutch of which, their commu-
nication with the East Indies would
have been materially interrupted, if
not in a manner cut off. Alarmed at
the danger of losing this important
possession, they applied to the court of
France, for timely assistance against
the design, which, they doubted not,
was in agitation in England.

France being little less interested
than Holland itself, in the preservation
of this place, readily exerted itself for
the protection of it against Great Bri-
tain. M. de Suffrein, an officer of
great courage, sailed immediately with
five ships of the line, besides frigates,
and a body of land forces to oppose
the British armament.

Commodore Johnston had in his
way to the Cape, stopped at the Cape
Verd Islands, to wood and water his
ships, and refresh his men. He now
lay at anchor in Port Praya in the
island of St Jago. So little was the
approach of an enemy suspected, that
numbers belonging to the troops and
squadron

squadron, were at that time on shore, employed in occupations relative to the shipping, or from motives of relaxation.

On the morning of the sixteenth of April, the French Squadron under M. de Suffrein was descried coming round a point at the eastern extremity of the harbour. On this discovery, signals were expeditionally thrown out for the people ashore, to hasten on board, and every preparation was made to receive the enemy.

Notwithstanding the British Squadron was completely surprised on this occasion. It stood the attack of a much superior force, with a coolness and resolution, at which the French were equally astonished and perplexed; as they had promised themselves victory from the inferiority of the English and the disorder in which they found them.

M. de Suffrein at the head of his line of battle ships, penetrated into the midst of the British shipping, which including East Indiamen and transports, amounted to about forty sail. Three of the French ships dropped their anchors, and commenced a heavy cannonade; which was returned with great spirit from every ship in the British fleet, that could bring its guns to bear upon them; the East India men particularly seconded the ships of war with great promptitude and effect.

While M. de Suffrein lay at anchor engaging the fleet, his two other line of battle ships ranged along the harbour, directing fire where it could do most execution. The fight was continued in this manner during an hour; when one of the three French ships at anchor, having lost her captain, the crew cut her cable and quitted her station. M. de Suffrein's own ship was obliged to sheer off in the same manner: the third, after losing all her masts, was towed off in a most shattered condition, and did not effect her escape without the utmost difficulty.

They were pursued in their retreat

by Commodore Johnston, who did utmost efforts to overtake them; he was prevented from continuing pursuit far, by the inferiority of force he had to follow and encounter them, the detriment it had received action, the lateness of the hour at which he was able to stand out to sea against them, and above all, the danger being carried out of the tract of destination, in the very uncertainty of a flying enemy.

Thus ended a conflict, wherein the French had not unreasonably pronounced themselves the fullest success, when it is considered at what a disadvantage they had taken the English. The honour acquired by these in facing and repelling, upon so short a notice, an enemy every way so superior, was acknowledged to be extraordinary. It made no small impression on those who were competent judges of the uncommon efforts of activity and valour, which they must have exerted upon so critical an emergency.

Having repaired the damages received in this engagement, the British Squadron left Port Praya, on the prosecution of its original plan. Some of the best sailing frigates were dispatched to explore the situation of the enemy. They had the good fortune to capture a Dutch East Indiaman, laden with warlike stores and provisions, and a large sum of money for the settlements.

They learned at the same time, that M. de Suffrein with a fleet of transports was arrived at the Cape, and had landed a very considerable body of troops for the protection of the Dutch colony. The French had put it into a strong state of defence, and furnished it with a numerous garrison which, added to the strength already there, exceeded that which was continued to attack it.

On receiving this intelligence, British commanders thought it would be imprudent to persist in an attack that had been formerly

place. In order, however, not to return home without having annoyed the enemy, the armament proceeded to the Bay of Saldana, lying about forty miles north of the Cape, where they had been informed, that a number of Dutch East Indianmen lay that were homeward bound, and waited the arrival of some French ships of force, before they durst continue their voyage.

Commodore Johnston having with great industry and personal exertion, fully reconnoitred their situation, entered the Bay on the twenty-first of July, and surprised them, before they were able to accomplish the destruction of their ships which they had intended sooner, than suffer them to fall into his hands. Four out of five were taken, and preserved from the flames, through the courage and dexterity of the seamen. They proved very valuable prizes; none being under a thousand tons burden: three came from China, and one from Bengal.

The critical situation of the Dutch was well understood in England. The weakness of their marine, and the difficulty of putting it on a respectable footing were well known; but the immense weight of hostile power, against which Great Britain was obliged to bear up on every side, precluded those exertions, of which the utility was apparent, from being carried to a sufficient extent, for the full accomplishment of the design proposed.

It was not without great dint of management, that a squadron was provided for the purpose of watching the motions of the Dutch on their coast. They were employed in equipping a number of their stoutest ships, for the protection of a large fleet of merchantmen, bound to the Northern Sea. The command of them was given to Admiral Zourman, a resolute and experienced seaman. The force he had consisted of eight ships of the line, from seventy four to fifty four guns, ten frigates, and some other armed vessels.

Most of their frigates, were very large, and carried uncommon weight of metal.

The British Squadron was commanded by Admiral Hyde Parker, a veteran officer, of noted intrepidity. He was, at this time, conveying the homeward bound trade from the Baltic, amounting to upwards of an hundred sail. On the 5th of August, he fell in with the Dutch Squadron on the Dagger Bank, accompanying a numerous fleet of merchantmen going to the Baltic. As soon as Admiral Parker had provided for the safety of his convoy, by detaching most of his frigates for its protection, he bore away to the enemy. His strength consisted of an old eighty gun ship, that carried no heavier metal than a fifty, an old sixty that had been discharged, but newly refitted for service, two seventy-fours, a sixty four and a fifty; to which he was obliged to add a frigate of forty-four guns, in order to supply the inequality of his line of battle in number to that of the enemy.

The action began at eight in the morning, with in less than musket-shot distance. It lasted near four hours, with equal bravery on each side. The fire from the English Squadron was kept up with uncommon spirit, and did dreadful execution; some of the ships discharged above two thousand shot. The Dutch frigates seconded their line with great resolution, by taking such positions, as enabled them to rake the British shipping; which for want of an adequate proportion of frigates, could not assail the enemy in the like manner.

But, notwithstanding this deficiency the Dutch frigates were, in a short time, silenced, and compelled to withdraw. In the mean time, both squadrons had received so much damage, that about noon they were become equally unmanageable. The British Admiral used his utmost skill to keep the ships in a line, and to continue

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the action; but found it impracticable. The Dutch were in the same situation. After lying to a considerable time near each other, the Dutch having suffered most, did not think it advisable to renew the engagement, and in order to save the convoy, of which they had charge, and which was of immense value, they took the resolution to bear away with it to the Texel.

But though the Dutch squadron effected an escape, it was in so shattered a condition, that it could hardly be preserved from sinking. It was with the utmost difficulty brought into port by the help of the many frigates that fortunately attended it. One of the largest ships, mounting seventy guns, went to the bottom in the night after the action; and most of the rest were rendered totally unserviceable.

Such was the issue of this celebrated engagement, the first that had happened between the English and the Dutch for upwards of a century. The valour and emulation displayed by both parties was in no wise inferior to that which had been exerted by their respective ancestors, when contending for the empire of the ocean, in the days of Cromwell and Charles the Second.

The slain and wounded on board of the British squadron, amounted to about four hundred and fifty, among whom were several officers of very superior merit; but the same list on board of the Dutch ships, though endeavoured to be concealed, was well known to exceed a thousand.

The victory was indisputably on the side of the British Admiral. He remained with his squadron on the place of action after the enemy had quitted it. The Dutch squadron was obliged to abandon to their own care the merchantmen under its convoy, and these were compelled to drop the prosecution of their voyage, and make

the best of their way to their respective homes.

This was the severest disappointment that could have befallen the Dutch; in this fleet were centered the hopes and resources of the mercantile classes, which had been at a vast expence in fitting it out for its usual destination to the northern parts of Europe: they now saw themselves totally excluded from that principal fund of their commercial opulence, and obliged, to their great mortification, to have recourse to the assistance of France for protection on their own coasts.

The States General of the Seven United Provinces, were fully sensible of all these calamities: but they prudently buried them in silence, and adverted only to the necessity of reviving the courage of the public, and preventing any popular despondency. The valour of those officers and men who had fought in the late action was extolled in the warmest terms; honours and rewards were decreed to them in the most ample and generous manner, and nothing was forgotten to impress the world with the highest sense of their merit, and to excite a spirit of emulation throughout the people.

The glory and success of this engagement were duly acknowledged in England: but heavy complaints were made that a sufficient force had not been assigned to Admiral Parker, for the purposes that might have been accomplished on this occasion. Had his squadron been properly reinforced, which it was asserted might have been done, no doubt was entertained, from his known bravery and abilities, that a total destruction, or capture of the Dutch squadron and convoy, would have been the consequence.

On the return of this British squadron to the North, the service done by the Admiral was noticed in the most distinguished manner.

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red him with a visit, and treated with those marks of attention and respect to which he was so eminently entitled.

During the remainder of the year the ports of Holland were completely

blocked up, and their trade intercepted from the most beneficial quarters.

The Dutch who had not for a century experienced any of the distresses arising from a naval war, now felt them to a great extent.

BOOK

CHAP.

(4 434)

C H A P . XXXIX

The French defeated at Jersey.—Siege of Minorca.—Naval Operations in the Channel.

1731.

NEVER had the intrigues of France been so successful against Great Britain as in the present war. She had contrived to kindle an unextinguishable flame in the British camp. She had persuaded Spain, against the clear interest of that monarchy, to unite with her in asserting their independence. She had involved the seven United Provinces in a quarrel with their ancient and sure ally. She had drawn all Europe into a confederacy for the destruction of the naval power of this country, and had deprived it of all its allies, and almost of all its well wishers.

In the midst of this storm, Britain seemed, however, to brave its enemies, not only by the greatness of the spirit with which she encountered them, but no less by the prodigious multiplicity of her resources. In the beginning of the year Eighty one, the maritime strength of all Europe was drawn out against her; but the list of her fleets and armies afforded them no reason to hope that her power was on the decline. Her internal defence was provided for in such a manner, as precluded all expectations of making the least impression upon this island. She had numerous forces in the East and West Indies, and was making the most vigorous efforts in America. Her navy was on the most formidable footing, consisting of no less than four hundred and thirty vessels, in most excellent condition, and manned with the best and bravest seamen in Europe, even

by the confession of her very enemies.

The fleets of France, Spain and Holland did hardly more than equal those of Great Britain in number, but were far inferior to them in goodness of construction. The sailors, those of Holland excepted, were chiefly composed of landsmen, unused to, and averse to that element on which they were compelled to serve. France, with all its exertions, did not reckon more than two hundred and sixty-four vessels of all rates; and Spain not upwards of one hundred and twenty-four; Holland counted but sixty.

The residue of European marine in actual commission among those powers who formed the armed neutrality, amounted to no more than eighty ships of all sizes. Of these, twenty nine belonged to Russia, thirty to Sweden, and twenty five to Denmark. Such were the estimates of the naval force of the maritime powers in Europe, about the commencement of the year eighty one.

France in the mean time was meditating how to avail herself of the advantages accruing from the present confederacy in her favour. She had hitherto been foiled in every crisis of moment. Saving some insignificant successes in the West, her navy had been worsted. Notwithstanding the superiority of her fleets, in conjunction with Spain, had appeared in

coast, nothing of the least consequence had hitherto been effected. Her only attempt she had ventured to make in the channel, was on the island of Cayenne, lying in the sight of her own coast, and in that she had completely

in remembrance of this failure, and the disgrace of having manifested to the world her inability to dispossess herself of an isle situated at her very doors, induced her at the opening of this year, to repeat an attempt, which Europe testified its utmost surprise that France should ever have ventured till she had succeeded. Her first person pitched upon to conduct the enterprise, was the Baron de Rullecourt, a man of courage, but of a violent and violent disposition. He was then second in command upon the island, and he was to repeat the attempt. The force entrusted to him consisted of two thousand men. With those he embarked, every tempestuous weather, hoping from this circumstance, that as soon as the French would not be expected, he would be able to surprize the gar-

ry of his transports being disabled by the storm, he was obliged to tarry with the remainder among the islands, in the proximity of Jersey. As soon as the weather grew calm, he seized the opportunity of the night, to effect a landing at a small bay named Grouville, where he made a party of militia. From there he proceeded with the utmost secrecy to St Helier's, the capital of the island, about three miles distant : he upon it so unexpectedly, that he landed on a body of men that he had not expected, together with the commanding officer and the magistrates of the island.

He then drew up a capitulation, the terms of which were, that the island should be forthwith surrendered to him, and the garrison be sent to England. He required instant compliance, threatening, upon refusal im-

mediate destruction to the town. The Deputy Governor and Magistrates represented to him, that being in his power, no authority of theirs could any longer be valid, and that the troops would of course refuse obedience to them. But the French commander persisting in his requisition, and menaces, the capitulation was signed, in order to prevent him from carrying them into execution.

Having gained this point, Baron Rullecourt advanced to Elizabeth castle, near the town, which he summoned to surrender in virtue of the capitulation signed by the Deputy Governor, whom he compelled to accompany him ; but the garrison returned him a peremptory refusal, and made so vigorous a discharge of their artillery upon him that he was obliged to withdraw into the town.

The British troops stationed in the island, on being apprized of what was passing, assembled in the mean while from every quarter, under the command of Major Pierston, who on being required by the French commander to submit, returned for answer, that if the French themselves did not lay down their arms within twenty minutes, he would attack them.

In consequence of this message, after making a very able disposition of his troops, he charged the enemy with so much impetuosity, that in less than half an hour they were totally routed, and driven from the houses they had occupied, into the market-place, where they endeavoured to make a stand.

Baron Rullecourt enraged at a resistance, which he had not expected, forgot the magnanimity for which the French officers are so justly renowned, so far as to force the captive Governor to attend him to the spot of action, declaring that he should partake of the same danger as himself : that gentleman was compelled to stand by his side during the conflict in the market-place : but it was quickly terminated ; the French were soon broken

On all sides, the Baron himself mortally wounded, and the next in command obliged to deliver up himself and his party prisoners of war in order to avoid being cut to pieces.

The splendor of this success was greatly clouded by the death of that gallant young officer, to whose conduct it was chiefly owing. Major Pierlon unhappily fell by one of the last discharges from the French. He was but in the twenty-fifth year of his age. His loss was deeply lamented not only by the troops and inhabitants of Jersey, but by the whole nation. The military abilities which he had displayed on this occasion, justified the highest presumptions of what he might have proved, had he been so fortunate as to survive.

Of the whole force that landed upon the island, amounting to upwards of eight hundred men, not one escaped. They were all either killed or taken. What added greatly to the honour of the British troops, they were chiefly new levies, few of whom had ever been in action.

This second defeat of the French at Jersey, was no small mortification to their ministry, which had long been earnestly desirous of mastering that and the neighbouring island of Guernsey. It grieved them the more, as it proved, that notwithstanding they both lay in the perpetual view of France, they were objects of desinace much more than of acquisition on that monarchy, and might be considered as an invincible argument of the real superiority Great Britain preserved in the Channel, in spite of the transitory parade of the French and Spanish fleets.

Another island, however, offered itself to their consideration at this time, of more importance in itself, and of more general utility to the furtherance of their designs. This was Minorca, of which the conquest was not only more practicable, on account of its remoteness from assistance; but

would also ingratiate them with Spain, and contribute to remove the dissents with which that kingdom had been filled against France, for having drawn it into a contest that had proved hitherto so expensive and ruinous.

The formation of this enterprise took place early in the year, but was for some time retarded by the length of the preparations it required. They were not completed till towards the close of June, when M. de Guichen sailed from Brest, at the head of a squadron consisting of the most formidable ships in the French navy: they were eighteen in number, five of which carried one hundred and ten guns. They were joined at Cadiz by thirty Spanish ships of the line, and a large number of transports, carrying a body of ten thousand regular troops.

Great Britain had now so many objects to employ her attention, and they were all of such moment, that a sufficient strength could not be collected in time to prevent the junction and intended movements of the French and Spaniards, at the period and distance at which they were made.—They left Cadiz about the end of July, and landed their forces at Minorca the twentieth of August. Here they were shortly joined by about six thousand French from Toulon. The combined army of both Crowns was under the command of the Duke of Crillon, a French General of great reputation.

It was the fate of Minorca, at this juncture, to be totally unable to make any effectual resistance against so powerful an enemy. The garrison consisted only of four regiments, two of them British, and two Hanoverians; they were excellent troops, and commanded by two Generals of the highest abilities and bravery, General Mordaunt and Sir William Draper, both of whom had in happier times remarkably distinguished themselves, the former in North America, the latter in the East Indies.—But the

and from that reason, as well as the smallness of their number, inadequate to the defence that would be necessary against such a multitude of assailants.

From these causes, much more than from the vigour and efforts of the British fleet, it was soon foreseen, that the preservation of Minorca would be a very difficult, if not an impossible undertaking: especially the obstructions in the way of all measures were taken into consideration.

The troops of France and Spain were laying siege to Minorca, asking of which they proposed to deliver a final blow to the British in the Mediterranean. It was determined, in order to display the power of the House of Bourbon, that their fleets should at the very same time attack those of Great Britain on their own coast. To this purpose, the combined squadrons having been reinforced on their way, entered the channel about the middle of July, to the number of more than thirty sail, about fifty of which were French.

Their intent was to intercept the commercial fleets expected home at the season of the year, and to prevent the sailing of those that were bound to the British settlements.

As their multitude enabled them to stretch across the entrance of the channel, it was resolved in England, notwithstanding their vast superiority, to send a naval force then in readiness, consisting of thirty ships of the line, to proceed immediately to sea, to counteract all dangers for the protection of the home bound fleets.

Admiral Darby, who commanded the British fleet, prepared accordingly for the execution of his orders; and with great alacrity and determination followed him, was manifested by his conduct and men: but he was detained by contrary winds in Torbay till the 18th of September; during which the British fleet remained in possession

of the sea adjacent to the West of England, and the South of Ireland, and occasioned no little alarm for the security of the trade returning from Jamaica and the Leeward islands.

The wind still confining the British fleet in Torbay, the French and Spanish Admirals, on information of its inferiority, debated about the propriety of attacking it in that position. Don Vincent Diaz, one of the Spanish commanders, insisted, with great strenuousness on the disgrace that would attend the neglect of such an opportunity of attacking the English, with so superior a strength as that which could now be brought to act against them. He offered to be foremost in the attempt.

The proposal of this spirited officer was highly applauded by the chief commander of the French, M. de Guichen. He looked upon the present occasion as the most auspicious that could be found. The principal part of the British navy was now blocked up in a bay, from whence there was no outlet, and where, if defeated, every ship must be taken or destroyed. It was highly probable, considering the vast superiority of the combined fleets, that of Great Britain would be worsted. Such an event would at once terminate the war, to the utmost honour and advantage of the House of Bourbon and its allies. But were they, on the contrary, to decline an engagement, all Europe would brand them with timidity, and interpret their conduct as a tacit acknowledgment of the superior skill and courage of the English.

These arguments were strongly opposed, on the other hand, by M. de Beaufort, the second in command to M. de Guichen. He contended that the situation of the British fleet would enable it to fight them at their great disadvantage: they could not attack it in a body, but must form their line a-head, and fall down singly upon the enemy.—This would expose every ship.

ship to the collected fire of the whole British fleet, lying fast at anchor, and drawn up in such a manner, as to point all its guns at any object within its reach. He touched also on the bad condition of the combined fleets, the weak state of most of the ships, the Spanish especially, the number of sick, and several other disadvantages.

The reasons he laid before the French and Spanish commanding officers appeared so well-founded, that it was determined to abandon the design of attacking the British fleet in Torbay and to turn their attention to the easier task of way-laying that which was coming from the West Indies. As it consisted of merchant-men, the taking of it would be attended with facility, and the loss to England would prove immense.

With these intentions, the combined fleets bore away from the Channel, and stationed themselves in the track through which the West India trade was expected; but the weather became shortly so tempestuous, that they were obliged to relinquish this design, and make the best of their way to their respective ports.

In this manner ended their summer cruise in the British seas this year, as it had done the preceding. Notwithstanding the motives they alledged for this retreat, the majority of people in Europe attributed it to their averiness to risk a decisive engagement with the British fleet. The opinion became general, that either their ships were defectively constructed, or ill found in proper requisites, if not both; and that they were, at the same time, manned with people in whom their commander's durst not place much confidence.

In the mean time, the British mercantile fleets arrived safe from every quarter, to the great mortification of both France and Spain. As their finances began to totter more than ever, they had exerted themselves to cut off those resources for the prosecution of

the war arising through the prodigious importations of wealth from the transmarine possessions of Great Britain. It was not, therefore, without deep-felt concern, the French ministry beheld its efforts to this essential purpose so completely, and so reiteratedly frustrated by an enemy, whose humiliation they were conscious would never be accomplished by any other means.

In order to balance the failure of this design, it was resolved to give the fullest support to those that were prosecuting elsewhere. Large reinforcements of troops, and great quantities of provisions, naval and military stores, were with all diligence prepared for the various parts of the world where the war was waging. The convoy was so numerous, and of such value and importance, that M. de Guichen was commissioned to accompany it till out of danger of being intercepted, with twenty of the largest ships of the line that could be provided—Five of them mounted one hundred and ten guns.

These preparations did not however escape the vigilance of the British ministry. A strong squadron was dispatched under Admiral Kempenfeldt, to cut off this convoy, of which the arrival at the different places of its destination, would have proved highly injurious to the British interest in those parts. He fell in with it on the twelfth of December, eighty-one. Happily for him, the transports had been parted from the men of war by a violent storm. This enabled him to capture above twenty of them: the want of frigates prevented the taking of many more.

Most of the remaining part of the convoy was in consequence dispersed, and obliged to put back.—But Admiral Kempenfeldt, on recognizing the force of the enemy, soon superior to his own, that it would be the height of imprudence to venture an engagement,

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at twelve ships of the line, he declined the contest and withdrew into port. The value of the prizes he had taken was very considerable; they were laden with all kind of articles requisite for land and sea-service, and with all manner of provisions and necessaries. Near two thousand soldiers and sailors were made prisoners.

HAD

CHAP

CHAP. XL.

Transactions in India to the Close of Eighty-one.

DURING these transactions the British Empire in the East was experiencing great vicissitudes of fortune, and seemed exposed to the same dangers as on the continent of North-America.

Those who presided over the possessions of Great Britain in that rich and extensive quarter of the globe, were at this time involved, from various causes, in a perilous quarrel with the two most potent of their neighbours. These were the warlike and populous nation of the Marattas, and the celebrated Hyder Ally, one of the greatest politicians and warriors that was ever known in India. From small beginnings he had, through courage and artifice, arrived to a degree of power that rendered him the most considerable Prince in that part of Asia; but his views were not yet satisfied; his active and capacious mind had long been forming plans of further aggrandisement, and he was now engaged in the full career of their prosecution.

Some years antecedent to the present period, the East India Company had been involved in a dangerous contest with him, which was terminated by a treaty, wherein it was reciprocally agreed, that both should assist each other against their enemies. A war breaking out shortly after between him and the Marattas, he claimed the assistance of the Company in virtue of this stipulation; but they refused it; alleging their apprehension to draw themselves into a quarrel with the Marattas, a measure which they could

not justify, and to which they were not inclined.

In the mean time, as the fortune of Hyder Ally seemed to give way to the superior strength and exertions of the Marattas, he again applied for succours to the Presidency of Madras; but experienced constant denials, on various pretences, and was at length convinced that he could place no reliance on their friendship.

This laid the foundation of an inveterate resentment in Hyder Ally. Having found means to conclude a peace with the Marattas, he turned his attention to the means of recovering his losses upon the first opportunity that might offer. For this purpose he sought a connexion with the French, who, on the other hand, readily embraced so favourable an occasion to strengthen their interest in India. They fell in with all his views. They supplied him with warlike necessities in the greatest abundance; and what was of still greater utility, with a number of officers and military men. Through their assistance he introduced an order and discipline among his troops, to which the armies of Indian Princes had hitherto been total strangers. Among other essential improvements he collected a formidable artillery, with numerous and well-trained bodies of men to serve it, a large proportion of which consisted of Europeans.

When he found himself so prepared for the ends he had in view, he recommenced the war with the Marattas, and carried it, to a series of advantages, so

and superiority over them. He became the most dreaded and powerful prince in that vast peninsula between the Indus and the sea.

Exclusive of the secret ill-will of the Ally, the English had at this time no less a dangerous enemy. The Marattas were highly at variance with them, on account of the interference in the internal affairs of the Ally assumed by the Company. It was, contrary to the sense and desire of those by whom that nation was governed, espoused the cause of an individual universally obnoxious to his countrymen, from his infamous character. He had endeavoured to invest himself with a degree of authority, of which he was evidently unworthy, and to which he had no lawful claim.

The process of the dispute to which this attempt gave birth, several negotiations took place between the Ally and the Marattas, but they were all ineffectual from the determination of the former to adhere to the Ally, who had formed of profiting by the civil dissensions, and the difficulties they experienced in the war, to be at the same time waging war with the Ally.

Exasperated by the treatment they received from the Company, and aware of the danger to which they were exposed by continuing the war with the Ally in such critical circumstances, they determined to conclude a peace with him, in order to be better able to make a stand against the Company.

In the mean time the power to which the Ally had attained in India, and the signs of increasing it, which could not escape the notice of the Indians, occasioned these to feel much uneasiness and inquietude. A gradual accumulation of their sentiments on either side was reciprocally made, and the resolution to put a stop to the progress of the English, and to threaten in time to bring under

their subjection all the potentates of India.

A confederacy was formed between the most potent princes in the vast country of Indostan; the avowed purpose of which was to expel the English from that part of the world. The motives they assigned for this resolution were, the rapacity and ambition manifested by the conduct of the English, and their evident intention to stop at nothing for the gratification of both, upon every opportunity that fell in their way.

The chief leaders in this dangerous league were the Marattas and Hyder Ally, both of whom had agreed to a pacification, in order to join their forces and make a common cause against the Company. The latter was however the most to be apprehended from his character, and the objects he had in view. Bold and enterprising, yet cautious and full of sagacity and foresight, he was an enemy who, though actuated by the keenest ardour, proceeded upon plans formed with the utmost coolness and examination. The expulsion of the English, which was the ultimate aim of the Confederation, of which he was the principal member, was to him but a part of the vast system he had projected. This was to raise himself to a supremacy above all his neighbours, and to establish a kind of universal monarchy: A scheme, which he was conscious could not be accomplished, without the total destruction of the English power in India.

Fraught with these ideas, and firmly bent on their execution, he soon found an occasion to proceed to hostilities with the Company. Exclusive of the general motives of the combination framed against them, he was highly incensed at the liberty they had lately taken, to order a detachment of their troops to march through a part of his territories, without receiving his permission. This had offended him the more, as he stood upon

dubious terms with the prince, to whom they were sent as auxiliaries. The consequence was, that these troops were opposed and compelled to desist from their intention; and that Hyder Ally invaded that prince's country, and forced him to renounce the connexion he had formed with the English, from the impossibility of his fulfilling the engagements on which it was founded.

The taking of the French fort and settlement of Mahé, on the coast of Malabar, afforded him another ground of complaint. He asserted that place to be within his dominions, and that the French were of course under his protection.

He was in the mean while taking the most effectual measures for the prosecution of the main design of the Indian Confederacy against the English. Private negotiations were carried on between him and the emissaries of France, who gave him the strongest assurances of the firmest support. His troops were assembling from every part of his dominions, and every provision making for the great blow he was now meditating against the Company.

His chief aim in all these mighty preparations was the British settlements at Madras, against which he entertained a particular pique and resentment. He accused that Presidency of having insinuated the treaty formerly made with a view of laying the foundation of a solid peace and cordial correspondence, and of being guilty of such acts of enmity, as shewed them to be his inveterate foes.

During these preparations on the part of Hyder Ally, the Presidency of Madras remained in a state of unaccountable inactivity. They were daily informed of his proceedings, yet no measure was taken to counteract them. They were unhappily employed in differences and personal altercations, that deprived them of the power

of acting either with consistency or energy.

So great was the neglect occasioned by these dissensions, that the passes through the mountains on the borders of the Carnatic were left unguarded, as if it had been a time of profound peace, and no suspicion existed of the approach of any enemy. This negligence was an additional spur to the enterprising disposition of Hyder Ally. He improved it with his usual ability, by securing those passages with the utmost speed. With the same diligence he marched his army through them, before any opposition could be made to its passage, or any endeavours to recover them.

Notwithstanding these movements the same defect of vigilance and vigour still prevailed at Madras. They were debating about the designs of Hyder Ally, and the conduct to be adopted against him, while he was penetrating into the very heart of the Carnatic, and advancing to the gates of Madras. He was now at the head of an army of upwards of one hundred thousand men; among whom was a large body of Europeans under French officers, and commanded by Colonel Lally, a man of known enterprise and bravery.

Had the troops belonging to the Presidency of Madras been properly collected, this irruption of Hyder Ally might easily have been prevented; but they were so much dispersed, that no opposition could be formed at the present. He was now master of the open country, which he ranged and over-ran without resistance.

A considerable body of the Company's troops were at this time stationed in a district called Gun-tou. It was thought necessary at Madras, to send orders to it to march with a expedition to reinforce the army was forming under the command Sir Hector Monro. To more speedy a junction, the

ards to meet this body, which commanded by Colonel Baillie, officer of great valour and experience, and composed of as excellent as any in the Company's service. The difficulties of the march it performed were so many, that its progress was extremely slow, and attended with every kind of danger.

The march of the army itself, that in its way to join this body, met with a multitude of retardments. Numerous forces of Hyder Ally opposed it on every side; and when at Conjeeveram, the place where junction was to be made, it was that Hyder Ally's army had itself in such a manner as effectually to prevent it.

Colonel Baillie now divided his forces in two.

With the one he faced Sir Hector Monro, the other he detached in order to make an attack upon Colonel Fletcher, but it was, after a long and bloody conflict, entirely defeated. Notwithstanding this advantage, the conduct of the Colonel was extremely cautious; the intervention of such a powerful force as that under Hyder Ally rendered his marching forward very difficult.

Sir Hector Monro, absolutely incapable with so small a force; nevertheless he could do, was to gain his position, which, however, was highly difficult from the want of ammunition.

Hector Monro was in no less perplexing a dilemma: his whole force consisted of only six thousand men, and though a great proportion were Europeans, his cavalry was but a handful, totally unable to contend with the immense numbers which that of Hyder Ally was possessed of. The country where the battle lay was an extensive flat, which afforded every advantage to their cavalry, and exposed his troops to the greatest danger of being surrounded on every side.

In these distressful circumstances, a resolution was taken in the British camp, to dispatch Colonel Fletcher

an officer of distinguished courage and ability, at the head of a body of chosen men, to reinforce Colonel Baillie. They took their departure at the beginning of the night, and by a long and circuitous march, avoided an ambuscade that had been prepared by the enemy, and effected a junction with Colonel Baillie.

On receiving this intelligence, Hyder Ally became apprehensive that it was intended to attack him on both sides, and deliberated accordingly about a change in his position; but being informed that the troops under Sir Hector Monro did not shew any design of moving from their encampment, he detached his bravest men and best officers, to way lay the detachment under Colonels Baillie and Fletcher.

These two officers having made the necessary dispositions for the arduous business they were about to undertake, began their march at the break of day, and proceeded forward with the utmost firmness and order. When they had reached the spot where the enemy awaited them, they were suddenly assailed on the right and left, with a most dreadful fire of musketry and cannon, loaded with grape-shot. They bore this attack with undaunted courage, and tho' they had no more than ten pieces of cannon to return the discharge of sixty; they made such excellent use of them, that the enemy were repulsed with a terrible slaughter, and after repeated attempts to break their order of march, Hyder Ally began to despair of accomplishing his purpose.

The battle had now lasted three hours. Notwithstanding the flower of Hyder Ally's army was employed upon this occasion, not the least impression had been made on Colonel Baillie's corps, though it had to contend with a body of infantry consisting of thirty thousand men, and one of cavalry exceeding twenty-five thousand, and was not itself composed

C H A P . XXXIX

The French defeated at Jersey.—Siege of Minorca.—Naval Operations in the Channel.

1731.

NEVER had the intrigues of France been so successful against Great Britain as in the present war. She had contrived to kindle an unextinguishable flame in the British colonies. She had persuaded Spain, against the clear interest of that monarchy, to unite with her in asserting their independence. She had involved the seven United Provinces in a quarrel with their ancient and heretofore ally. She had drawn all Europe into a confederacy for the destruction of the naval power of this country, and had deprived it of all its allies, and almost of all its well wishers.

In the midst of this storm, Britain seemed, however, to brave its enemies, not only by the greatness of the spirit with which she encountered them, but no less by the prodigious multiplicity of her resources. In the beginning of the year Eighty one, the maritime strength of all Europe was drawn out against her; but the list of her fleets and armies afforded them no reason to hope that her power was on the decline. Her internal defence was provided for in such a manner, as precluded all expectations of making the least impression upon this island. She had numerous forces in the East and West Indies, and was making the most vigorous efforts in America. Her navy was on the most formidable footing, consisting of no less than four hundred and thirty vessels, in most excellent condition, and manned with the best and bravest seamen in Europe, even

by the confession of her very enemies.

The fleets of France, Spain and Holland did hardly more than equal those of Great Britain in number, but were far inferior to them in goodness of construction. The sailors, those of Holland excepted, were chiefly composed of landmen, unused to, and averse to that element on which they were compelled to serve. France, with all its exertions, did not reckon more than two hundred and sixty-four vessels of all rates; and Spain not upwards of one hundred and twenty-four; Holland counted but sixty.

The residue of European marine in actual commission among those powers who formed the armed neutrality, amounted to no more than eighty ships of all sizes. Of these, twenty nine belonged to Russia, thirty to Sweden, and twenty five to Denmark. Such were the estimates of the naval force of the maritime powers in Europe, about the commencement of the year eighty one.

France in the mean time was meditating how to avail herself of the advantages accruing from the present confederacy in her favour. She had hitherto been foiled in every effort of moment. Saving some inconsiderable successes in the West India navy had been worked out. Notwithstanding the superiority of her fleets, in conjunction with Spain, had appeared a

coast, nothing of the least consequence had hitherto been effected. Only attempt she had ventured to in the channel, was on the island Iley, lying in the sight of her own; and in that she had completely

the remembrance of this failure, the disgrace of having manifested world her inability to dispossess English of an isle situated at her doors, induced her at the opening of this year, to repeat an attempt, Europe testified its utmost surprise that France should ever have continued till she had succeeded. A person pitched upon to conduct the enterprise, was the Baron de Rullecourt, a man of courage, but of a proud and violent disposition. He was then second in command upon the island. The force entrusted to him consisted of two thousand men. With those he embarked in very tempestuous weather, hoping from this circumstance, that success would not be expected, he might be able to surprize the gar-

ison of his transports being disabled by the storm, he was obliged to shelter with the remainder among the islands, in the proximity of Jersey.

As soon as the weather grew fair, he seized the opportunity of the night, to effect a landing at a small cove, where he made a party of militia. From there he proceeded with the utmost secrecy to St Helier's, the capital of the island, about three miles distant: some upon it so unexpectedly, that he seized on a body of men that he had it, together with the commanding officer and the magistrates of the island.

He then drew up a capitulation of terms of which were, that the island should be forthwith surrendered to him, and the garrison be sent to France. He required instant compliance, threatening, upon refusal im-

mediate destruction to the town. The Deputy Governor and Magistrates represented to him, that being in his power, no authority of theirs could any longer be valid, and that the troops would of course refuse obedience to them. But the French commander persisting in his requisition, and menaces, the capitulation was signed, in order to prevent him from carrying them into execution.

Having gained this point, Baron Rullecourt advanced to Elizabeth castle, near the town, which he summoned to surrender in virtue of the capitulation signed by the Deputy Governor, whom he compelled to accompany him; but the garrison returned him a peremptory refusal, and made so vigorous a discharge of their artillery upon him that he was obliged to withdraw into the town.

The British troops stationed in the island, on being apprized of what was passing, assembled in the mean while from every quarter, under the command of Major Pierpont, who on being required by the French commander to submit, returned for answer, that if the French themselves did not lay down their arms within twenty minutes, he would attack them.

In consequence of this message, after making a very able disposition of his troops, he charged the enemy with so much impetuosity, that in less than half an hour they were totally routed, and driven from the houses they had occupied, into the market-place, where they endeavoured to make a stand.

Baion Rullecourt enraged at a resistance, which he had not expected, forgot the magnanimity for which the French officers are so justly renowned, so far as to force the captive Governor to attend him to the spot of action, declaring that he should partake of the same danger as himself: that gentleman was compelled to stand by his side during the conflict in the market-place: but it was quickly terminated; the French were soon broken

on all sides, the Baron himself mortally wounded, and the next in command obliged to deliver up himself and his party prisoners of war in order to avoid being cut to pieces.

The splendor of this success was greatly clouded by the death of that gallant young officer, to whose conduct it was chiefly owing. Major Pierfon unhappily fell by one of the last discharges from the French. He was but in the twenty-fifth year of his age. His loss was deeply lamented not only by the troops and inhabitants of Jersey, but by the whole nation. The military abilities which he had displayed on this occasion, justified the highest presumptions of what he might have proved, had he been so fortunate as to survive.

Of the whole force that landed upon the island, amounting to upwards of eight hundred men, not one escaped. They were all either killed or taken. What added greatly to the honour of the British troops, they were chiefly new levies, few of whom had ever been in action.

This second defeat of the French at Jersey, was no small mortification to their ministry, which had long been earnestly desirous of mastering that and the neighbouring island of Guernsey. It grieved them the more, as it proved, that notwithstanding they both lay in the perpetual view of France, they were objects of desinace much more than of acquisition on that monarchy, and might be considered as an invincible argument of the real superiority Great Britain preserved in the Channel, in spite of the transitory parade of the French and Spanish fleets.

Another island, however, offered itself to their consideration at this time, of more importance in itself, and of more general utility to the furtherance of their designs. This was Minorca, of which the conquest was not only more practicable, on account

notwithstanding from assistance; but

would also ingratiate them with Spain, and contribute to remove the discontents with which that kingdom had been filled against France, for having drawn it into a contest that had proved hitherto so expensive and ruinous.

The formation of this enterprise took place early in the year, but was for some time retarded by the length of the preparations it required. They were not completed till towards the close of June, when M. de Guichen sailed from Brest, at the head of a squadron consisting of the most formidable ships in the French navy: they were eighteen in number, five of which carried one hundred and ten guns. They were joined at Cadiz by thirty Spanish ships of the line, and a large number of transports, carrying a body of ten thousand regular troops.

Great Britain had now so many objects to employ her attention, and they were all of such moment, that a sufficient strength could not be collected in time to prevent the junction and intended movements of the French and Spaniards, at the period and distance at which they were made.— They left Cadiz about the end of July, and landed their forces at Minorca the twentieth of August. Here they were shortly joined by about six thousand French from Toulon. The combined army of both Crowns was under the command of the Duke of Crillon, a French General of great reputation.

It was the fate of Minorca, at this juncture, to be totally unable to make any effectual resistance against so powerful an enemy. The garrison consisted only of four regiments, two of them British, and two Hanoverian; they were excellent troops, and commanded by two Generals of the highest abilities and bravery, General Mordaunt and Sir William Draper, both of whom had in happier times remarkably distinguished themselves, the former in North America, the latter in the East Indies.—But the

and from that reason, as well as the smallness of their number, inadequate to the defence that would be necessary against such a multitude of assailants.

From these causes, much more than from the vigour and efforts of the British fleet, it was soon foreseen, that the preservation of Minorca would be a very difficult, if not an impossible undertaking: especially the obstructions in the way of all attempts were taken into consideration.

The troops of France and Spain were laying siege to Minorca, and asking of which they proposed to deliver a final blow to the British in the Mediterranean, it was determined, in order to display the power of the House of Bourbon, that their fleets should at the very same time attack those of Great Britain on her own coast. To this purpose, the combined squadrons having been reinforced on their way, entered the channel about the middle of July, to the number of more than thirty sail, about fifty of which were French.

Their intent was to intercept the commercial fleets expected home at the season of the year, and to prevent the sailing of those that were bound to the British settlements.

As their multitude enabled them to stretch across the entrance of the channel, it was resolved in England, notwithstanding their vast superiority, to send a naval force then in readiness, consisting of thirty ships of the line, to proceed immediately to sea, to counteract all dangers for the preservation of the home bound fleets.

Admiral Darby, who commanded the British fleet, prepared accordingly for the execution of his orders; and with great alacrity and determination followed him, was manifested by his conduct and men; but he was detained by contrary winds in Torbay till the 15th of September; during which the enemy remained in possession

of the sea adjacent to the West of England, and the South of Ireland, and occasioned no little alarm for the security of the trade returning from Jamaica and the Leeward islands.

The wind still confining the British fleet in Torbay, the French and Spanish Admirals, on information of its inferiority, debated about the propriety of attacking it in that position. Don Vincent Diaz, one of the Spanish commanders, insisted, with great strenuousness on the disgrace that would attend the neglect of such an opportunity of attacking the English, with so superior a strength as that which could now be brought to act against them. He offered to be foremost in the attempt.

The proposal of this spirited officer was highly applauded by the chief commander of the French, M. de Guichen. He looked upon the present occasion as the most auspicious that could be found. The principal part of the British navy was now blocked up in a bay, from whence there was no outlet, and where, if defeated, every ship must be taken or destroyed. It was highly probable, considering the vast superiority of the combined fleets, that of Great Britain would be worsted. Such an event would at once terminate the war, to the utmost honour and advantage of the House of Bourbon and its allies. But were they, on the contrary, to decline an engagement, all Europe would brand them with timidity, and interpret their conduct as a tacit acknowledgment of the superior skill and courage of the English.

These arguments were strongly opposed, on the other hand, by M. de Beaufort, the second in command to M. de Guichen. He contended that the situation of the British fleet would enable it to fight them at their great disadvantage: they could not attack it in a body, but must form their line a-head, and fall down singly upon the enemy.—This would expose every ship.

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tion. The troops of France and Spain, laying siege to Minorca, the success of which they proposed as a final blow to the British in the Mediterranean, it was determined, in order to display the power of the House of Bourbon, that the fleets should at the very attack of those of Great Britain be on their own coast. To this the combined squadrons have been reinforced on their way, enhanced about the middle of the year, the number of more than one hundred, about fifty of which were

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vast fire of the enemy's artillery, no less than to the duration of the engagement, and the very advantageous position taken by Hyder Ally. This second defeat of this Prince by Sir Eyre Coote, happened on the twenty-seventh of August.

From the long and vigorous resistance of his troops on this day, and the difficulty with which it was won by the English, Hyder Ally conceived hopes, that by degrees his people through frequent encounters of this kind, would attain to an equality of discipline and resolution with them. In this confidence he ventured, some weeks after this action to stand another battle; but he was defeated with greater loss than in the former.

Undiscouraged by this want of success, Hyder Ally invested a place of great strength and importance, called Vellore, and expecting that the relief of it would be attempted, seized an advantageous pass through which he knew the British troops must take their way. Sir Eyre Coote advanced accordingly with that intent, and found Hyder Ally's army in possession of some very strong grounds on both the sides of a marsh, which he was obliged to cross. The numbers of the enemy enabled them to attack him on every part; but it was principally his rear against which their chief efforts were directed. Here were the baggage and convoy of provisions destined for the besieged, who were now reduced to the greatest extremity. By seizing these, both the British army and garrison would have been equally distressed.

Hyder Ally exerted all his activity to accomplish these purposes: but the spirit of the British troops was such that they extricated themselves completely from this dangerous pass, and forced their way to Vellore in despite of all obstructions.

Notwithstanding this failure, Hyder Ally still relied upon another trial. *Disposing his army in the same man-*

ner as before, he waited the return of the British troops on the same spot. His attack was conducted with great skill and vigour: their flanks and front were assailed at once, and a heavy cannonade maintained during the whole action. It lasted a great part of the afternoon; but terminated with his entire defeat, and with the loss of numbers of his selected men.

These uninterrupted successes of the British troops in the Carnatic, were attended with the most fortunate consequences to the interest of the East India Company. Among others, it enabled the Presidency at Madras, on receiving intelligence of the rupture between Great Britain and Holland, to undertake an expedition against the principal Dutch settlement on the coast of Ceromandel.

This was the important town and harbour of Negapatam, situated to the south of Madras, in the neighbourhood of Tanjour. The danger of its becoming a place of arms for Hyder Ally, and his French allies, were it to remain in the hands of the Dutch, now become enemies to Britain, was too obvious not to endeavour to dispossess them of it as soon as possible, at the present juncture.

The charge of carrying on this important enterprise by land, was committed to Sir Hector Munro, while Sir Edward Hughes stationed his squadron so as to intercept all relief by sea. This officer had already given a severe check to Hyder Ally, on the coast of Malabar. That Prince had expended vast sums, and bestowed immense care and labour in the improvement of his two seaports of Calicut and Mangalore in that country. They were his naval arsenals, and contained a considerable number of ships of force; but they were all destroyed by Sir Edward Hughes, to the vexation of Hyder Ally, projected the design of himself no less powerful sea, than he was on land.

undertaking against Negapatam however, accompanied with a great number of impediments. The necessity continually reinforcing the army as acting in the field against Ally, had so drained the dis- garrisons, that very incon- siderable force could be spared to Sir r Munn, for the service pro-

Negapatam was in a strong defence, from the fortifications lately been added to it; Hyder Ally, foreseeing that it would probably be attacked by the English, had dispatched a body of infantry and cavalry to strengthen the garrison. It consisted, these reinforcements, of more than eight thousand men, while the number of the besiegers did not amount to five thousand.

On landing the battering cannon on the ships, which was a work of danger and difficulty, from the rocks of the sea, an attack was made on the lines and redoubts, the besieged had constructed several avenues to the town. The ships that were employed upon the occasion, assailed them with such violence and fury, that the enemy could not withstand them an instant. Positions that had been made for defence, were very judicious. A mixture of horse and foot defended the lines: had the assailants proceeded in the same way, their total defeat must have ensued from the pursuit and exposure to which they would have been exposed. But so great was the valour of the seamen struck the whole garrison that the foot ran immediately to the town, and Hyder and his horse fled on the first onset in the adjacent country; from whence they were either unable or unwilling to return into the town.

Three days after storming the lines, several approaches were made, and a great battery erected; against the garrison directed two sallics

with all their remaining force; but they were repulsed with great slaughter. Another battery being constructed, the fire from both operated so effectually, that a breach was soon made, and followed by a preparation for an assault. The Dutch Governor proposed hereupon to surrender on capitulation. The terms granted to him were, that private property excepted, the town and its dependencies, with whatever appertained to the Dutch governor and Company, should be delivered to the English: the garrison to remain prisoners of war, and the Governor and officers in the civil or military departments to be at large on their parole.

The reduction of Negapatam completed the revolution that had begun to take place in the southern provinces on the coast of Coromandel. It not only restored the power and influence of the East India Company in those parts, but it raised the reputation and dread of the British arms higher than ever. They had, in the course of this campaign, triumphed successively over Hyder Ally, the French, and the Dutch, united together for their humiliation, and confidently presuming to reduce them to the necessity of yielding to the superiority with which they were assailed in every quarter.

The universal failure of every attempt against the English, and the continual good fortune that had attended them this year, made such an impression on many of the Indian princes and chiefs, that had submitted to Hyder Ally from fear, or embraced his party from interest, that they now earnestly sought for reconciliation with the English. They now considered them as fully re-established on their former footing of strength, and bidding fair to confirm and increase it beyond a probability of being shaken.

Hyder Ally himself was equally astonished and stung with grief at this unexpected return of prosperity to a people whose greatness he had lately been

been persuaded was fast declining, and whom, he doubted not, he should be the principal instrument in bringing to ruin and expelling from India. He now saw his garrisons compelled to evacuate the greatest number of those places they had occupied in the foregoing campaigns in the rich and im-

portant district of Tanjore and its environs. These disappointments sank deeply into his aspiring and ambitious mind; and though his spirit was too great to admit of despondency, yet he could not fail being powerfully affected by this sudden reverse of fortune.

CHAP.

C H A P, XXL

*Minorca—Statia—and St. Christopher.—Victory obtained
Admiral Rodney over the French Fleet in the West-Indies.*

1782.

THE sieges of Gibraltar and Minorca were still carried on by united forces of the House of Orange, with the utmost spirit and vigour, and both places defended with unabated firmness and obstinacy by their respective garrisons. But Minorca was evidently in the greatest danger, from the facility with which the enemy could provide reinforcements and supplies, and the difficulty of conveying any relief to the besieged. The Courts of Versailles and Madrid, however they might consider the retention of Gibraltar as dubious, entertained no doubt of being able to retake Minorca.

From the commencement of the siege, it was marked by an incident highly remarkable, to General Murray, the Governor. Impatient to have possession of this important fortress, the King of Spain endeavoured, through the offer of an immense bribe, to corrupt that officer's fidelity. The answer was refused.

When he returned to the Duke of Devonshire, who had been commissioned to take this trial, was striking. He told him to understand, that when most illustrious of his ancestors, the Duke of Guise, he nobly declined such an office; and that he himself should, after this precedent, refuse to attempt the seduction of a man of honour.

From the landing of the enemy in Minorca, to the beginning of Novem-

ber, no material event took place. About this time a sally was made on the Duke of Crillon's head-quarters, with so much vigour, and was so judiciously conducted, that he was compelled to abandon them, with the loss of a number of prisoners. The whole army of the besiegers was brought forward on this occasion to dislodge the British troops; but their disposition and countenance were such, that the Duke did not think proper to attack them; and they had the honour of maintaining the post they had seized during a whole day, and of retiring unmolested.

But notwithstanding the resolution and skill displayed by the besieged, the superiority they had to contend with, in respect to artillery and numbers, was so great, that they alone were sufficient to put their fortitude to the utmost trial.

It has, however, by adequate and impartial judges been asserted, that had no other causes intervened, the siege of Minorca would have terminated as gloriously as that of Gibraltar, and the enemy been obliged to relinquish the attempt.

But while the French and Spanish army were investing it from without, a far more dreadful and dangerous enemy had taken possession of the place within, and committed such ravages among the besieged, as were much more destructive than those they suffered from the exertions of the enemy.

The

The communication with the country being entirely cut off, no supplies of vegetables could be conveyed to the garrison. They were reduced to the necessity of subsisting on salt provisions.

Most of the troops that composed the garrison, having been long stationed in the island, had accustomed themselves to a constant and regular use of vegetable diet. The sudden deprivation of a species of food, to which they were become habituated, proved such a stroke to their constitutions, as they were unable to stand. Among other complaints, it produced that most terrible and fatal one to men confined in ships and garrisons, the scurvy.

What contributed greatly to its progress, was the inclosed and narrow space to which they were confined, and the necessity to which they were compelled of living in the casemates, and places under ground, in order to shelter themselves from the dreadful and incessant showers of shot and shells, that fell day and night upon every part of the fortrefs.

This continual fire, under the direction of a numerous and expert body of engineers, could not fail to make an effectual impression on a spot of so limited an extent.

In the midst of this severe trial, their constancy and perseverance were invincible. Such was the zeal they felt for the honour of the British name, to use their own expression, that many of the common soldiers, though on the point of death, concealed their condition from their officers, in order to have the consolation, as they said, of expiring upon duty with their arms in their hands.

The state of the garrison was, in the commencement of February eighty two, so enfeebled, that the whole number able to do duty, amounted to no more than six hundred and sixty; and of these, scarcely a hundred were untaunted with the scurvy. From the concurrent testimony of the physicians

and surgeons it appeared, that, in very few days, there might not probably be left a single soldier in a condition to bear arms.

In the mean time, the necessary guards required four hundred and fifteen men. Hence it was evident, that as they could not be regularly relieved, illness and fatigue would speedily overcome them. In this extremity Governor Murray proposed terms of capitulation, by which the garrison might be permitted to preserve their liberty on surrendering the place: But the Duke of Crillon informed him, that his orders were to listen to no capitulation, but under the express condition, that the garrison should remain prisoners of war.

To soften however the rigour of his instructions, he allowed them to return to England, on General Murray's engaging, that they should not serve again during the war, till regularly exchanged.

Every other concession was granted that could be required or expected. To the honour of the French commander, he seemed to feel a peculiar satisfaction, in expressing the highest sense of respect for the Governor, and the troops under his command.

In the first article of the capitulation General Murray demanded that the garrison must surrender prisoners; they should be allowed all the honours of war. This, it was added, was not contrary to his instructions, and would tend to his glory, as certainly no troops ever gave greater proofs of heroism, having defended themselves almost to the last man.

The Duke's answer testified the readiest and most generous assent to the General's assertion; and was specified, "that, in consideration of the constancy and valour, and his men had shewn in the defence, they should receive military honours consistent with the situation."

On the fifth of Feb

treas of St. Philip was delivered up to the combined forces of France and Spain. Perhaps, says General Murray, in his letter upon this occasion, a more noble nor tragical scene was seldom exhibited, than the march of its garrison through the French and Spanish armies. It consisted of no more than six hundred old decrepid soldiers, two hundred seamen, one hundred and twenty of the Royal Artillery, and about fifty Corsicans, Greeks, and others. The two armies were drawn up fronting each other, and formed a lane for the garrison to pass through, reaching from St Philip's to George-Town. Here the garrison laid down their arms, declaring they had surrendered them to God alone, and that the conquerors could only boast they had taken an hospital.

Such was the distressful figure of the British troops, that many of the French and Spaniards, it was said, shed tears as they passed them. The humanity of the Duke of Crillon, and of his officers, was highly conspicuous on this occasion. No kind of relief was left unsought for the assistance of the sickly remains of the garrison. Every possible care and attention was paid to them; and they were treated with every mark of respect and sympathy, which could be expected from a generous conqueror.

Thus did the island of Minorca return to the dominion of Spain, after it had been in the possession of Great Britain, since the year seventeen hundred and eight, when it was taken by Sir John Leake and General, afterwards Earl Stanhope, and had, together with Gibraltar, been considered as one of the noblest trophies, and most valuable acquisitions to Britain, during the triumphant reign of Queen Anne.

The loss of Minorca in Europe, was accompanied by events of the like nature in other parts, that marked the close of the year eighty-one, and the beginning of eighty-two, as a

period highly unpropitious to Britain.

The success which the French had met with, during the preceding summer, in reducing Tobago, induced them to cast their eyes on the other British islands in the Indian seas, with a view of attacking them at a convenient opportunity. They seemed, however, too well guarded at the time to afford them any hope of succeeding. The only one upon which, after much consultation, they ventured to make an attempt, was that of Stasia, which had been taken from the Dutch at the commencement of the year, and of which they were informed the garrison thought itself in a state of perfect security from any enemy, on account of the difficulty of its access.

The Marquis de Bouille, upon receiving this information, determined to improve the opportunity it offered of reducing that island by surprise; and in this attempt he was fortunate enough to succeed.

The manner in which the island of Stasia was retaken, though it reflected, no disgrace on the valour of the British troops, could not fail to cast a shade on that military vigilance and circumspection which had hitherto characterised them. Their signal deficiency in these essential requisites in war, upon this occasion, exposed them to universal and well merited censure.

It was with peculiar satisfaction the Marquis of Bouille took this opportunity of signalling his disinterestedness in pecuniary matters. Among the spoils that fell into his hands, a large sum of money was claimed by the British commanding officer, as being private property: this was generously restored to him by the Marquis; who caused, in the same manner, whatever had belonged to Dutch individuals, to be reserved, in order to be returned to them, and suffered nothing to be seized but the produce arising from the sale of the prizes that

had been taken by the English when they captured the island.

The opening of the ensuing year was no less unfavourable to the English on the continent of South America: where the settlements of Demerary and Essequibo, of which they had deprived the Dutch in the beginning of the preceding year, were now taken by the French.

But these successes of its ancient enemy, though sufficiently mortifying to the British nation, were quickly followed by an attempt of much more importance. The enterprising disposition of the Marquis de Bouille, had long turned his views to the subjugation of the rich island of St. Christopher, once the joint possession of both the French and English, till the victorious arms of the latter expelled the former at the commencement of this present century.

Likewise of the value of this fertile isle, other motives offered themselves to the Marquis. He knew that numbers of the inhabitants were highly dissatisfied at the seizure of their property on the taking of St. Christopher from the Dutch. He was also well acquainted with their disapprobation of the general conduct of the British government, and that many of them did not scruple to express the most bitter resentment on these various accounts.

Expecting justly to meet with little resistance from a discontented people, he formed the project of attacking this island, while the causes of their complaints were still fresh in their remembrance.—Nor was it otherwise in a condition for a vigorous defence.

The only place of strength in the island was Brimstone Hill, situated on the shore, near the town of Sandy Point, which it over-looks and commands.

On the landing of the French army, which from the greatness of its force could not be prevented, nor even opposed with safety, General Frazer the commanding officer, retired to

Brimstone Hill.—The whole of his strength, besides the regulars above-mentioned, did not exceed four hundred militia, brought to his assistance by Governor Shirley. But twice the number that composed the garrison would have hardly sufficed for a proper defence.

The French having made good their landing at Basseterre, the principal town in the island, advanced immediately to Brimstone Hill, which they closely invested on every side. The ill fortune of the besieged was instanced upon this occasion in a most remarkable manner. Eight brass twenty four pounders, with six thousand balls of corresponding weight, and two large brass mortars, with fifteen hundred shells, had been carried to the bottom of the hill, with an intent to convey them to the summit: but through some cause that never came to light, they were left in that situation. When the enemy were landed, it was too late to secure them, and they fell into the hands of the French, who without this unexpected supply, would have been greatly retarded in their operations. One of their store-ships, loaded with the principal materials for a siege, had been wrecked on the rocks near the shore, and another of equal consequence, had been captured by the squadron under Admiral Hood.

This vigilant and enterprising officer lay at this time at Barbadoes, against which the French first intended to direct their motions, but had been prevented by contrary winds. The moment he was apprized of their design upon St. Christopher, he hastened to Antigua, where taking on board all the troops that could be spared, he sailed directly for Basseterre, where the French fleet was at anchor with a determination to attack though it consisted of thirty of the line, and his own twenty two: but the enemy repulsed in the capacity

of his officers and men, made him overlook all disadvantages. On his arrival, his first aim was to get between the enemy and the island; which point he very artfully accomplished.

The conduct of Admiral Hood throughout this remarkable transaction, was considered by the ablest judges in these matters, as one of the greatest professional exertions that had happened during the whole war. It struck the enemy with the highest admiration of his abilities, and with no little apprehensions of them: it served to confirm the impartial world in the opinion it had formed, that the naval genius of Britain would render her an overmatch for all her enemies.

In order now to obtain information of the situation and circumstances of the garrison at Brimstone Hill, two officers, the one belonging to the navy, the other to the army, both of them resolute and intelligent men, were dispatched on shore, and found means through many difficulties to execute their commission. The message they brought back from General Frazer, was in the stile of the old warriors in the days of the Edwards and Henries: General Prescott had sent him word of his arrival with succours; to which the blunt and gallant veteran replied, that as he had taken the trouble to come with troops to his assistance, he should, doubtless, be glad to see him, but that he was in no want of him or them.

This spirited message induced the British commanders to land a body of troops; in order, if practicable, to seize on some post that might enable them to impede the enemy's operations.

But as the vast superiority of the enemy rendered an attempt upon them impracticable, the detachment on shore was withdrawn. Still, however, the garrison continued its defence with unabated resolution; in hope, that as soon as sufficient rein-

forcements arrived, they would immediately proceed to their assistance. In this view they supported the hardships and continual toil that were daily increasing, with singular perseverance and fortitude.

The siege had now lasted five weeks. Harassed by increasing fatigue, the remains of the garrison were unable to withstand any longer the insupportable duty that was now imposed upon them of being under arms both day and night. Their number was so reduced that it would have been impossible to resist an assault; and this was hourly looked for, from the total demolition of the works in most places, and almost all the guns being either dismounted or disabled.

In this extremity it was thought necessary to capitulate. The generosity the Marquis de Bouille had displayed upon similar occasions, was a sufficient inducement to afford the garrison ample expectation of being treated with all manner of indulgence. But he was prompted by additional motives to grant them every request they could make, in order to secure as soon as possible the possession of the island. The arrival of Admiral Rodney was daily expected, together with such a naval reinforcement as would place the British fleet upon a full equality at least, if not a superiority to the French.

From these considerations, the terms of the capitulation were favourable in the highest degree.—They were the same in regard to the inhabitants, as those granted to the island of Dominico; and the garrison, besides the honours of war, was permitted to return to England, on condition of not serving against France or its allies till exchanged.

The Marquis de Bouille, with a magnanimity that added new lustre to his character, complimented Governor Shirley and General Frazer with their personal liberty. His expressions in that article of the capitulation

tion which specified this favour, did equal honour both to him and those gentlemen.

"Out of respect," he said, "to the courage and determined conduct of Generals Shirley and Frazer, it is agreed that they shall not be considered as prisoners of war; the former may return to his government of Antigua, and the latter may continue in the service of his country; being happy to rectify this mark of particular esteem for those two brave officers."

The reduction of St. Christopher took place on the thirteenth day of February, in the year eighty two.

The valuable island of Jamaica would soon probably have shared the same fate, had not the British fleet under Admiral Rodney, fallen in with that of the French under the Count De Grasse, in their way to join the Spanish fleet at St. Domingo. The van of the French was too far advanced to support the centre, and a signal victory was obtained over them. The French admiral in the Ville de Paris of 110 guns (a present from the city of Paris to the French king), was taken, with two twenty-fours, and one of 64 guns; a 74 gun ship blew up by accident soon after she was in our possession, and another 74 sunk during the engagement. A few days after, two more of the same fleet, of 64 guns each, were captured. By this victory of the 12th of April, the design against Jamaica was frustrated, and admiral Rodney's reputation and interest were greatly promoted. The new ministry, for his conduct at St. Eustatia, and differences with some of his captains, and with the merchants and planters, had superseded him, and intended to have prosecuted the enquiry into the transactions at Eustatia; but this victory silenced all, and procured him the dignity of an English peer. No other advantages followed; not one of the islands taken from us by the French, was attempted to be recovered, notwithstanding the great

naval superiority; and unhappy the Ville de Paris, and most of the French ships taken by admiral Rodney were lost at sea before they could reach England, besides two of its own ships of the line.

May 8th, the Bahama islands rendered to the Spaniards; but the credit of the British arms was sustained at Gibraltar, under general Elliot the governor, and then made a formidable attack on the 13th of September with floating batteries of 212 cannon, &c. in ships from 1400 to 600 tons burden, ended in disappointment, and the destruction of all the ships and most of the assailants in them. The garrison was relieved by lord Howe, in the month of October, who offered battle to the combined force of France and Spain, the twelve sail of the line inferior. The military operations after this, were of little consequence. Negapatnam, a settlement in the East Indies, and Trincomale on the island of Ceylon, were taken from the Dutch by the British forces; but the British were soon receiving considerable succours from Europe, took Cuddalore, retook Trincomale, forced the British in several actions, but none decisive, and enabled Hyder Ally to withstand various successes, all the efforts of Sir Eyre Coote, and his troops.

The death of the marquis of Blandford, on the 11th of July, occasioned a violent commotion in the cabinet and lessened the hopes which had formed of important national service from the new administration. Mr. Shelburne succeeded the marquis as first lord of the treasury, and it was without the knowledge of his colleagues. This gave great offence, particularly to Mr. Fox and Lord John Cavendish; who, with others, resigned their places, and a fierce opposition in the commons. Mr. Fox declared the principles on which the first came in, were those

and his adherents; that it was to be revived, most in the old man, or indeed in that could be found. persons whom neither pride bind, nor principles of pure: they would abandon all for the sake of power, could now strive to strengthen by any means which could procure; and he expected in a very short time, they joined by those very men that house had precipitated seats." The duke of Rich-eral Conway, and others, that there was no deviation present cabinet from the in which they had entered and continued to act with arne, till under his auspices inarics for a general peace d. Then the public beheld and even lord John Caven-icing with the old ministers, h particularly; embracing en whom they had driven seats, and threatened with ents; and continuing to join in reprobatng the peace too great concessions to the at they might storm the ive lord Shelburne and his on it, and seat themselves in they had despised, in their

treaty of peace between itain and France, Great led to France, of her pos-ore the war, the island of in the West Indies, and the enegal in Africa, with its les and the forts on the l gave up a few districts andies, as dependencies on ry, and Karikal; it agreed ore the islands of St. Lucia, ; and Miquelon, and the Goree; with Pondicherry, Mahe, Chandernagore, and oire of Surat, in the East igh had been conquered

from the French during the war. To prevent disputes about boundaries in the Newfoundland fishery, it was agreed, that the French line for fishing should begin from Cape St. John on the eastern side and going round by the North, should have for its bound-ary Cape Ray on the Western side; and Great Britain renounced every claim by former treaties with respect to the demolition of Dunkirk, France on the other hand was to restore to Great Britain the islands of Granada, and the Grenadines, St Christopher's, St. Vincent, Dominica, Nevis, and Montserrat; and guaranteed Fort James, and the river Gambia, agreeing that the gum trade should remain in the same condition as before the war, 1755. The allies of each state in the East Indies were to be invited to accede to the pacification. but if they were averse to peace, no assistance on either side was to be given to them.

By the treaty with Spain, Great Britain gave up to that power East Florida, and also ceded West Florida, and Minorca which Spain had taken during the war. To prevent all causes of complaint and misunderstanding for the future, it was agreed that British subjects should have the right of cut-ting and carrying away logwood in the district lying between the river Wallis or Bellizo, and Rio Hondo, taking the course of the said rivers for unalterable boundaries. Spain agreed to restore the islands of Providence, and the Bahamas to Great Britain, but they had been re-taken before the peace was signed.

In the treaty with the United States of America, the king of Great Britain acknowledges New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia to be free, sovereign, and independent states, and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquished all claims to

the government, propriety, and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof. To prevent all disputes in future on the subject of boundaries between the states and the remaining provinces to Great Britain, lines were very minutely drawn, which will be noticed in the proper place, and some favourable clauses were obtained for the Loyalists. The navigation of the Mississippi to remain open to both parties, as also the Newfoundland Fisheries.

In the treaty with the Dutch great difficulties arose, but at length it was stipulated, that Great Britain should restore Trincomalee in the island of Ceylon, but the French had already taken it; and that the Dutch should yield to us the town of Negapatnam, with its dependencies in the East Indies, with liberty to treat for its restitution on the point of an equivalent.

Thus a period was put to the most calamitous and important war that had been waged since the discovery of the new world, and in which Great Britain lost the best part of her American colonies, as well as many thousand valuable lives, and expended or squandered nearly 150 millions of money. The terms of the peace were to many a subject of great regret; but had the war continued, it would have been necessary to have borrowed annually 17 millions and a half, by which a million *per annum*, would have been added to the taxes, and 25 millions at least to the capital of the public debt, according to the usual modes of funding.

Whatever strictures may have been passed upon the terms agreed on between Great Britain and the other belligerent powers, there was a time when it was much doubted by the generality of people, both at home and abroad, whether peace could ever be purchased without making far greater sacrifices. Though the concessions made to the enemies of this country might perhaps have been less, they were by no means considered through-

out Europe as disparaging to the British nation. It was thought, on the contrary, that the confederacy, by closing so readily with them, betrayed their apprehensions of what might prove the consequences of continuing hostilities, and from that motive determined to put a conclusion to them, upon the most favourable conditions they could procure.

Such, it was judged, were the reasons that induced them to enter into negotiations for peace, under the ostensible mediation of the Emperor of Germany, and the Empress of Russia.

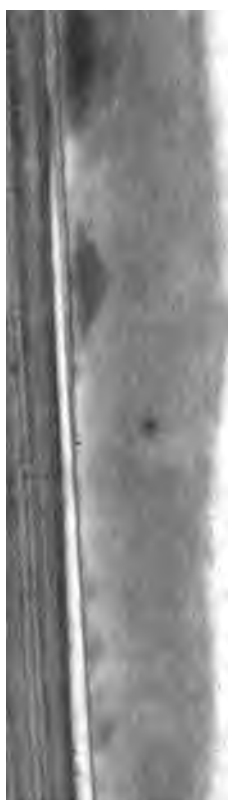
The cessions made on the part of Great Britain, can scarcely be esteemed worth the expence of but one year's war, especially considering the exhausted state of the country and its revenues, and of the national spirit, through the rage of parties and the lust of ambition and power. But no sooner were the preliminary treaties with France and Spain, and the provisional articles with America presented to parliament, than they met with a violent opposition, and were reprobated as highly injurious to the dignity and interests of the nation. It was contended on the other side, that peace was absolutely necessary, and was called for by the people with an unanimity and vigour that could not be resisted; that our ability to support so enormous an expence had no solid foundation, but the revenues precarious and delusive; that the cessions were the unavoidable consequence of the ruinous policy of the former administration in plunging the nation into such a contest; and the charges of maintaining Minorca, East and West Florida, had been excessive, so that their transferring them on Spain was a burden to her rather than an emolument. The object of the war, was also at an end, for the independency of America had been long before recognised by parliament—commerce was declining daily, and the terms of the peace, considering the true state of

the nation, were advantageous and durable, and could only be opposed by a majority of 72 to 59, but lost in the house of Commons by a majority of 224 to 208. The address of thanks for the

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